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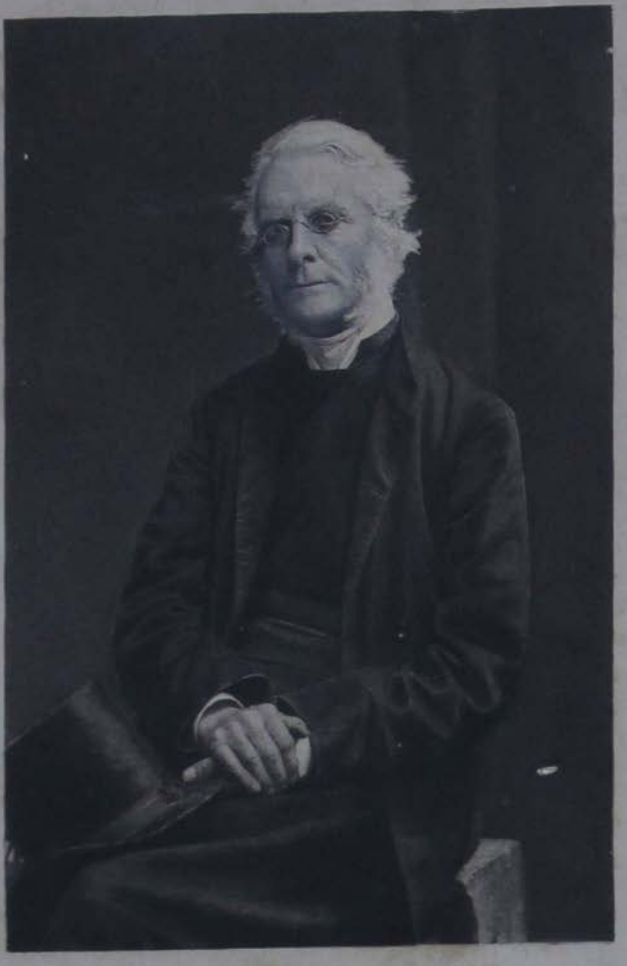
THE LIFE

OF

JOHN WILLIAM COLENSO, D.D.

VOL. II



Bishop Colenso

1812

Photo. Photograph by Mr. H. Kirch, Durham.

THE LIFE

OF

JOHN WILLIAM COLENSO, D.D.

Bishop of Natal.

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BY THE REV.

SIR GEORGE W. COX, BART.,

RECTOR OF SCRAYINGHAM.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

SECOND EDITION.

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THE LIFE

OF

JOHN WILLIAM COLENSO, D.D.

THE LIFE

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JOHN WILLIAM COLENSO, D.D.

LORD BISHOP OF NATAL.

CHAPTER I.

RETURN TO NATAL, 1865-66.

SHORTLY before he left England the Bishop published the Fifth Part of his *Examination of the Pentateuch.* It was in his belief the most important part of his task so far as he had up to that time been enabled to carry it. Whether his countrymen might acknowledge it or not, he felt that he had demonstrated the worthlessness of an old superstition, which cramped and withered the religious life of the land. He left his fifth volume, therefore, as a token of farewell at once to his friends and to his adversaries. To the former he had to make acknowledgements for help and support in the struggle.

"Most heartily and sincerely do I thank those many friends in England, of the clergy and laity, who have aided me in these trying times, publicly and privately, with counsel and comfort, who have stood by me in the hour of conflict, and who have sustained me with kind words, and defended me

by generous deeds, the remembrance of which will never depart from me.

I now return to the duties which have been so long interrupted,—of late by circumstances not under my own control. In the midst of those duties I shall find frequent opportunity for acting on the principles which I have enunciated, and shall rejoice in breathing myself, and helping others to breathe, the fresh free air, which the recent decisions have made it now possible to breathe within the bounds of the National Church. I shall also, as I hope and fully purpose, find time to pursue these inquiries, and perhaps, hereafter, return to publish them. But all these things are in the hands of God. Should I never return, I bid my friends in England farewell, to meet them again, I trust, on another shore. But, if I should return, a few years hence, it is my firm belief that, as we are now all thoroughly ashamed of those trials and executions for witch-craft and sorcery . . . which disgraced the Christianity of our forefathers in the Middle Ages, nay, even down to much later days, . . . so I shall find in that day my fellow-countrymen and fellow-Churchmen ashamed of that religious fear and frenzy which has raged so furiously in these our times—ashamed of the violence with which they have maintained, in opposition to the plainest evidence of reason, the time-honoured traditions of former ages—ashamed of the attempt to break down and crush, under the weight of opprobrious names, and silence by arbitrary measures, fitted only for the dark ages of ecclesiastical despotism, honest and earnest endeavours, on the part of myself and others among the clergy, to relieve the religious teaching of the National Church from the reproach of being contradictory to the plain conclusions of science, and far behind the progress of the age. Nay, I am not without hope that some, even of those who have been most severe upon me, may learn meanwhile to entertain a kinder feeling, and come to see that, however unworthily, I have yet according to my light been labouring, as earnestly as they, to sow the seed of Life Eternal, and do the work to which my God has called me; and so may give to me

again the right hand of fellowship, which they have now withheld, as a fellow-labourer with them for the kingdom of God."

More than twenty years have passed since these words were written; and it may perhaps be safely said, that the conditions of the struggle have been materially modified. Whether the antagonism between the traditionalist party and the real thinkers in the country is really lessened, we have but inadequate means for determining. Startling books are written and startling things are said by the clergy as well as by the laity in the English Church; but on the self-styled orthodox side something like an agreement seems to have been made, by tacit consent, to offer no reply, and to treat so-called heretical arguments and conclusions with silence. Such a condition of things is not perhaps the most favourable for the progress of thought; but the longer the silence, the less will be the chance of anything like a return to the old dictatorial dogmatism.

In returning to Natal, the Bishop was returning only to active warfare under different forms. He might hope, indeed, to have the sincere adhesion of a laity resolved to obey the law of the Church of England, even if they could make no profession of adopting all or any of the conclusions to which the work of recent years had brought him. This he had no wish that they should do except from honest conviction. Had he wished anything else, he would have been committed to the same fallacy which led Archbishop Longley to declare that the members of the Church of England in Natal could not accept him as their Bishop without "identifying" themselves "with his errors." How long or severe might be the conflict betokened by these words, he could not tell. In England, although he met with neither sympathy nor help in some quarters from which he expected both, he had received tenfold elsewhere. From the friends who had thus rallied

round him he was now separated by eight thousand miles of sea, or between two and three months of time, while he had to face alone all the opposition which the whole sacerdotal party in the Church of England could bring to bear upon him. Even after he became assured of the support of the laity in Natal, he had none to whom he could look for advice, or with whom he could take counsel in his work of Biblical criticism. He knew, in short, that there was a hard fight before him; but he faced it without misgiving, and the incidents of his landing at Durban were in a high degree cheering. Of the welcome prepared for him his daughter says:—

"The first sign of friendliness [was] the dressing of the harbour with flags, as our ship came in sight round the bluff, our Captain being at first much puzzled to read the 'signals' thus being run up, until it dawned upon him, 'Why, they must know that we have the Bishop on board.' Next the pilot-boat came tumbling out, bringing two or three friends shouting, 'Well, my lord, we've come through the water to you, as you've come through fire and water to us;' and then we landed, he, as usual, standing back to allow the women and children among his fellow-passengers to go first; and so it happened that we stepped a little puzzled into a close-packed silent crowd, which broke into a hearty cheer a few minutes after, as he set foot on shore."

To W. H. Domville, Esq.

"Bishopstowe, *November* 17, 1865.

[After mentioning the hearty greeting which he received from the laity at Maritzburg, together with an address signed by 171 persons.]

"Then we proceeded to Bishopstowe, where we found all things right—the natives dancing and weeping in ecstasies

of delight, and the place looking very beautiful *and calm*, after the toil and battle of London life. . . . . From other parts of the colony I have received most satisfactory letters. In fact, everything would go as well as possible, but for the action of the S.P.G., whose funds support the clergy in their rebellion, and may be withdrawn from them if they should recognize their lawful Bishop. It is scandalous conduct on the part of the Society and its instigators. . . . . I am hard at work on Part VI., having done a good deal of preparatory labour on the voyage. How can I thank you sufficiently for all your kind help in so many ways? . . . . On Friday last the two churchwardens of the Cathedral came out by appointment to Bishopstowe . . . . On my entering my study, one of them arose and read a protest against my ministering in the Cathedral, evidently written for them by the Dean, and then presented me with another from the Dean, and a third from certain members of the laity. But I may as well say at once that the address of welcome at Durban was signed by 148, that at Addington by the two churchwardens and 30 others, and the address at Pietermaritzburg by 171; so that more than 300 have signed for me, and only 150 against me. . . . . Then, looking at his (Dean Green's) list, we find a great number of names of people who are far away from Maritzburg, others who belong to St. Andrew's Church, others who are Dissenters, others who go nowhere to church, and others who are mere lads—minors. . . . . Only a few of them are regular attendants at the Cathedral of a respectable standing; and though, of course, my Maritzburg list contains a mixture of all classes, yet my 171 names were all obtained hastily in Maritzburg itself in two days, whereas the Dean's list had been a month in preparation, he and Mr. Robinson having gone personally to everyone whom they hoped to influence, and charged them solemnly not to profess themselves 'heretics' and 'disbelievers in the Bible.' I have dwelt too long on this; but it is the Dean's only card to play in England, and I am certain that you will find in the *Guardian* some attempt to represent his address as a

bona fide protest from the Church people of Pietermaritzburg—which is simply ridiculous, or, rather, untrue.

"Well, having received the three documents, I put them quietly aside, and asked the churchwardens what now they expected. 'They hoped that I should not now preach on Sunday.' 'Do you really *hope* that, Mr. Dickinson? Can you say honestly, as a Christian man, that you have any hope or expectation of the kind? Do you think that I should have come from England with a fixed purpose, announced beforehand—to discharge my duties as Bishop of this diocese—and be turned aside by such papers as these?' Well, they *wished* that I would not. 'Ah! that is very different.' However, I assured them that, for their sakes and their children's, I felt bound not to comply with their wish."

On the next day, the churchwardens took upon themselves to close the Cathedral to both parties on the Sunday, and forwarded a message to that effect to the Bishop, who sent a note conveying this information to his registrar, the younger Mr. Shepstone. The Bishop himself

"determined to preach to the white people in St. Mary's Kafir chapel. Accordingly, I rode in the next morning. . . . But just as I reached town, a friend met me, and informed me of what had passed, as follows:—Mr. Shepstone, on getting my note, rode out immediately to the Chief Justice, and applied for, and obtained, an interdict against the church being closed. At 10 P.M. the Churchwarden W—— was supping at the club, and announcing that the church would be certainly shut; only the law could interfere, and it was *too late* for that to do anything (hence, no doubt, their reason for sending out the message to me, instead of informing my registrar); but while he was speaking, to the great amusement of the company, in walked the sheriff and served him with the interdict. But where was the Dean? No one could tell. At last it was made out that he and the other churchwarden, and a policeman, were shut up in the church, where the Dean spent the whole night,

expecting some violent opening of the doors. On Sunday morning, it appears, there were great searchings of heart between the Dean and his officers as to what was to be done. I heard . . . that for some time they had resolved to set at naught the judge's order, and go to prison. But then it turned out that the Dean expected the churchwardens to go to prison, and the churchwardens expected the Dean ; and when this difference of opinion was betrayed, the churchwardens determined to obey the law, and open the doors. They kept them shut, however, to the last moment, up to 11 A.M., by which time an immense number of white people had gathered round them, and behind them numbers also of black people, who were intensely interested in watching the proceedings—the controversy being known throughout the whole land. . . . The effect upon the natives through the ingenious arrangement of the Dean and churchwardens was this, as William [1] tells me. They looked on, and saw the whole body of white people barred out of the Cathedral, till Sobantu arrived, when instantly a change took place : first the inner door is opened, and the churchwarden comes out and reads a paper (their protest) ; then the outer gate is opened, and the whole church is filled in a moment ; and then Sobantu, having had the doors opened, walks quietly in himself. As usual, their blunders have helped my cause immensely. The natives were at once perfectly satisfied that I had the power, and that the Dean had been misleading them all along in saying that I should never be allowed to enter the church. As I walked up the aisle, the churchwardens met me, and for the third time read their protest ; then the Dean ordered the Bishop's sentence of deprivation to be read ; then he himself, in a theatrical manner, warned me that what [the Church] 'shall bind on earth is bound in heaven. That sentence stands ratified in the presence of Almighty God. Depart! Go away from the House of God!' All which I listened to quietly, only saying, 'I have come to discharge in this

[1] The "intelligent Zulu." See Vol. I. pp. 50, 87, 105, 156.

church and diocese the duties committed to me by the Queen.' Then the churchwardens read the judge's order, during which I robed in the chancel (the Dean refused to open the door of the vestry), and then I told the people I was going to read prayers. The crowded congregation, which thronged the aisle as well as all the seats, was stilled in a moment. They had tied up the bell-ropes, locked the harmonium, and taken away the Prayer Book and Bible; but the latter were brought back in time, and I read all the prayers, pitched the chant and hymn tunes, and had the whole congregation with me; the Dean and Mr. Robinson kneeling before the altar with their backs to the congregation. . . . In the evening, Mr. W—— promised all should be properly ordered: he would attend at a quarter past six, and see the church lighted, &c. At the time of service, however, I went up and found crowds of people outside, the rain falling, and the doors closed. The Dean, they say, stood by enjoying the dilemma. At six he had sent some away, saying that there would be no service to-night, because of the 'rabble' in the morning, and the desecration to the chancel by the people sitting in it. I had called up some of those who stood crowded in the aisle—as the chancel was almost empty—and some forty sat there; my principle being that the chancel was made for the people, not the people for the chancel. I waited some five or ten minutes, and at last, seeing that all were getting wet, and there were many ladies among them, I dismissed the congregation, and promised to preach next Sunday morning. Half an hour later, Mr. W—— came up, opened the church, and lighted it; but there was no service. He has written to me, and published a full and humble apology, saying that, fatigued with the exertions and anxiety of the previous night and morning, he had fallen asleep after dinner, and had not waked in time. Of course I accept his explanation, though the Dean's conduct is the more inexplicable. However, the result is that many of his own friends are disgusted, and nothing could have happened better for my cause."

"TO THE REV. G. W. COX.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *November* 30, 1865.

I send you Natal papers by which you will see how matters are going over here; and in one word I may sum it up by saying the laity here are all right, and the Dean can do nothing with them. But the Archbishop of Canterbury has just written to him (in reply to the request for advice which he forwarded some months ago from the clergy and laity!!) to say that they have a perfect right to elect a Bishop for themselves, and he says, 'I cannot see how you can accept Dr. Colenso as your Bishop without identifying yourselves with his errors.' This is certainly scandalous, though no doubt the Archbishop has been imposed upon by the reports which have been sent him by the Dean. . . . The Archbishop says the Convocation is to advise my clergy what they are to do, and they are expected, of course, to confirm the action of the Archbishop. If the liberal members of the Lower House would come up to the scratch, the whole plan might be defeated; and I rather think that Stanley will be able to make some capital of my letter. I wish I could get my native, William, to put upon paper all he said to me a few days ago, when we talked about the present movement. I found him, and I believe all the [Mission] natives, perfectly prepared for all that I have to tell them. Indeed, Bishop Gray has made the way easy for me by saying what he did to them." [1]

TO SIR CHARLES LYELL.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *November* 30, 1865.

"Your very kind letter of October 8th duly reached me, and now I must send a very few words of reply. I say very few, because my time has been greatly taken up (when I should have been writing for the English mail), by the necessity of replying at length to a letter of the Archbishop

[1] See Vol. I. pp. 86-88.

of Canterbury addressed to my Dean.[1] . . . It is a monstrous act, as it seems to me, for one in the Archbishop's position. . . . Of course the Archbishop has been thoroughly deceived by the Bishop of Oxford, &c., as to the state of things in Natal, and probably the Bishop of Oxford himself has been deceived by the sanguine reports of Bishop Gray and Dean Green. I send to you, and to the two Deans (Milman and Stanley), and many of our friends, the Natal papers containing accounts of our proceedings, so that I need not enter into details about them. I will only say that all is going as well as I could desire. The great bulk of the laity are entirely with me. . . . . I have not yet seen my special friend Mr. Shepstone, who has been upon the frontier for some months past, watching the slow work of the Basuto war. But I had a letter from him yesterday in which he says, 'I happened to see a private letter from Mr. Henderson (one of the most influential citizens, and formerly a close friend of the Dean's), in which he says, "If the Bishop will only conduct the services of the Cathedral himself for a time, he will carry everything before him."' This I do in the morning, leaving the coast clear for the Dean to annihilate my teaching, if he can, in the evening; but he has tied up the church bell, locked the harmonium, &c., so that I have to pitch the chants and tunes myself; but the congregation take them up very heartily, and yesterday I had an offer from some of them to put in another harmonium, and form a choir. I mean to *require* the use of the bell, &c., next Sunday. You will be amused to find that I have had to spend an hour or two to-day in refuting a certain great geologist who has been solemnly quoted against me at the head of a long letter in the *Times of Natal*, as follows:—'Sir Charles Lyell says: "On grounds which may be termed strictly geological may be inferred the recent date of the creation of man. All geological induction, indeed, demonstrates that man is not more than 6,000 years old."' I have asked for the reference,

[1] See the preceding letter.

and at any rate I have confuted the said authority out of his own mouth in his last published works, which, thanks to his kindness, I have by my side."

TO THE REV. C. VOYSEY.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *December* 1, 1865.

I must write you a few lines to tell you and your good people that we have arrived safely, thank God; and one of the first things I did, on entering my study, was to open your letter, which lay there awaiting me. We had on the whole a very pleasant and favourable voyage, though very stormy from the Cape. It seemed as if a violent gust from those regions drove me away, with a sort of fury of despair, towards my own 'wretched colony' (as the Bishop of Oxford says), when, as soon as we got sight of the lovely coast, the storm lulled, the sky cleared, and everything became bright around us, with just a fresh wind at times to remind us that we had not yet reached a land-locked, peaceful haven of rest. We entered the outer bay on Monday morning, November 6, and the day before the mail had left for the Cape and England—greatly to our disappointment, as we hoped to have sent home by it news of our safe arrival. But it had this good result, that no tidings went to Capetown; so that up to this moment, though I have been nearly a month in the colony,[1] we have yet no anathemas from the Metropolitan of all South Africa. You will see, by the papers which I have ordered to be sent to you, how I have been received, and how entirely mistaken were those good people in England who prophesied for me all kinds of insult and of opposition. The Bishop of Oxford's words, I suspect, had a deeper meaning than people in England would imagine, when he spoke so bitterly of that 'wretched colony.' He probably knew from the reports which had reached him that all was not so smooth and serene as they had hoped to find it by

[1] There was at this time only one mail each month.

this time, after three years' assiduous efforts to blacken and defame my character. The fact is that they have roused here, as in England, the good old English feeling for fair play, and my position is really much stronger here at present than even I had been led to expect."

TO THE REV. G. W. COX.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *January* 3, 1866.

"The plot begins to thicken. On Christmas Day arrived a private letter[1] from Bishop Gray, telling me that he had sent an 'official' letter through the Dean on the subject of my excommunication. I have replied[2] to the first, and ignored the second. . . . I expect that I shall be excommunicated next Sunday; but I do not imagine that it will have the slightest effect in disturbing my position here. My congregation is large and attentive, and very respectable; the Dean's, I hear, is very small. You will see by the sermons which I send you what sort of teaching my people get from me.

"I see more and more clearly the importance of the step which I have taken in coming out here. It is quite clear that the whole of the proceeding against me is an attempt on the part of the Bishop of Oxford and Archbishop of Canterbury to *undo* the evil of the judgement in Wilson and Williams's case. If they could establish in my case that, but for the statute law of England, the 'Church of England' would 'cast out' such opinions as mine (which they would do if Bishop Gray succeeded in making my position untenable, while still holding the Queen's letters patent), then they will turn round upon the English clergy and say, 'You are in honour bound to renounce such opinions as inconsistent with the teaching of the Church.' I am happy to say my position is strong enough as regards myself personally. My only difficulty is with the S.P.G., which exercises a terrible thraldom over the clergy. At any rate, here I must stay at my post until the battle is

[1] See Vol. I. p. 375. [2] *Ib.* p. 378.

fought out effectually; and that, I expect, will take some time longer. I have hardly been able to do anything to Part VI. since I landed, and I now see that I shall have very little time for such work with the present claims upon me. If my enemies had but known what service they were doing to me and to the cause by keeping me so long in England with nothing to do but to wait for the decision of the law! But every step of theirs hitherto has been a blunder; and so, I expect, will the 'excommunication' prove."

TO W. H. DOMVILLE, ESQ.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *January* 2, 1866.

"We are still surviving, thank God, and in very good spirits; though *now*, I expect, comes the tug of war. On Christmas Day the mail brought me a *private* letter from Bishop Gray, very characteristic, and telling me that I should receive through the Dean an 'official letter,' containing, it would seem, a warning of 'excommunication,' conditional upon my consenting or not to one of four propositions which he makes to me of submitting my books to certain bodies or persons, whom he named—all, of course, ecclesiastics pledged to the uttermost to condemn me. This letter reached me three or four days after I got the private letter, to which last I replied at once, saying that I could take no cognisance of any 'official' letter from him on such a subject. So when the 'official' letter came, I replied to the Dean that I could not take any notice of it, but had replied to the 'private.' I then sent the former to my registrar, and allowed him to look at it, and I know the contents so far as to be aware that, whereas the private letter gives me 'only two courses,' by which I may avoid the terrible catastrophe threatened, the 'official' mentions *four*, I think, and orders the Dean to read the sentence of excommunication if I do not accept one of the propositions within seven days. Accordingly, next Sunday I expect the grand blow will be struck, which, I need hardly say, will not in any way advance *their* cause in Natal. . . .

Bishop Gray has blundered here as usual. The Dean cannot know what reply I have made to the private letter, nor whether I have not accepted one of the propositions made; and, in fact, I have offered to submit my books to the judgement of the Archbishop of Canterbury (one of the parties named)—not in his personal capacity, which, after all his extra-judicial doings, would be absurd—but in his ecclesiastical court; reserving, however, the right, which I cannot agree to alienate, of appealing to the Queen; and I have asked him what right he has to assume beforehand that the Queen would nominate a mere civil Commission to decide on questions of doctrine, as these would be."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *January* 23, 1866.

"As I expected in my last, on Sunday, the 14th, I was denounced from the altar of the Cathedral church by order of Bishop Gray through the Dean, with the 'greater excommunication,'—and the people were enjoined to treat me henceforth as 'a heathen man and a publican.' This was at the early morning service, which the Dean holds at 9 A.M., since I take the regular service at 11 A.M. I heard of this when I reached town, and, of course, took no notice of it, except that I gave notice that in future I should preach in the evening of every Sunday as well as the morning. This, I knew, the people had been desiring; but out of consideration for the Dean, I had hitherto forborne punishing him so severely. The effect of the excommunication on the people is just what you might have expected. It has only strengthened my hands considerably, driven away from Bishop Gray many who at first sided with him, and attached my own people more closely to myself. . . . By this mail I shall send certified copies of the excommunication to Mr. Shaen. My lawyers might consider at once . . . whether any steps should be taken to bring the matter under the notice of the Queen. I am told by our Attorney-General that I could bring either a civil or a criminal

action against Bishop Gray; and perhaps if he comes up here in person to fulminate, I may have to do something in this way. But I should most of all prefer, if they advise it, to represent the matter by petition to the Crown."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *February* 1, 1866.

"The judges have refused to compel the Dean to *register* the baptism of a child by me, on the application of the father, regarding the register as a sort of private note-book of the clergyman. There, of course, they are mistaken, not having had the canon brought before them. But I fancy the decision was right on another ground. The father should have complained to *me*, and I should have compelled the Dean to carry out the laws of our 'Benefit Society,' the Church of England. But in March, when the court sits again, I expect that I shall apply to have the church and its belongings made over to me as trustee. I have not been in any hurry about this, since I have had my services as I pleased, without interference."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *February* 22, 1866.

"You will be rather amused to find that you are appointed Proctor-for-Convocation-of-the-Church-Defence-Association of Natal. There is a German title of honour for you, and I assure you there is a good lot of Evangelicals among your constituents. . . . Our cause is gaining strength daily with the laity; and even some change is going on with the clergy. First, of the latter, I have heartily with me Tönnesen, of course, on all grounds; old Mr. Nisbett, the military chaplain, on constitutional grounds; and I am now certain that two or three others would declare themselves on my side but for the rein of the S.P.G. . . . . Besides these, however, a very able Independent minister,[1] . . . . who at

[1] The Rev. J. Reynolds, now Senior Presbyter of the Diocese of Natal.

first attacked me in his pulpit (I mean two or three years ago) has now come quite round to me, and has announced his intention to give up his office with his body, and will throw himself on his own resources for a time as a schoolmaster. Before long I hope to have him in my body of clergy. . . . Then the brother of *my* Mr. Robinson, who is the minister of Smithfield, that town in the Free State which threw off Bishop Twells's supremacy a year or so ago, ... has told me . . . . that he has written very strongly to one of the great supporters of the Colonial Church and School Society in England, to urge them to give me help for clergy,—Evangelicals, of course, who, however, shall mind their own business, and obey in all lawful things their diocesan. He feels that the battle now is not for or against Colenso, but for or against the very existence of the Church of England in South Africa. . . . The same feeling, however, is now shared by a great number of those who at first were opposed to me on religious grounds, poisoned as they had been by the talk of Gray and Green; and the result is that both at Durban and Maritzburg a strong body has been formed under the name of Church Defence Association, the first act of which will be to send home an address to Convocation. . . I advised that they should send it to you as one known to them from my Defence Fund as a zealous co-operator, and give you *carte blanche* to act as their Proctor in the affair—to get it modified, if necessary, so as to adapt it properly for presentation. . . . . Since the Dean has struck Tönnesen's name off the list of S.P.G. clergy for reading prayers for me, I have reported him (the Dean) to the Governor for reading the sentence of excommunication, and represented that, as he sets at defiance the Queen's authority, he is not fit to hold the office of Colonial Chaplain, for which he gets £100 a year. Of course, Bishop Gray or S.P.G. will soon make up the £100; but it is important now that he should no longer hold office under *Government*. On the 1st of March I shall apply for the Cathedral to be made over altogether to me. The time is now ripe for this."

TO THE REV. G. W. COX.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *February* 16, 1866.

"We are going on very well. In fact, our cause would be triumphant but for the S.P.G. . . . There is nothing that prevents the main body of the clergy in this diocese settling down quietly under me, but that they are afraid of losing their incomes, as they inevitably would if they said a word in my favour. You will see how the Dean has come down instantly on poor Tönnesen for only reading prayers in the Cathedral church at my request. Now Tönnesen is really a *first-rate* missionary, thoroughly practical, can turn his hand to any common work, besides being an excellent carpenter, and he has a thorough knowledge of Zulu,—better indeed than any one of us. I have no hesitation in saying that he is really the best missionary the Society has here; . . . yet at one stroke the Dean undertakes to dismiss him, without even consulting the Committee which the Society had named, and which I always told you was only a cloak, the whole power of the Society being really wielded in this diocese by the Dean, who utterly ignores the Queen's supremacy, and defies and excommunicates his lawful Bishop. This is, of course, '*pour encourager les autres*,' and it will have that effect. I know that several of the clergy would withdraw from the South African Church if they dared. . . . As old Mr. Nisbett said to me yesterday, 'The Dean has got a rein round their necks, and at the slightest indication of a movement he throttles them.' So with old Nisbett himself. For some years past he has been chaplain to the troops at Maritzburg, and is so at this time, besides being Government school-master there. Bishop Gray and the Dean both took good care to keep his name always in the back-ground, not choosing to regard him as a clergyman of the 'diocese,' because he is under Mr. Gleig, the Chaplain-General. On the Sunday on which I was 'excommunicated,' Mr. Nisbett at my request read prayers for me in the evening. . . . Yesterday to my great surprise I found that he too had received from the Dean a

letter couched in language quite as strong as that addressed to Tönnesen, and telling him that he should report his conduct to the Chaplain-General and to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who would have to countersign his testimonials, if he ever returned to England. This last of course is 'fudge,' as any Bishop in England might receive him. Old Nisbett took no notice of it till after Tönnesen published *his* correspondence; and then he went down to the Dean, and after some warmish words, which ended with the Dean in a white rage bowing him out of his house, the old man turned round and said, 'As to that "excommunication," I think it is a scandalous libel. . . .'

While the Society's funds are employed not only to support but to maintain my clergy in rebellion, to prevent them from obeying their Sovereign, and keeping their oaths of canonical obedience, it is clear that there will always be an *appearance* of unanimity among them, which is not *real*. As for the laity, the whole body of the more intelligent of them are with me. A very large majority of them are determined to receive me as Bishop, and reject the interference of the Bishop of Capetown. I preach twice on Sundays to large congregations, and last Sunday administered the Communion to more than thirty communicants, a large number under the circumstances, for of course the Dean has carried off *his* regular communicants, though in former days I have often been present with him when there were only nine or ten. But it is a monstrous thing that the Society should be allowed to *force* their South African clergy upon the diocese. They ought by their own principles to require them to acknowledge in all lawful things their lawful Bishop. But if they will not do this, they ought either to send a circular to their clergy in this diocese, and leave them at liberty to follow their own sense of duty in the matter; or else they ought to withdraw their clergy altogether from this diocese to the diocese of Capetown or Grahamstown.

It is absolutely necessary to do everything that can be done to bring the S.P.G., and its manager the Bishop of Oxford,

to account in this matter. If every true English Churchman would refuse to contribute a penny while the Society is acting thus, it would soon be brought to its senses.

"You will see that I am still going on with my course of sermons, and yet my congregation is not frightened nor diminished; nor would they be in England, I believe, if such sermons were judiciously preached. But the composition of them in *this* climate, where head work as well as bodily work is very exhausting,—in addition to other duties of many kinds, correspondence here and at home, and the necessity of spending one day a week in town,—eats up my whole week. I cannot stir from home, nor put a single line to my Exodus, nor can I go on under this tension for ever. Still, I hope that, with the sermons of next Sunday and the Sunday after, there may be enough to make a little book for England, to remind the Bishop of Oxford of my being still in the land of the living. It is possible that by this mail an address to Convocation against the Bishop of Capetown and S.P.G. may go home from the Church Defence Association.

"Perhaps the plain facts will be sufficient for Mr. Gleig, as he must know that all Bishop Gray's proceedings have been cancelled by the Queen, and that I have been excommunicated merely because I will not recognize what it is unlawful for me to recognize. For you know I am not excommunicated for my 'heresies,' but for my contumacy in not submitting to Bishop Gray's sentence of deprivation, I hope that Gleig will write Nisbett a few words of comfort, for the old man is exceedingly cautious not to interfere in diocesan matters. But really it was too much of a good thing to be ordered by the vicar-general of the Bishop of Capetown to regard the lawful Bishop of the diocese, holding Her Majesty's authority, 'as a heathen man and a publican.'"

TO W. H. DOMVILLE, ESQ.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *March* 1, 1866.

"By this mail I send my first series of Natal sermons. . . . . I have now the Cathedral full of my friends, who come

expecting me to speak the truth to them, and who sit out the sermon so attentively that you might hear a pin drop.

"You will see that these sermons are outspoken on the points touched upon. I could not hold my office on any other condition. . . . On the Sabbath question I take new ground, the only ground, as it seems to me, on which the battle can really be fought—namely, that the Fourth Commandment never was binding on anybody, for it is neither Divine nor even Mosaic.[1] It is curious that the Scottish discussion should have reached us just when I am in the middle of the subject. . . . .

"My real difficulty here is the S.P.G., which is not only supporting clergy in direct rebellion, but instantly suppressing the least loyal movement in the hearts of its missionaries. At least, Dean Green does so in the name of the Society."

TO SIR CHARLES LYELL.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *March* 1, 1866.

"I came home from the evening service last Sunday with the English mail in my pocket, and very refreshing it was to find and read your kind letter among the rest. You will be aware before this, I hope, that circumstances have compelled me, whether I wished it or not, to follow identically the course which Dean Stanley desired. On my way out I worked at the Book of Exodus, mastered it thoroughly for my purpose (and I may say that its phenomena are entirely in accordance with my previous conclusions); and during the first three days after reaching this place, where I had two sermons ready to be preached, which I had already preached at Durban, I did begin to put my notes in order, and filled a few pages of the analysis of Exodus. But from that time to this not a line have I written or been able to write. . . . . You will, I hope, have received intelligence of all that has been going on here; and, of course, we shall be anxious to know in

[1] See Vol. I. pp. 655, 656.

what light things are looked at in England. But the necessity of writing a number of important letters without any counsellor but my wife at my elbow (for even my dear friend Mr. Shepstone has been 150 miles away, watching the Basutos, till very lately), as well as sermons regularly for the Cathedral, has absorbed all my time, and left me very little for my friends in England, . . . I have borne patiently all along the innumerable insults which the Dean has offered to me, so long as they affected only myself. But when he proceeded to attack the clergy who merely obeyed the law, and recognized their lawful Bishop, ... I felt it to be my duty to report his conduct to the Governor, and to say that I did not consider him fit to retain any longer his office as Colonial Chaplain. . . . I believe that the Governor has sent the whole correspondence home to the Secretary of State. I wrote to Mr. Shaen by the same mail, sending copies of all letters, and begging that all might be done which could properly be done to secure the right decision in the case. For I cannot help feeling that if the Government will not support me under the circumstances my place is not here.

"I do not wish, however, to commit myself beforehand to any definite course, more especially as the laity here are very strong indeed on my side—many of them heartily on religious grounds, others, quite as heartily, on the supremacy question. . . . I send home by this mail my first series of Natal sermons, corrected, to Mr. Domville, for publication in England, if my friends think it desirable. In fact, they have no doubt been sent home by the enemy, and therefore cannot be kept from the public, and I am not without hope that they may be useful in England. I do not know whether Dean Stanley will approve of my speaking out so plainly. But I cannot help it. I cannot hold my present office under any other conditions; and so far from the *people* being disturbed or frightened by my preaching, the Cathedral is regularly filled with attentive worshippers. . . . You will see that I shall await with great interest—I don't say anxiety—the reply of the Colonial

Office to these communications. If they take my side, as I think they must, then I think the South African schism will receive a severe blow and discouragement, though it may still be pushed on by the frantic obstinacy of Bishop Gray and Dean Green, who are bent on having a Church independent of State control. And if he [Bishop Gray] will resign his patent, he may do what he likes.

"I saw the article in the *Athenæum* about Dozy, and wonder by whom it was written. I replied to it some weeks ago, and do not surrender an inch of my ground. While so exceedingly cautious and judicious a critic as Professor Kuenen believes that Dozy, with all his extravagances, has really made a great and valuable discovery on the main point, I am not disposed to give way before a mere blast of ridicule without a particle of real argument.[1] However, my criticism of the Pentateuch is not at all affected by his view of the Simeonite migration to Mecca, whether that be true or false. But as I (at present) believe it to be true—and as it might be used as an argument against me—I thought it my duty to face that possibility, and to show that, if it is true, it tends to support my view rather than the contrary.

"The notion that the Hebrews retrograded from a higher state from the time of the Exodus to that of David seems to me just as baseless as that which had a little while ago almost universally prevailed, viz. that the human race dropped by the Fall into a lower state, from which we have painfully struggled back. . . . The Pentateuch, no doubt, implies that the Hebrews were far advanced in civilisation when they entered Canaan. But where is there a particle of solid proof of this? The account about the ark and tabernacle, as I imagine most scholars would admit, is not earlier than Solomon; and I fancy it will be found that all the signs of (so-called) Egyptian civilisation . . . appear in passages written in or after the age of Solomon, who married an Egyptian princess."

[1] See Vol. I. p. 223.

To the Rev. G. W. Cox.

"Bishopstowe, *March* 1, 1866.

"I see the S.P.G. are advertising for clergy for this diocese. Their funds are raised on the express understanding that the missionaries they send out 'shall conduct themselves as genuine missionaries of the Church of England,' and yet they not only are being used in this diocese to support clergy who are in downright rebellion against the fundamental principles of the Church of England, but are also employed to check and suppress the least sign of a tendency towards a recognition of the Queen's supremacy, and of their duty to observe their oath of canonical obedience on the part of the more loyal clergy.

"I send you now some extracts from letters written to me by the Bishop of Grahamstown in former days.[1] I see that my feeble-minded brother has been subservient to Dr. Gray's behests, and writing about Natal affairs in England in direct contradiction to all he has written here. I do not feel at liberty to publish these extracts without his permission. I have repeatedly challenged him to allow me to print them, as for instance in my last 'Letter to the Members of the Church of England in Natal.' He deserves to be made ashamed of his present pitiful conduct after all he has written to me."

To W. H. Domville, Esq.

"Bishopstowe, *April* 2, 1866.

"My second series of sermons is being finished, and I am glad to say that I have got through the Easter work satisfactorily. My congregations are as large as ever, notwithstanding the sermons which they have heard; and yesterday, Easter Day, they were excellent, although . . . . a violent attack had just been made upon me with reference to my new Hymn Book. . . .

"I had from twenty-five to thirty communicants yesterday, a

[1] See Vol. I. p. 337, *et seq.*

very goodly number for this place. In former days, I have often, with the Dean, administered to only eight or nine; and remember that I am an excommunicated 'heathen and publican.' Among them are some interesting cases—one, a gentleman of education and intelligence, Dutch by birth, a grandfather, who had never communicated in his life, and when I landed came to me and told me that he was floating on a sea of doubt, and did not believe in the being of God. He has been a regular attendant at the Cathedral ever since I began to preach, and, I trust, has been greatly comforted and strengthened, and, I need not say, is a very hearty and, I believe, not uninfluential supporter."

TO THE REV. G. W. COX.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *April* 3, 1866.

"Their course [that of Mr. Green and Bishop Gray] is contemptible. They made a grand profession of going out to worship in caves and dens, &c.; and the Bishop of Capetown said to his own Synod at its last meeting, January 1865, 'The Church here would, as the Archdeacon [Badnall] had clearly stated, bow to the decision of that court [the Privy Council], so far as any temporal rights were concerned. It would not dream of contesting any rights which the law might resign to him, so far as things temporal were concerned. Titles and lands and houses and churches the civil power could give him [Bishop of Natal].' And yet they have been all along contesting in the most frivolous way every right which I have claimed to exercise, and compelled me to support by separate legal interferences, at considerable expense, the right to use the Church; to use the bells, the harmonium, the Prayer Book; to use the registers; and, lastly, to use the church on Good Friday. Late on Thursday they notified to me that I should not be allowed to preach on Good Friday, though I courteously desired my registrar on the Sunday previous to inform the Dean, that there might be no collision, and he might make his own arrangements for a service at another time, if he pleased.

And but for the activity of my registrar (Mr. Shepstone's son), they would have stolen a march upon me, as it was almost too late to get the judge's order that evening. As it was, Mr. Shepstone had to ride out to me in pelting rain to get my order. . . ."

TO W. H. DOMVILLE, ESQ.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *April* 23, 1866.

"On the 1st of May the Dean will be presented to the Supreme Court for refusing to obey their order to allow me the use of the Baptismal Register of St. Peter's Church. He *wishes* to be made a martyr and sent to prison. We wish to avoid this if possible. However, the absurd course which he is taking as to these registers may bring him into one. It is not my affair, but that of the judges, and it obviously concerns the welfare of the whole colony that the law should be obeyed."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *May* 3, 1866.

"On Tuesday last, May 1, the Dean was 'outlawed' by the Supreme Court, unless and until he produces the Baptismal Register for me to enter certain names in it of children baptized by me—in obedience to a previous order of the court. I do not think that he will submit himself, though the position he takes up is most ridiculous. He makes himself out to be suffering for conscience' sake. In reality, . . . he cannot bear the thought of a permanent register of the fact that I have actually officiated in the Cathedral church. If he stands out (as I fully expect he will), my path will be greatly cleared for future action, as he will have no place before the court at all."

TO SIR C. LYELL.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *May* 14, 1866.

[After mentioning the civil outlawry of the Dean, and the meeting for the election of a schismatical Bishop.]

"There is no honest above-board fighting [in the party of Bishop Gray]. Witness the following letter which the Secretary of the S.P.G. has addressed to Mr. Tönnesen about a fortnight after the meeting in February about releasing my clergy from their duty to me, which turned out abortive:—

"'*March* 8, 1866.

"'REV. AND DEAR SIR,—

"'It is due to you to inform you that reports have reached the Society which have induced them to write to our Natal Committee with reference to you. The Committee are desired to report to the Society whether there has been on your part any and what *overt act of adherence* to Bishop Colenso; and further, whether there be any and if any what proofs of your holding or teaching anything at variance with the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England.'

"This seems to me to be an attempt on the part of the Bishop of Oxford to get by stealth and an underhand action what was not obtained at the public meeting in February. I have written at full length on this and other points to Dean Stanley. . . . . One of the two laymen, originally nominated by the Dean as a friend of his own, has openly joined my supporters, and communicated with me on Easter Day. He is thus a heretic in the eyes of these 'saints'; and the Natal Committee will never meet again, until at least the obnoxious element has been expelled, and the small party brought into a state of complete unanimity and *subservience* to the Dean. This, in fact, has been their plan all along. They declare those who don't act with them not to be Churchmen, which indeed in their sense they probably are not, though *bona fide* members of the Church of England."

TO MISS COBBE.

"BISHOPSTOWE, NATAL, *May* 4, 1866.

I need not say how refreshing it was to see your handwriting and to read your hearty lines of good-will and sympathy. . . . . As to our affairs here, let me first say we are going

on very pleasantly, and as prosperously as is good for us, though some odd things will go home by this mail. Imprimis, what do you think of the Dean being 'outlawed'? Last Tuesday he was subjected to 'civil excommunication,' which (as one of the judges told him) 'if it did him no more harm than the ecclesiastical excommunication seems to have hurt the other party, would not trouble him very much.' That was the unkindest cut of all. To treat the *Excommunicatio Major* as a nullity! as a crowded congregation does every Sunday evening at the Cathedral by coming to hear my sermons.

"If any cry is raised in England about 'conscience' and 'persecution,' you may have an opportunity of saying or writing a few words about it. It is ridiculous to speak of conscientious scruples in the matter. The register does not make any baptisms valid, if they are not so in themselves. . . . . The fact is, of course, that the Dean does not like to see my abhorred signature in juxtaposition with his own, and his remedy is easy—to get a new book. If the old book is of any consequence to him and his followers, it is quite as important that I should maintain their right for the far greater number of professed members of the Church of England who attend my services.

"On the day after this affair in court, but not at all in connexion with it, for the 'outlawry' took us all by surprise, the streets of Maritzburg were floating with clergy and black gowns (my wife says my metaphors will deceive you as to their numbers; there are only eight *bona fide* clergy of the diocese and four intruded by Bishop Gray), and the good citizens were equally taken by surprise by this phenomenon, as they had kept their counsel so very secret that no one in town but themselves seems to have had the least expectation of such a gathering, though a bird in the air prepared me the day before for it. They have not published any account of their doings. But it is pretty well known that they met (no doubt by directions from Capetown) to elect a Bishop, and that *they could not agree about it*, and separated only with a matter-of-course repetition of the old

dirge, *Delendus est Colenso.* I have written a long letter for the *Times* or some other paper, . . . which will throw light on some of the tactics employed against me. Still, thank God, we are making head satisfactorily against them all, including the poor dear old Archbishop of Canterbury, who does not really know what wrong he is doing ; and the laity are, as a body, strongly with me. About 200 *bona fide* Churchmen, many of them acting, elect, or ex-churchwardens, have sent by the mail an address to Bishop Gray, calling upon *him* to resign his office as Metropolitan by Royal authority.

"Mrs. Crawshay wrote that she had sent a copy of *Ecce Homo* to me by a previous mail, but it has not reached me. So I have only as yet seen reviews of it. My opinion of the book, formed from these reviews, is precisely the same as your own—that it is very able, contains many beautiful passages, but is not the work of a truth-seeking and truth-loving man, of one who desires to face the actual facts."

TO THE DEAN OF WESTMINSTER (DR. STANLEY).

"1866.

"I thank you most sincerely for your kind exertions on my behalf, or rather in support of the principle of fairness and justice in the proceedings of the Church of England, in the rooms of S.P.G. and elsewhere, since I left England. There is much which you and others ought to know, and which, I am afraid, the newspapers will only imperfectly communicate. Indeed, the reports in the *Guardian* and *Church Times*, which are now beginning to find their way back to the colony, are so grossly perverted, so false, and so dishonest, that I am really amazed at the impudence of those who write them—probably two clergymen intruded by the Bishop of Capetown into the diocese. Of course, *here* such statements receive the indignant ridicule which they deserve, but we are not a match for the adversary in this kind of warfare. So reports, I suppose, will still go home of the 'Missionary Bishop' shutting up the native chapel in

Maritzburg *up to this time* (the key was given up to me on Saturday, November 18: I found the church in a filthy state, and had all my arrangements to make; and the writer dates his letter *November* 23); of my congregations consisting of 'riff-raff,' falling off, &c.; of Mr. Tönnesen being only fit for a carpenter, &c.; and we must be content to let the *facts* speak by degrees for themselves. But I must give you some information which may be a guide to your own judgement, in case an opportunity should arise for your taking any further active steps in Natal matters. Let me copy a letter which Mr. Tönnesen has just received from Mr. Bullock. S.P.G. missionaries in this diocese are receiving their stipends *on false pretences*, if they do not recognize their lawful Bishop, as they are sent out bound voluntarily to do so under the Society's by-law, until that is relaxed or rescinded by the Society itself. . . . What then are we to think of the following letter?[1]

"As to the laity I may say now, after six months since my return to Natal, the great majority of them are with me. . . . . At Easter, in every instance except one, the people elected churchwardens not only directly opposed to Bishop Gray but heartily supporting me. I need not trouble you with details, but such is the fact in every instance but one that has come to my knowledge; though there are one or two places from which I have had no reports as yet. However, the main result is certain; and it should be remembered that this has been brought about by the people themselves, without my presence or interference, and in most cases in direct opposition to their clergy, whom they allowed to nominate their own churchwardens. . . . The most important election was at the Cathedral: I have heard it described by persons present on whom I can thoroughly rely, as for instance Mr. Shepstone, and this is what took place:—

"The body of the church was thronged at the hour appointed, and the Dean nominated his man, one of the two old ones; and then some two of that party proposed and seconded another, Mr. Scott, upon which one of my friends named,

[1] Here follows the letter already given, p. 26.

and another seconded, Mr. Brooks.[1] Immediately, the Dean said, 'Mr. Brooks being disqualified, and no one being proposed but Mr. Scott, I declare Mr. Scott elected.' The people were indignant, and demanded to know why Mr. Brooks was disqualified; but the Dean would not utter a word. Now the fact is that there could not have been a more suitable person in every way, ... filling the office at this moment of Government Superintendent of Schools; . . . but . . he had communicated with me the previous Sunday. This was the real and only reason for the Dean's considering him disqualified; but the Dean was too cowardly to say so, when applied to by the Acting Attorney-General to say why he rejected him. You will be told, no doubt, in England, by my unscrupulous adversaries, that the opponents of the Dean at this meeting were 'rabble,' not Churchmen, &c. The facts are these. There were 167 present, of whom 29 supported the Dean. Among the rest were, no doubt, some Dissenters, and others who came merely from curiosity; but there were 70 who answered to their names when called from a church roll in which they had declared themselves 'members of the Church of England and Ireland.' They included some of the first men of the city. . . . . While the people were indignantly demanding why Mr. Brooks was disqualified, and the Dean refused to give an answer, amidst the confusion it appears somebody proposed an auditor of the parish accounts, and the Dean, without putting it to the vote, declared him elected, and broke up the meeting, retiring with his friends to the other end of the church. Upon this the great body elected Mr. Henderson as chairman, elected Mr. Brooks as churchwarden unanimously, and elected also, as usual, two auditors,

[1] Mr. Brooks became and remained one of the stanchest friends of the Bishop, whom, as Sir Th. Shepstone said to Mr. Domville, he "worshipped." A Cambridge man, he had come to Natal while the Bishop was in England, and on the Bishop's return he was absent on the frontier. When he came back he threw himself heart and soul into the Bishop's cause, without wavering in his devotion even in the second great battle, the fight for Langalibalele, although he was then holding office under the Government of Natal.

including the one named by the Dean's party, and then asked for the books, which the old churchwardens, now reappointed by the Dean, refused to give up. Whereupon . . . they adjourned to the next day (Wednesday) at 3 P.M. At that hour a large number met, and found the church doors closed against them by the Dean's orders, and they adjourned to Friday at 3 P.M., in order to get an interdict from the Chief Justice in the interim, which they did. I appointed Friday for admitting the new churchwardens; but only Mr. Brooks came and was admitted, and was served as such with the order of the Chief Justice to have the doors opened for the adjourned meeting. This order he was bound by *law* as a loyal citizen to obey; and he determined to do so. Finding that the key had been pocketed and carried off (it is generally understood) by Mr. Robinson, Bishop Gray's nominee, Mr. Brooks had the lock taken off the door (acting under legal advice), and a new one put on; and the meeting was held, very full and very orderly. But, the accounts not being produced, they adjourned again till May, when the Supreme Court sits again. The next day the door was unfortunately not opened in time for the Dean's morning prayer, and he had it broken open and carried away half of it, and so it has ever since remained. I detail this matter at length, that you may know exactly how things have really happened, and be able to judge of such reports as may reach you in England. . . . .

"I sometimes almost wish that you or some London friend could see my congregation on Sundays. It contrasts singularly in one respect with those usually met with in England; and that is, by the large proportion of men which it contains. Of late, indeed, this proportion has been considerably diminished, and probably in this way may be explained the crowding of the church, which has sensibly increased within the last few Sundays. The women come more freely now than they did at first, the fact being that the Dean and Mr. Robinson had been most diligently going about from house to house, warning the people against my

teaching, and using such language as thoroughly scared a great many of the females, and no doubt still keeps many away. For some time perhaps four-fifths of the congregation were males, who came, however, regularly, with all the appearance of thoughtful and earnest believers. Now, I suppose, two-thirds are males, instead of the reverse, which I suppose is generally the case in England."

From whatever point of view it be regarded, the ecclesiastical system upheld by Bishop Gray comes out as an irresponsible despotism. It is true, indeed, that the same, and even a worse, tyranny had, during the last three centuries, kept clergy and laity alike in bondage in England; but the restrictions, pains, and penalties which had produced the miserable harvest of Nonconformity, had been one after another got rid of until the laity were left virtually independent, and the clergy comparatively free. But whatever checks might still remain, every member of the Church of England had his appeal from the ecclesiastical tribunals to the Crown; and many, both of clergy and laity, who had left this country for the colonies, had gone in the perfect faith that the law which had protected them in England, would continue to protect them there. But the revolt of Bishop Gray against the Royal supremacy exposed all those with whom he might be brought into collision to risks of gross injustice and wrong, for which they would have no remedy, if he should be suffered to have his own way. In things ecclesiastical, as in things civil, it is intolerable for Englishmen generally to find that change of abode subjects them to a different law; and the final decisions of ecclesiastical tribunals have been found in England to involve legal principles which have been deliberately set aside by the Sovereign in Council. Among those who in England lent themselves to the theories and schemes of Bishop Gray, not the least considerable was the Chaplain-General of the Forces. The presentment of Mr. Nisbett by

Dean Green, for reading prayers at the bidding of the Bishop of the diocese, offered an opportunity for saying that allegations of errors in doctrine not condemned by a proper legal tribunal furnished no excuse for disobeying a lawful authority, and that therefore Mr. Nisbett had only done his duty in obeying the Bishop's order. Instead of taking this straightforward course, and declaring, if he thought good so to do, his own total disapproval of all views held by Dr. Colenso, he addressed to Mr. Nisbett the following tortuous communication, dated at the War Office, 19th May, 1866.

"I do not read your letter of the 26th of March as appealing to me for any judgement in the course which you have considered it your duty to follow. Neither indeed, looking to the relations in which you stand towards me, as officiating chaplain to the troops, should I consider that I had a right, under existing circumstances, either to approve or censure your proceeding; but, as a brother clergyman, I have no hesitation in saying that, had I been in your place, and not constrained by any official connexion with the Cathedral church in Maritzburg, I should have declined to read prayers for Dr. Colenso, after he had been subjected to Church censures of the severest kind.

"The decisions to which you refer appear to me to have placed the Church of Southern Africa in the position of a voluntary association. And it is probable that the Bill now before Parliament will sever all legal connexion between it and the Crown, as the head of the Church of England. The Church of Southern Africa will in this case fall into the same status with the Church in Scotland and the United States, being one with the Church of England in doctrine and form of worship, but apart from her as regards the Crown's supremacy. And when this comes to pass, then it will become your duty to separate yourself from a Bishop whom the Church has cast out from her, just as in primitive times the faithful held aloof from those convicted of heresy, whether they were prelates or laymen.

"Observe that these are my private opinions. Till the point of law now under discussion is settled, I neither censure nor approve what you have done. But if it be settled, as seems probable, by declaring colonial churches independent of the law courts at home, you will be obliged to obtain a licence from the Bishop whom the Church may appoint. Otherwise I would not myself sanction, nor advise the Government to sanction, your continuing to officiate to the troops."

Here then was Mr. Gleig, holding office from the Crown, and possessed of the right of appeal to the Crown, speaking as though some pretended censure of the Bishop of Natal were valid in spite of the dissent of the Crown, and insisting with sardonic cynicism that men who had left England as members of the Church of England, and in perfect faith that they retained all their rights and privileges as such, must be compelled against their will to join a voluntary society styled the Church of South Africa, and that they must be constrained to do this by an Act of the British Legislature, which would become *ipso facto* guilty of a gross breach of faith to British subjects. He could write thus, although he knew that the Bishop of Natal, had he held an English see, would without question have exercised this right of appeal, and also that the Bishop had expressed,[1] not merely his readiness, but his desire, to plead before any lawfully constituted ecclesiastical tribunal from whose decision he could appeal to the Sovereign in Council.

TO W. H. DOMVILLE, ESQ.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *May* 24, 1866.

. . . "I now despair of making anything of the present clergy. Through the help of the S.P.G. the Dean has got his nooses wound around their neck so many times that they cannot, if they would, get loose, unless S.P.G. will do what they

[1] See Vol. I. p. 349.

will not—require them to acknowledge my authority. The laity here, as I have said, are heartily with me; and the subscription list for a clergyman to help me is now made up to £206, at a time when the colony is suffering from serious depression,—though I am glad to say things are beginning to look much brighter, now that the Basuto war is over, and wool is coming down again. Also many additional names have come in for the address to Bishop Gray (calling on him to resign), and almost all the churchwardens in the colony are down in it. The Cathedral is still well filled; crowded in the evening when I preach. . . . Yet how can I leave Maritzburg? There is my great difficulty—the being tied to my work for want of a single English clergyman whom I can put in the Cathedral pulpit. It will be impossible for me to go on in this way long, for of course I must break down if I can never visit the outlying towns or villages, to show my face, converse, confirm, &c. It would not matter what Bishop Gray or S.P.G. did, if I had only such help for even a couple of years. . . . To-day (Queen's birthday) I dine at Government House, where we shall be a strange party. The President (Pretorius) of the Free State, and Adam Kok, the Griqua chief, are both here and will be present; and the Governor (temporary, Colonel B——) has shown his sense of duty to the Royal authority by asking the Dean to meet me. . . . The Dean never was asked before at any Queen's birthday: the rule has been only to ask *heads of departments*. . . . How the Dean will eat his dinner after my 'giving thanks' remains to be seen, and perhaps he won't attend at all; but he has been asked—that I know—and that is the insult offered, not only to me, but to the majesty of English and colonial law, since he is *here* declared an outlaw, and still remains so."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *June* 2, 1866.

"I have this moment heard that the Dean has ordered a pair of horses to go down to Durban, and take the mail to

Capetown. For what purpose this is, no one knows at present; but it is evidently connected with some news which has reached them by the Mauritius mail this day from England. By the same I have received your very welcome letter, and one from Mr. Shaen and other friends, which have quite cheered us. Perhaps the Dean may have gone only to consult Bishop Gray, perhaps to be present at the consecration of the new Bishop, perhaps to be consecrated himself. Time will show. He expects to be absent for three weeks. It may be in connexion with the action which I have now brought, to get regular possession of the Cathedral, and which will probably come off on July 3rd. Meanwhile I have now ordered the churchwardens of St. Peter's Cathedral not to allow any clergyman not licensed by me to minister in the Dean's absence; and as this order is distinctly covered by the order lately obtained from the Supreme Court (since I formerly exercised this very right on a particular occasion) I expect that it will be obeyed.

By this mail also, it seems, the S.P.G. has declined the services of a catechist, really a deserving and useful man, whom I had trained for years, and who had been got hold of by the Dean, and almost captured; and he has now formally offered himself to me. The grant by S.P.G. of one year's income as a free gift to Tönnesen is also capital. I think this is all of importance that I have to add, except to thank you heartily for your most kind exertions. Nothing can be better than what you have done about the address to Convocation."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *June* 30, 1866.

"Your last letter, with the inclosure of Miss Burdett-Coutts's letter, was most welcome, and they came in the very nick of time, to strengthen the hands and confirm the resolution of our laity, who have given a very decided reply to Bishop Gray's reply to their memorial calling upon him to resign. . . . . Copies, I believe, will be sent from here to

Mr. Cox in Tasmania, who is spoken of, or has been, very positively, as the new Bishop of Maritzburg.

'By this mail I have written to Mr. Shaen to say that Mr. Shepstone considers the time is now arrived for my bringing the Bishop of Oxford, Bishop Ellicott, and the Bishop of Sodor and Man, to task for setting on foot the resolutions printed in the *Guardian*, in which they say repeatedly that I have been excommunicated. The only question with me is whether it is worth while to do so, seeing that the laity out here stand so well by me. But I submit the whole to the judgement of my advisers in England. On some grounds certainly it does seem desirable to put a check on these lawless words and doings. . . . . .

"Since the Dean returned from his visit to the Cape, nothing has yet oozed out as to the express object of it. But two of the clergy have since said that they must give up the buildings, and one has said that they are quite prepared for separation from the Church of England, and that there is a large body of the clergy in England who intend to do so, and establish a Free Church independent of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. . . . .

"A Bill is about to be brought into our Legislature for defining members of the Church of England, churchwardens, &c., by *law*. It is not desired or urged forward by me, but by the strong anti-Gray party at Durban. . . . . And I only mention it to prevent your supposing that it is in any way *my* Bill. Very probably the enemy may try to represent it as such, for the reports they send to England of our doings are thoroughly dishonest. In that case you will be able, if necessary, *flatly* to contradict it. I do not need, nor even *desire*, the Bill ; but, if the laity like to have it, I see no reason for objecting to it as a whole, though some of its provisions would require amendment, and no doubt would receive it."

TO THE REV. G. W. COX.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *June* 30, 1866.

"Your letters are always most refreshing, except that the last was less hopeful than they usually are. . . . I am not

without hope that we from this side of the world may help to cheer you in England a little. At any rate, we shall not die very easily, and are not at all frightened by the episcopal roars which come across the Atlantic to us. I send you by this mail some documents which will show you what our last deed has been—or rather it is the deed of the laity of the diocese, and not of the Bishop, except that he had to write the greater part of it for them, especially the parts *against* himself. Miss Coutts's letters were admirable, and arrived here just in the very nick of time to strengthen their hands for the work. The laity here are most grateful to her for the stand which she has made on their behalf."

TO MISS COBBE.

"BISHOPSTOWE, NATAL, *July* 27, 1866.

"Your kind present has only just reached me. . . . I thank you heartily for your kind remembrance of me, and I can assure you that your gift will be of great service to me. I have not had a penknife that could mend a pen for months, and the first use I made of it was to nib a pen for *Joshua*, upon which I am hard at work as well as my other labours will allow. The criticism of this book comes out exceedingly clear, and I am strongly inclined to complete it, and send it home for publication by itself, as an *instalment* of Part VI., in order to give a little help to our friends with the *Speaker's Commentary*. But who knows? Perhaps I shall be coming home myself to publish it. At this moment I am utterly in the dark as to the future, waiting patiently for the decision of Lord Romilly in the first instance, and then of the Government, to see if they intend to support the Queen's authority in respect of her letters patent, and then to hear how the matter of my 'new heresy' settles down in England. I do hope that I have effectually stirred *that* question. I am certain of this, that Dean Stanley has very little idea of the enormous force brought to bear against the progress of liberal views by the employment of such books as *Hymns Ancient and Modern*. It

would be *impossible* for me to preach such sermons as I am now preaching every Sunday, and have the people singing those hymns in my face. As to the laity here, I have a very strong hold upon them, and in fact have the great body of them with me, as I hope you will have been able to gather from the newspaper reports which have reached England, though those sent home from Maritzburg to the *Guardian* and *Church Times* (sent, it is believed by one of Bishop Gray's intruded clergy here) are specimens of the most deliberate theological lying that I have ever met with. They are *masses of falsehood*, of course based upon some foundations of fact, but utterly dishonest and misleading. The cause must be in a very bad way which needs such support.

"It is really a most touching sight to see the crowded congregation in the Cathedral on Sunday evenings. . . . If only the clergy in England *could* speak out as freely as I am able to do here, I am sure their churches would be equally filled. Numbers come regularly now to the service, both morning and evening, who used to go nowhere; and I humbly trust that some good work is being done among them."

TO W. H. DOMVILLE, ESQ.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *August* 3, 1866.

. . "The Vestry Bill, as you will see, was thrown out by our Legislative Council—which, to say the truth, I am not sorry for. . . . I believe they are now going to frame a deed of registration, by which they may avail themselves legally, as a 'Voluntary Association,' of persons who agree to be bound by the laws of the Church of England, &c. And that, I think, will answer all practical purposes. Upon the whole, the lay feeling is, I think, as decided as ever; and it remains to be seen if Mr. Cox will think it necessary to come here when he gets the reply of the laity to Bishop Gray, which was duly forwarded to him a mail or two ago. One of the new S.P.G. clergy, as I hear from good authority, has preached Robertson's sermons to his people, and is very

much liked. . . . He has been strictly forbidden by S.P.G. to take my licence, and at present I do not think it desirable to interfere. . . . Bishop Gray has just put in an appearance to my summons to show cause why the lands, &c., held by him in trust should not be made over to me. But the case cannot be heard till next month. . . . There is no doubt, I think, that I can maintain my position here, so as to have the Cathedral to myself and my curate (supported by the people) on Sundays, and so as to make good my entrance once a year into the different churches of the diocese, with the hearty good will of some of the people, the secret satisfaction of many others, and the determined opposition of most of the S.P.G. clergy and their more bigoted supporters. Gradually, too, by the circulation of my sermons . . . . prejudices may be removed, and a warmer feeling generated in the minds of many who still stand aloof, having never yet heard a word from me, or perhaps even seen my face, but who have been duly indoctrinated by the clergy. . . . I cannot do more, my whole time being taken up with such work as the above, except a few driblets which I can now and then snatch for pursuing my criticism of the Pentateuch. My friends in England may be of opinion that when I have fought out the battle with Bishop Gray, and stood my ground to see if Bishop Cox arrives, and what can be done against him, . . . I might retire from the contest, having done my part sufficiently in this position. And they may know (what I cannot) that English feeling is tending to the same conclusion—viz. that for peace and quiet I had better withdraw from the contest, of course assuming that the English Government will not play directly into the hands of Bishop Gray, and appoint my successor at the nod of the Bishop of Oxford. If they appeal to the House of Lords, perhaps in any case I ought to abide at my post till that decision reaches me, and then, if it is thought desirable, retire. But I do not see anything here at present which *compels* me to do so ; and, in fact, my people in Maritzburg would be exceedingly grieved, many of them, if I did. . . . The sort of feeling which must exist

even with my warmest friends as to the uncertainty of my continuing permanently here makes many, more lukewarm, hesitate to commit themselves, lest I should suddenly withdraw from the struggle, and leave them in the hands of the enemy. Hence the strong desire of such to get the legal barrier erected without delay now, as the prime mover in it (Mr. Saunders) said, *before* Lord Romilly's decision reaches us."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *August* 30, 1866.

. . . "Matters are still looking bright here, so far as circumstances and the want of clergy allow. I have no doubt that with one or two more clergy of the right stamp, I should have all the diocese fairly in hand. Lord Romilly's decision will hardly reach us, I expect, by the mail due to-morrow; but a short paragraph overland from Capetown tells me that the great meeting of Convocation has come off, and the Bishops have declared in favour of Bishop Gray's proceedings by five to four. If this is true, it will strengthen my position here greatly, and will be regarded by my friends as a complete victory; since, if only nine attended, there were eleven absent, and not one of them can have desired to *support* Bishop Gray. I should think he ought to resign, and would do so, if there were any consistency in him. An Australian paper brings the news that Mr. Cox has accepted the bishopric of Maritzburg offered to him;—offered by whom? not till the clergy have elected him; and I feel pretty certain now that several would refuse to elect him. . . .

"To-morrow I have some distinguished natives coming to luncheon; one of Moshesh's sons, and his chief warrior, who have been sent here [1] with a formal letter from Moshesh himself (which I read yesterday), saying that, after five days' full deliberation with his chiefs, they had desired to surrender themselves and their land, &c., into the hands

[1] To Natal, not to the Bishop.

of this Government, and imploring that the Queen would receive them as subjects. It is a very important proposal, and perhaps must not be talked about publicly till it gets into the papers, as my information is private. They seemed to know all about *my* affairs, and spoke very cordially,—speaking English well."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *September* 5, 1866.

. . . "As to the sermons, I think you did quite right under the circumstances to defer the publication. . . . . After the advice of my counsel, and the suspension of Lord Romilly's decision, there seemed no doubt about the matter. By the time this reaches you, however, I suppose the judgement will be given, and my own feeling is that the book should then be published without delay. I am not so anxious to retain my post here as to wish to hold it if I cannot be allowed by law to say what I have said in those sermons ; and, as for the *odium theologicum*, I am not at all sure that it might not be diminished, instead of increased, by the publication.

"Now, I see, the most unscrupulous falsehoods are sent to England, and circulated in the Church papers about my teaching, as *e.g.* in the *English Churchman*, which reached me yesterday, and in which I see stated that I have said in one of my sermons that 'it is blasphemy to say that we have any need of a Mediator.' . . . The sermons themselves would show what my real teaching is.

"As far, therefore, as I am personally concerned, I should wish to face all the consequences of publishing the book as soon as the judgement is given. But I must leave you still a latitude of action, for there may, and probably would, be an appeal lodged regarding the judgement, if in my favour ; and if my counsel still strongly advised the delay of publication, it might be right to do so until the conclusion of the case in the House of Lords. Again, there may be plain signs that certain parties in England will apply for a Com-

mission to sit upon me ; and, if so, it would be wise not to publish till this matter is settled. One thing also I should like to say. If a Commission is issued *now*, because all other measures have failed, I should not in any way feel bound to adhere to the promise which I made when, *before* the excommunication, I challenged Bishop Gray and others to apply for a Commission, viz. not to interpose any technical objections. . . . "

There is far too great a disposition in this country to regard what is called the Colenso controversy in Natal as a struggle on the part of the Bishop to secure freedom of thought and speech for himself to the slighting, or even to the injury, of others. His own utterances, both in letters and in other forms, have already given proof that his whole mind was set on obtaining for all the liberty which he claimed for himself. We have now to see that his motives and object were fully appreciated by the lay members of the Church of England in Natal, and that they looked upon him as fighting their battle not a whit less than his own. That the conflict should have arisen from expressions which are supposed to err in the direction of too liberal a theology, was a mere accident ; and until the question is dissociated from any personal interests of the Bishop of Natal, its full bearings cannot be rightly understood. If the Bishop had never written anything to create alarm, Bishop Gray would have striven none the less to create a South African Church independent of the judicial interference of the Crown.[1] For this the decisions given in the Williams-Wilson case on the one side, and in that of

[1] Indeed, not only had Bishop Gray begun to strive for these ends long before the Bishop of Natal had published anything likely to alarm him : but the people of Durban had themselves taken alarm at the policy and designs of the Metropolitan at a time when Bishop Colenso seemed scarcely to be awake to them, and when in fact they had convinced themselves that their Bishop was a willing instrument in the furtherance of Bishop Gray's plans.

Mr. Gorham on the other, would in his eyes have furnished ample justification; and there can be no doubt that a bold and perspicuous enunciation of convictions such as those of Mr. Gorham, carried to their full length, would have roused on the part of the Metropolitan of Capetown feelings of disapprobation scarcely less vehement than those which were awakened by the criticisms of the Bishop of Natal. Nay, it was (as it is) quite possible that the Church of South Africa might come to be governed by prelates and clergy whose spirit might be in the closest harmony with that of men like Deans Close and M'Neile; and in either case both clergy and laity would have to submit to the regimen provided for them, without any appeal, in cases of deprivation or excommunication, beyond the Archbishop of Canterbury in his personal capacity.

But in the foremost place, in the eyes of the laymen of Natal, was the determined resolution with which Bishop Colenso resisted and protested against the creation of a Church of South Africa, as a breach of faith both with himself and with them. He and they alike had left their old homes as members of the Church of England; and members of that Church, and of no other, they were determined to remain. In accepting the office of Bishop of Natal, Dr. Colenso had no idea that he was giving up, or that he might at any date, however distant, be called upon to give up, any right which he had possessed as Rector of Forncett. In accepting the Royal letters patent which assigned him his jurisdiction, he was perfectly well aware that he acknowledged obedience to the Crown, and thereby claimed the protection of the Sovereign; but he never for a moment dreamed that Royal letters patent would, or could, be used by any one else for the exercise of a jurisdiction which openly professed itself independent of the Royal supremacy, and as a bar to the exercise of a right to which every clergyman of the English

Church in England had an inalienable title. The laity of Natal felt that his cause, without the least reference to the particular matters in dispute, was their cause also, although not a few, and perhaps the large majority, among them expressed also their hearty satisfaction and thankfulness for the firmness with which he withstood and disclaimed the narrowness, exclusiveness, and intolerance of those who professed to adhere to an unchanging, and therefore to a dead, traditional theology.

No layman in Natal was, and is, more competent to express the feelings of his fellow-laymen than the friend whose kindness and zeal the Bishop always felt and acknowledged. It would be disingenuous to withhold here all reference to the antagonism of later years. But it is unnecessary to do more than refer to it, while we are dealing with a time when their friendship was as warm and active as it had always been since their first intercourse during the Bishop's happy "ten weeks in Natal." The following extracts from letters addressed by Mr. Shepstone to Mr. W. H. Domville show how deeply the laity of Natal were interested in the struggle between the Bishops of Capetown and Natal. The letters are written strictly from a layman's point of view. In the first, which is dated September 9, 1866, Mr. Shepstone speaks of the then recent debates in Convocation as having very much strengthened the Bishop's position and advanced the cause of liberty in the Church of England, and adds that

> "great indignation is felt here at the remark made by the Bishop of Oxford, that those who attend the Bishop's services are nearly all professed infidels, and do not go to worship, judging from their demeanour. As he declares this statement to be made on the authority of a clergyman here, it is our intention to require a direct answer from every clergyman in the diocese on the subject; and I have no doubt we shall find out our friend. We shall then take

such measures as may be deemed most effectual for correcting in the minds of the Church at home the effect of such a malicious slander, and fixing at their true value any statements our friend may make for the future."

The trial before the Master of the Rolls, Lord Romilly, was then proceeding; and on one point debated, Mr. Shepstone expresses himself without hesitation.

"I do not," he says, "understand how the Privy Council could decide that Natal had an independent Legislature when its Bishop was appointed. It can only be called so in the sense that it was independent of that of the Cape, for it was made so in letters patent in 1847; but its Council consisted of three Government officers besides the Governor, the Colonial Secretary, the Crown Prosecutor, and the Surveyor-General. Surely there is no power of independent legislation in such a nominee body, while the fact of its small numbers, and all being Government officers dependent on the Crown, seems of itself to imply a reservation, on the part of the Crown, of concurrent legislation. It seems to be admitted on all hands that a Crown colony ceases to be such only when representation is introduced into its legislative body. As far as Natal is concerned, this took place for the first time in November, 1856, and in the Cape Colony in 1850. Hence the enormous difference in the values of the patents issued in 1853 to the Cape and Natal Bishops."

Mr. Shepstone's remarks on the Bishop's personal work are even more important.

"The Bishop goes on steadily increasing his influence among the people. Some of them almost worship him. Persons from the neighbouring colony, while visiting here, of course go to hear him preach, and all express themselves astonished at what they find. They seem to have received some extraordinary ideas of his conduct and sermons, and are little prepared to witness the quiet, earnest, reverent eloquence

of the preacher, and the breathless attention of the congregation."

All ideas of separation from the English Church Mr. Shepstone indignantly disclaims, and he protests with special earnestness against any action of the British Parliament which may tend to bring about such separation.

"Surely we should not be cut off by Act of Parliament: we want all to belong to our National Church, and we hope that our Church will before long open her arms wide enough to include a much wider range of thought and belief than she seems inclined to do just now."

Writing again, October 10, 1866, Mr. Shepstone mentions the report

"that on the 24th of this month the election of the Bishop of Maritzburg is to take place here, and that the laity are wished to take part in it. By the laity is meant, of course, all those who do not attend the Bishop of Natal's services or recognize him as their lawful Bishop. I am amazed at the folly which prompts to such a proceeding. . . . This reminds me of the great uneasiness felt here as to the direction which Imperial legislation seems likely to take. No clergyman likes the idea of being made a Congregationalist by law, simply because he can be one any day he likes, without ; and, whatever may be thought in England, we in the colonies strongly dislike the idea of being cut off from what we consider to be our Mother Church."

TO W. H. DOMVILLE, ESQ.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *September* 19, 1866.

"I have been waiting month after month for the decision in the Rolls, in order to begin a visitation of my diocese, having hitherto confined myself to the Cathedral, and not wishing to go to other places, if possible, without the prestige of a favourable decision. However, as we cannot

expect now to hear of the decision before Christmas, I have arranged to leave home for three or four Sundays. . . . I have settled to start to-morrow with Major Erskine, Colonial Secretary, and my two boys as travelling companions. . . . I think from all I hear that I shall find Mr. D—— all right. It so happens that a gentleman, whose house is almost next to his, and with whom he has formed a very warm friendship apparently, has also contracted a warm friendship for me, from some little kind attentions which I was able to show him when he lay very sick in Maritzburg a few months ago. It is a curious story, and shows what little things influence often very great movements. When I was in Durban last February, lunching at the Club, this gentleman, Mr. G——, came in, and took his seat next to me. We soon got into talk, in which he told me frankly that he was a strong opponent of mine. I asked if he had read my book. 'No.' 'Would he allow me to send him the *Pentateuch*, &c.?' 'Yes; he would be obliged, and would promise to look at it thoughtfully.' I sent it, and heard no more of him till after a few months I got a note from him to say that he had come to Maritzburg for change of air in consequence of illness. This led to my seeing him again, to his visiting my house, &c., and ultimately to my reading and praying with him in town, when he lay at a hotel apparently in a very dangerous state. These little acts of mine, the hearing some of my sermons, the reading my *Romans*, have made him a warm supporter of mine, although he told me, when I first saw him, he had then in his pocket a letter from a very dear relative, warning him not to come into any connexion with me."

It is quite unnecessary to enter at any length into the discussions which took place at the meeting convened at the wish of Bishop Gray for the election of a Bishop who should take the place of Bishop Colenso. The chief facts connected with it are brought out with sufficient clearness in the Bishop's letters. But the whole debate seemed only to exhibit

the fatal blunder committed by Bishop Gray from the very outset of all his action in reference to the Bishop of Natal. We will suppose that, on the publication of Dr. Colenso's *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, he was shocked, startled, and grieved, and that this panic and alarm were indefinitely heightened on the appearance of his criticisms on the Pentateuch. He may, we will suppose, have felt the case to be as serious, and the danger to be as pressing, as Dr. Phillpotts, Bishop of Exeter, felt it to be when he arraigned Mr. Gorham for heresy. But every such case in England must come before the Crown, and must be determined, on appeal, by the Sovereign in Council. It should have been the first and last care of Bishop Gray that the question of Dr. Colenso's teaching should also be brought before that tribunal, and that any proceedings which he himself might take should be so arranged as to place no hindrance in the way of that issue. It is quite impossible to say that this course a quarter of a century ago might not have had for its result the condemnation of the Bishop on some points, although, in any event, it must have ended in his acquittal on some, or the greater number. The idea that the Crown in Council could condemn a man for batches of offences, in the jaunty fashion of the Metropolitan and his assessors at the so-called Capetown trial, is ludicrous. The effect of the trial might have been to widen the liberty secured to the clergy in England, or it might in some one or more directions have circumscribed it. In any case the judgement would have stood on the same level as the judgement in the Gorham, the Bennet, the Williams-Wilson, and the Voysey cases; it would have become part of the law of the Church of England, and would have been acquiesed in, as all those judgements have been, even by those Churchmen who professed themselves at first most aggrieved by them. The complete condemnation of Dr. Colenso by the Judicial Committee would have removed

all difficulties from the path of Bishop Gray. His partial condemnation, or his acquittal, would have removed all responsibility from those persons in Natal who spoke of the paramount need of maintaining the Catholic faith. These persons would have seen at once what was or was not permissible within the limits of the Church of England, and would have submitted themselves to the laws of that Church, unless they chose to form themselves into an entirely distinct society. Otherwise it is not easy to see how any greater hardship would have been imposed on Bishop Gray, Dean Green, and their adherents, than was imposed in England on the Bishop of Exeter by the acquittal of Mr. Gorham, or on the Bishop of Salisbury by that of Dr. Rowland Williams. But from the first Bishop Gray was resolved that he would under no circumstances face the possibility of any such contingency. The carrying of this case before the Judicial Committee was for him equivalent to an unconditional surrender of what he called the faith of the Church. He declared, and seemed to glory in declaring, that he rejected the decisions of that tribunal ; and he had no greater hesitation in saying that he could not concur in some of the rulings of the judge in the Arches Court of the Archbishop of Canterbury—in other words, with the rulings of the Primate himself. He held before himself and before his supporters the idea of some society which maintained, and would maintain indefectibly, what he spoke of as the Catholic faith ; and to this society he professed to believe that he and they belonged. The idea was a dream, which could not fail to be dissolved by the rude test of experience ; and its only effect would be to perpetuate the divisions which it was designed to heal. If some apparent realisation of it might be found in orthodox or Latin Christendom, it was useless to look for it in the body known to English law as the Church of England.

Bishop Gray thus threw away the only hope of making

peace. It was not true that because either clergy or laity admitted the authority of a Bishop they were in any way whatever bound by his opinions, and could be supposed to have the least complicity with or responsibility for them. The egregious absurdity of Bishop Gray's position lay in this, that he chose to fasten on those who might take part in the worship of God with Bishop Colenso the guilt involved in holding that the Book of Deuteronomy may have been, and probably was, written in the time of Manasseh or Josiah. Among the clergy and laity who were called together for the purpose of electing a Bishop for what was called the vacant see, there were some who were ready to acknowledge Bishop Colenso's jurisdiction, while they professed to have the extremest horror of his teaching. If they could so speak after the intemperate language used and the extravagant judgement pronounced in the Metropolitical Court of Capetown, how much greater would have been the likelihood of peace if the whole question had been submitted to the sober and careful handling of the Sovereign in Council? The fault of Bishop Gray, and (except from his own narrow ecclesiastical view) his fatal blunder, was the determination that, come what might, into the hands of the Crown the decision should never pass; and the result is that his adherents are committed to a modified Hildebrandine theory which in practice can be fruitful only of dissension, estrangement, and ill-will.

To W. H. Domville, Esq.

"Durban, *October* 20, 1866.

"I am here at the port for a few days, detained by our spring rains (which have now begun in earnest), and so prevented from running down the coast, as I had designed, to visit a place where, however, there is no Church population of any consequence, but chiefly scattered residents among whom I have some warm friends, and whom I must now reserve

for another trip. I have gone over the most important ground, however, ... with very satisfactory results. I have been everywhere most heartily received; and any attempt at opposition has only served to intensify the feeling of sympathy on my side; . . . . and whether from real feeling in favour of my views or determined opposition to those of Bishop Gray and the Dean, I may now, I think, fairly say that the whole *mass* of the community are with me.

"At this moment two important steps are being taken on my side, in order to obviate, if possible, the systematic deception which has been practised on the English public by reports sent home. In Maritzburg an address is being largely signed to the Bishop of Oxford, demanding the name of his clerical informant, out here, who has so grossly libelled my congregations. . . . . At Durban, again, there is, I believe, a very decided memorial in preparation, which will probably be signed very numerously and respectably throughout the whole colony, protesting against the attempt to elect a new Bishop, which, it is believed, is to be made on the 24th instant at Maritzburg.[1] It seems the Dean's visit to the coast was expressly on this account—to try to get beforehand the assent of the coast clergy to this measure. But in this, if report speaks truly, he has signally failed. Mr. A——, whom you may remember as having made a warm speech in favour of Bishop Gray when he was here, and written a strong letter against me, . . . is now very friendly with me, and though still, as he said, differing wholly from my religious views, yet is determined to support my lawful authority. He is, in fact, one of the chief leaders of the Evangelical party here, and has a very wholesome dread of Bishop Gray's proceedings *now*, though at one moment, when the Bishop was here, beguiled into the

[1] This was the title finally selected for Dr. Macrorie. It must be remembered that Maritzburg is strictly the name of no place in Southern Africa. Legally, Maritzburg is non-existent. The town of Pietermaritzburg was constituted a city by the letters patent which nominated Bishop Colenso to the See of Natal.

notion that he meant nothing—no Church of South Africa, no ecclesiastical despotism, which he dreads more than my teaching. In a long friendly talk which I had with him yesterday, he told me that most of the clergy are altogether opposed to the notion of electing a Bishop, and he mentioned by name ——, ——. . . . . If these really stick to their decision, it will be ridiculous for the Dean . . . . to do anything, though I am told he has said if he can only get two others to act with him . . . he will proceed to the election. If so, it will strengthen my hands materially; and I think the actual arrival of another Bishop would only intensify the general feeling in my favour. In fact, the Bishop of Lincoln was shrewd enough to see that the Bishop of Capetown's course has been the most suicidal possible. It has helped me splendidly through the only difficult part of my work. . . . The time is gone by now for a wiser course. I have met the members of my flock everywhere, in public and private, and the great body of them by personal contact seem to have lost all dread of my teaching in the pulpit. The *policy* would have been to put no obstacle in the way of my return, but to have urged the clergy everywhere to work upon the minds of their flocks; and such is the power of clerical influence . . . . that they might have raised at first a very formidable barrier to my gaining the ears of the people. But, in the desire of maintaining their pet ecclesiastical system of discipline they have done everything to smooth the way for me with a Protestant public possessed with an English love of fair play.

"To-day, for the first time, we learn that Cox is *not* to be the man, at the very moment when the *Guardian* has just brought us the account of Mr. Cox's having accepted 'the appointment to the vacant see of Natal,' and notified to his parishioners in Hobarton his reasons for so doing. The information contained in to-day's *Mercury* that the new Bishop is to be Mr. Butler (I presume of Wantage) has no doubt emanated from the Dean. This change of persons after such definite notices about Mr. Cox will create, I

expect, fresh difficulties for the clergy, and deepen the resolve of the laity to have nothing to do with the matter. . . .

"Mr. D—— has distinctly told me that, when he and T—— left England, they were instructed by the S.P.G. Secretary, Mr. Bullock (who said that the direction was *authorised by the President, the Archbishop of Canterbury*), not to take a licence either from me or Bishop Gray. Bishop Gray, of course, had no right to give any to a clergyman of my diocese. But here we find the Archbishop secretly sanctioning this direction, some months before the general meeting of the S.P.G. was held, at which the standing order was suspended with reference to Natal, and when that order, the voice of the Society, required their missionaries to receive my licence. And then the Archbishop has the assurance to rise in his place in Convocation, and say that *all* the clergy, with one exception, have refused to recognise my authority. This is really scandalous."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *October* 29, 1866.

. . . "I completed my four Sundays of visitation, which I deferred as long as possible, waiting month after month for Lord Romilly's decision. At last, as it was plain it would not be given till after the vacation, I determined to go out at once; and circumstances have shown that I went out at the very nick of time, without the slightest idea of the importance of this visitation in the present juncture of affairs. The effect . . . . was, partly through personal intercourse, partly through preaching, which disabused a number of prejudices, to rally round me more strongly than ever, the important population of the coast, having already sufficiently secured those of the interior. The crisis, however, has now arrived, when the value of this has been felt in the circumstances which have attended the recent election of a Bishop. . . . Nothing was heard definitely upon this subject . . . until an advertisement appeared in the *Times*

of Natal of October 20, summoning a meeting of clergy and lay communicants for October 25 (with a proviso that the invitation was not addressed to any who recognised the authority of Bishop Colenso). But previous to this some private communications had been passing, which have now been made public by Mr. Lloyd. . . . The following occurs in a letter from Bishop Gray to Dean Green:—'I do not believe the Bishops will consecrate without an election. . . . I am strongly in favour of electing. Some urge waiting for the reply of Convocation, but I do not. The Archbishop forgot to lay our petition before that body in February, and very likely will not do so in May, for he evidently by recommending Mr. Cox thinks he has done all he has to do, and the Bishop of Oxford says, *consecrate without alluding to Convocation.* Procrastination is not good.' From Bishop Gray to Dean Green, May 13, 1866:—'The Archbishop, as requested by the Dean and Chapter, has done all in his power. The Bishops of the Province have done all they can do: the responsibility no longer rests with us. I hope there will be no hesitation or drawing back on the ground that I can do all that is needed for the present. Having secured another valuable man [Cox], who is recommended by the Primate of All England, I feel that henceforth I should be released from all personal responsibility as to the future, even if the address[1] which by this mail has been forwarded to me had not made my taking an active part in the administration of the diocese a matter of greater difficulty than before. Should he [Mr. Cox] be rejected, I think it will not be easy to find another qualified man willing to undertake so arduous and thankless an office. The Bishop of Grahamstown has been on the look-out for a whole year, while travelling through England and Ireland, and has not met with one who does not shrink from a position of so much difficulty and so full of discouragement. I confess that, if there is any holding back now, I shall myself tremble greatly for the future of your Church.'

[1] From the Natal laity, calling upon him to resign. See p. 28.

"To come now to the 'election' itself. . . . On October 12 Mr. Green wrote to Mr. Lloyd a letter which lies before me, and which was read out publicly at the Durban meeting. This letter is as follows (the italics are mine):—'The Metropolitan has written to me that he considers it to be my duty to summon *all the clergy* to consider the reply of Convocation; that all male communicants, *certified by the clergy as such*, should be invited to attend; that *we* should in their presence elect a Bishop, *and then seek their concurrence;* and lastly that the consent of himself and the Bishops of the Province be formally asked. I have also a letter from the Bishop of Grahamstown expressing his concurrence in the advice of the Metropolitan; and having, as you know, already had much consultation with others on the subject, I have determined on having Thursday, the 25th of October, for our meeting at Maritzburg to take into consideration and act upon the advice of Convocation. . . . *Under the name of communicants please let it be distinctly understood that such as communicate with Dr. Colenso are not included*, . . . and in order to make it perfectly clear to our fellow-colonists that the meeting is the *private gathering* of a voluntary association, and puts forth no claims to be anything different, I have, as I have already said, resolved on having a *private room* to meet in. . . .'

"It would seem that Mr. Lloyd must have written to Mr. Green to complain that other clergy of the diocese had long ago been informed of what is going on, while he had been kept in ignorance, and only became aware of what is intended by communications reaching him from *them*. . . . To this Mr. Green replies as follows, October 15th:—'I wrote to you on the 12th, so you ought to have received mine at the time you wrote to me on the 13th. I hope ere this it has reached you. To those clergy who acknowledge the Metropolitan, I wrote some time back. I have not placed you, but you have placed yourself, in a position very different from them. Therefore, of course, I observe a different line towards you. Were I not to do so it would be making light both of your act and ours, and I do not wish to do that.

. . . Now how you can vote in the election of a man to be a suffragan Bishop to a Metropolitan whom you do not acknowledge, I cannot see. . . . I wish much during the next few days you would see your way to act as the other clergy have done, recognise the Metropolitan, and so unite yourself, not only to us, but, I must think, to the Church, for the old canon is true, "*ubi episcopus ibi ecclesia.*" So, unless you acknowledge a Bishop, I do not see how you can be in the Church.' . . .

"It is plain to me that, at the time Mr. Green promised to lend Mr. Lloyd a tract [connected with Mr. Cox's suspected views], he had fully reckoned on Mr. Lloyd's vote for the election of a new Bishop, or at least had hoped to secure it; and also he had no idea that his vote would be of so much consequence as it will be found to be in the sequel. At that time, though Mr. Lloyd has all along refused to recognise Bishop Gray's Metropolitan jurisdiction, any more than my own, regarding him only as a 'titular Metropolitan,' as he regards me as a 'titular Bishop,' yet Mr. Green had included him always among the 'faithful' clergy, inasmuch as he had signed all the documents of denunciation against myself. *Now*, however, Mr. Green has got a glimpse of the fact that Mr. Lloyd's single vote, if allowed, may seriously interfere with his plans, and he begins for the first time to intimate to him that he is not 'within the Church,' just ten days before the election, and forgets to send him the 'tract.' Mr. Lloyd requests an answer to his letter, and Mr. Green writes again as follows:—'As you particularly ask for a reply to your letter of yesterday, I sit down to write to you, notwithstanding that I wrote to you yesterday also on the same subject. (1) When I wrote to all the clergy who acknowledge the Metropolitan on the 24th of August last, informing them of the contents of a letter I had received from his lordship, and asking them for their suggestions . . . . [*sic:* the sentence is incomplete]; but, as you have separated from, by not submitting yourself to, the Bishop of Capetown, I did not feel at liberty to consult you. Except as acting as his lordship's representative, there is no reason

why I should be the one to commence a correspondence or to undertake to arrange the meeting. If, as you write, you expect these things from me, I must ask you to be consistent, and require you to recognise the authority which empowers and requires me to do such things. (2) With regard to the laity, I cannot agree with you that they were taken by surprise. It has been known for several weeks that such a meeting was about to be held [it was not known to his own churchwarden till October 20], and certain points connected with it were discussed with several laymen [members of the Natal branch of the Church Union, and therefore reserved and cautious]. . . . . The body that was once one is now divided into three parts : (1) that follows Dr. Colenso ; (2) another, not admitting that it agrees with him, but acknowledging him as its Bishop, and protesting against and opposing the Bishop of Capetown ; (3) that acts with the Metropolitan. Now, I am no lover of strife. I am conscious of this division ; and to ignore it would, in my judgement, at this hour, only lead to renewed altercation. Vestry meetings would only bring those parties into conflict without doing any good. If men like to call the meeting which I desire to hold, *packed* or *hole-and-corner*, or by any such name, I have no manner of objection. On the contrary, I wish to mark and characterize the meeting as one of members of a voluntary association who at the present moment gather round the Bishop of Capetown as their head, and are assembled to arrange some points touching their internal organization. If our proceedings interfere, or seem to interfere, with others, they can hold their meetings, and take such steps as to them shall seem desirable. But we have been told *ad nauseam* that we have forsaken the Church of England, and that we are a new association, and so forth. I have no wish to argue, but only ask not to be interrupted. . . . . (3) You inquire how the cost of the clergy going to Maritzburg is to be met. The Bishop of Capetown (*i.e.* S.P.G.) will *bear the charges of those who acknowledge him.* With regard to the laity, his lordship in his letter to me remarks, and I agree with him, those laymen who *feel the*

deep importance to their souls and to the Church of the question we meet about will make a sacrifice, if needful a great sacrifice, to come. If, however, they absolutely cannot, they will bow to the will of God. . . . . *If, however, men will make no great effort, they must be held not to feel deeply on the subject.* If they had to come here on their temporal affairs, they would find the means of doing so.'

"The first remark I would make (and it is obvious) is, that no one could object to Mr. Green and his party, as a sect, separating from the Church of England, and electing for themselves a Bishop, and getting, if they can, Archbishop Longley or Bishop Gray to consecrate him. What we complain of is, that they still hold possession of buildings and other property dedicated to the Church of England, that they keep back our registers of baptisms, and receive incomes from S.P.G. as missionaries of that Church. But for the meeting itself, the attendance at which, by the Dean's own admission, will show how many in the colony 'feel deeply on the subject,' let it be remembered that every possible exertion that prudence and priestcraft could suggest has been made since August 24 to make it up. . . . . The meeting, as I have said, was summoned by advertisement on October 20 for October 25. The weather was splendid, all that could have been desired; for travelling, you know, in this country is very unpleasant in wet weather. . . . There was nothing, in fact, to prevent a full attendance at the meeting, except a want of sufficiently deep feeling on the subject. . . . The number of laity from all parts of the colony, of those who voted for or against election, but who all, I suppose, may be reckoned as 'South Africans,' rejecting me and acknowledging Bishop Gray's proceedings, was thirty-one, after all these preparations. These thirty-one included communicants of all ages and of all ranks. Ten of them came from distant places. . . . There remain twenty-one from the two congregations of Maritzburg. As these were all on the spot, and the room in fact was crowded by *our* friends, as spectators, in the gallery (for they were not allowed to sit with the faithful),

you may judge how deep the feeling must have been on the occasion. . . . You will now, I think, be able to form some idea of the real value of this demonstration as far as the laity are concerned, of whom twenty-eight voted for an election and three against. . . . And now as to the clergy. . . . After passing a new article of faith, that 'Our Lord is to be ever adored in heaven and on earth,' they had two days' speeches upon the main question, whether a Bishop should be elected or not. The result was a drawn game, the clergy present voting seven to seven. Of the seven for the election, three do not really belong to the diocese, and a fourth has retired from all active work in it, and I doubt if four out of the seven would have been ordained by any English Bishop for want of theological and general education, though here we are obliged to be content with such candidates. Of those against the election, all were men of education and character, some of them really superior. And now comes in Mr. Green's forethought. When the votes had been taken, he informed Mr. Lloyd that his vote would not be allowed, as he did not acknowledge the Metropolitan. Some altercation took place, and it ended in his name being retained but reported to the Metropolitan as that of an outsider, so that virtually it will be, I suppose, erased, and the numbers of the clergy be reduced to five priests and two deacons for, five priests and one deacon against, the election, and it will be said to be carried by the clergy as well as the laity. But, besides these fourteen clergy who voted, another, Mr. Baugh, wrote decidedly to oppose the election; but, being in delicate health, did not attend the meeting. Another, Mr. Nisbett, is also opposed, but . . . thinks it best to consult his own quiet by staying away from such occasions; and two others (Tönneson and E. Robinson) were refused admission except as spectators.

"But now as to the laity. The people of Durban, Addington, and Berea, on hearing of the intended election, and of the close way in which it was being managed, called a meeting on October 22, and passed, unanimously, except

for one sole dissentient, a series of resolutions . . . . protesting against the whole business. I need not say that in each of these three congregations alone there are communicants enough to overpower utterly the twenty-eight laymen at the Dean's meeting. And even if (as is very possible) great exertions should be made to swell the number that attended the meeting (thirty-one) by getting as many signatures as possible in different parts of the country, ... yet I am confident that on the other side would be found, if similar exertions were made to procure them, an overwhelming majority.

"As far as I am able to judge, the step now taken about the new Bishop is the very best thing that could possibly have been done to secure my position. It seems to me hardly conceivable that Mr. Butler of Wantage will accept the proposed bishopric, when he hears the facts about the election, and that he would only be the Bishop of a small sect, and would be refused admission into any of the churches belonging to the Church of England, not by me, but by the people and their elected churchwardens. But surely no English Bishop would take part in such a consecration —at least, not the Archbishop of Canterbury, after saying that he should be very sorry to suppose that his recent vote in Convocation would encourage them to elect a Bishop. Bishop Gray would, no doubt, go through with the business. . . .

"But now, after this open rupture with the Church of England (which, strangely enough, has happened in the very last week of a complete ecclesiastical year since my landing, ... so that they have had a whole year to consider what they would do), it is impossible that I should remain inactive any longer, except that I shall await Lord Romilly's decision before interfering with the Dean personally. Before this mail leaves I expect we shall have some decision in our Supreme Court about the Cathedral; and the recent proceedings have gone far, I fancy, to clear up the mind of the judges on the point whether the Dean has any claim to officiate in a church which was given especially for the use

of the Church of England, not of a Church in union and communion with it."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *November* 2, 1886.

"Before the mail goes, I expect to be able to notify the decision of our Supreme Court upon the 'exceptions' made by Bishop Gray to our declaration about the Cathedral, which were argued last term. The judgement is to be given next Thursday, November 8th, about the very time, I suppose, when Lord Romilly will be giving his in England. If both these are favourable, I foresee no difficulty *now* in maintaining my position here as long as it seems desirable. . . . It will even be very desirable to collect the first year's payments for clergy,[1] and to increase the Defence Fund, if possible, as I shall now have to act in earnest with my recalcitrant clergy. It would be weakness, and felt here to be so, if, after giving them so long a time—a whole year—to consider what course they will take, I were not now to assert my authority among them,—though I must, of course, consult prudence in what I shall do. My programme of proceedings at present is as follows. Assuming that the decision of our Supreme Court will be in my favour, sufficiently at all events for practical purposes, I shall first begin with the Rev. F. Robinson,—no clergyman of this diocese, but one intruded by Bishop Gray, and the ringleader in all these schismatic proceedings, who keeps the Dean up to the mark, and drives him on further, I imagine, than his own timidity would have carried him. It happens very fortunately that the clergy have divided themselves as they have done, so that I need not at present take any account of the seven who have *not* elected a new Bishop, and some of whom it would not be desirable to disturb, until I have

[1] This was a small fund, raised by friends in England, for the support of clergy in Natal working under the Bishop. The proceeds of the Defence Fund were all swallowed up in law expenses, and this, in spite of the generosity of some of his counsel in England, who refused all payment for their services.

some men ready to put in their places. But the seven seceders are the most easily dealt with of all. . . . I think it will be prudent to await Lord Romilly's decision before taking the Dean in hand seriously. But if that is favourable —whether appealed against or not—I must then act, and forbid him to minister any more in the Cathedral church, and also give him notice to quit the Deanery. People—even his own friends, I imagine—will expect this ; and I do not see how I can do otherwise, if I am really *trustee* for the Church of England with respect to these buildings. . . . However, things may happen otherwise than we expect. But, as you will have heard what Lord Romilly's judgement is by the time this reaches you, you will see that, if it is favourable, I shall greatly need increased help for clergy for three years. . . . You will see what the Maritzburg people in their address to the Archbishop and Bishops say about the S.P.G. I do hope that the Society will be called to account at the next general meeting. Surely they cannot go on supporting clergy here (merely to oppose *me*), who have no laity either to pay or to back them with their influence." . . .

So persistent at this time were the calumnies which represented the people of Natal as wishing to be rid of the Bishop that we are not only justified in adducing all the evidence showing the real facts, but in duty bound to do so. Of this evidence there is no lack : and among the many expressions of lay feeling in the colony the following is not the least significant. Of this paper Mr. Shepstone speaks in a letter addressed to the Bishop, November 8th, 1866 :—

"I send you," he says, "a copy I made of an address which has had its origin entirely with the people. It is written by Mr. Winter [Director of the Natal Bank] and is a touching document. It is to be published at once in all the papers as being in course of signature. Tell Mrs. Colenso I think this address, proceeding as it does spontaneously from the Cathedral congregation, and describing as it does so well

and so feelingly the effects and tendencies of your teaching, is a full compensation for anything that all the Newnhams and all the Callaways may have said or ever can say. I am pleased with it beyond measure, and I am sure you cannot but be deeply gratified.

"'TO OUR BELOVED PASTOR, THE RIGHT REVEREND THE LORD BISHOP OF NATAL.

"With a view to acquit ourselves of a duty, and in some small measure to strengthen your Lordship's hands in the battle in which you have so nobly engaged, and so worthily borne yourself, the undersigned members of your own Cathedral congregation are desirous of expressing to you, on this the first anniversary of your return among them, their deep sense of the services you have rendered to themselves, and to the great cause of religious freedom.

"'Before entering into this contest, we have no doubt, you counted the cost, and foresaw, to some extent, the amount of odium, insult, and scorn which would be attempted to be cast upon you, in common with almost every early champion of the Cross, the truth, or the sacred rights of humanity. This clamour has been chiefly raised and sustained by men who profess to be the heralds of a peaceful faith. By them you have been stigmatized as a heretic, slandered as an infidel, denounced from the pulpit, debarred from your own churches by personal violence, and made the subject of a somewhat ridiculous and impotent excommunication. The dignity and Christian forbearance with which you have met these calumnies, and this violence, challenge the admiration of many of those opposed to you, and have bound your friends to you by closer ties.

"'We may now, however, congratulate you upon the triumphant progress of the cause which we have all at heart,—on the increasing congregations, the earnest devotion and reverent attention of your listeners, and the calm resolve to stand by you in the struggle at whatever cost.

"'Without alluding to your published works, which are yet before the world unanswered, master-pieces of industrious

research and truth-seeking criticism, we thank you for your weekly addresses, so rich and luminous with reasoning, so logical, touching, and instructive, whose chief aim, setting aside creeds, formularies, and dogmas, is to proclaim good-will among all mankind, and to teach a faithful reliance upon our Great Father.

"'To all of us these sermons have come fraught with glad tidings; but to some among us they have been the source of deepest comfort and consolation. Tried by adversity and borne down in our worldly affairs, as many of us have lately been, we have from them gathered new hope and fresh strength to sustain and guide us in our troubles and difficulties. We thank you for representing to us and to the world, so faithfully and so ably, the Protestant principle of our Church and nation. We thank you for your advocacy of our disenthralment from priestly domination, of the right and duty of private judgement, of the freedom of thought and worship, of the obligation of boldly searching for the truth, and boldly proclaiming it, of the voice of the laity on Church governance, of the grand testimonies of science to God's truth and love, of the hopeful progression of the human race, and of the cheerful tolerance of other phases of faith and forms of worship. We thank you that you have destroyed in this fair land so many idols of man's creation, which had been set up for the blind adoration of the credulous and unreasoning, and have proclaimed in their room a deeper and wider faith in the Divine teaching of our Blessed Lord and Master, a recognition of the brotherhood of man, without reference to creed, or caste, or colour, and over all and above all the merciful loving Fatherhood of the Living God.'"

In the Bishop's forbearance under abuse and calumny the people of Natal had marked nothing more than all who were not virulent traditionalists had noticed in England. Even among those who most thought him mistaken, not a few had wondered at the self-restraint which received without retort or remonstrance the gibes, jeers, and insults poured upon him

in floods by Bishops, and others both clerical and lay. That which was done in England was done also in South Africa; and it is well to have the emphatic assertion of his people in Natal, that in the momentous and memorable struggle brought about by the mere assertion of facts he "nothing common did or mean."

To W. H. Domville, Esq.

"Bishopstowe, *November* 19, 1866.

"The effect of the late 'election' is felt to be more and more damaging to the Gray and Green cause in the colony. Nothing could have happend better for our purposes. Last Sunday (yesterday, November 18), after the blessing had been pronounced by me at the morning Cathedral service, the whole congregation, which was very large, waited till I came down from the pulpit, and then the Colonial Secretary, in the name of those present, read to me the address of which I sent you a copy in my last . . . . and I replied. It was a very interesting, and I may say affecting, scene. There were to my astonishment 323 signatures, . . . and all from Maritzburg alone; and, as you will see, not to a mere negative protest against Gray domination, but to a positive identification of themselves with my teaching. The number of signatures far exceeded my expectations. . . . I think it not at all improbable that when Lord Romilly's decision arrives, should it be in my favour, there will be a more distinct recognition of me as Bishop throughout the colony than has yet taken place. I mean positively, by some formal declaration, as well as by merely attending when I preach, which they have done all along. . . .

"One of mine went to Bishop Gray's registrar to ask to be allowed to copy the names of the 'faithful' thirty-one who voted on the occasion of the election. He was told that if he would ask the next day he should have a reply. The reply was that he *might*, on condition that he furnished the list of the 160 odd who signed the address of welcome to me when I landed. As if the two sets would have any

comparison—the one a deliberate solemn proceeding, meditated by those who took part in it weeks beforehand; the other a list of signatures, many, no doubt, set down hastily in the excitement of the time. But they shrink from publicity. At first they intended to keep the business of the election private—I mean not to admit the reporters, but one of the laity set his face resolutely against this.

"Mr. Cox writes that the Rev. J. D. La Touche, of Stokesay, had written to say that he had almost made up his mind to resign his preferment and come out to me. I have written to him to say that if, instead of resigning, he could get leave of absence for two years and come out to me at once, he might render the greatest service to the cause. I know him; he would be very useful. And he would be doing exactly what the other side have done. For Mr. Tozer, sent out last year by S.P.G., is an incumbent in Lincolnshire, and only came out upon two years' leave of absence, and is very shortly about to return to England."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *December* 3, 1866.

"Matters are still progressing. Messrs. Newnham and Callaway, having been completely foiled at Durban in their attempt to get up a third party, to protest against Bishop Gray and the 'election,' and to petition the Queen to have me called to account for my grievous errors, have now been trying to form a union with *my* friends in Maritzburg, where Mr. Newnham has been for the last ten days in close discussion with Mr. Shepstone and others. The result is that he has been distinctly told that for the sake of peace my friends are willing to meet their wishes, so far as to join in a general address of some kind to the Queen, representing the disturbed state of things in the diocese, protesting against the election, &c., and praying Her Majesty to interfere, in such way as may seem best, to restore order; but that not a finger will be moved to forward any action which had even the appearance of hostility to me, as they

were only too thankful to have me among them, and had not the slightest wish to have me called to account; and finally, that nothing whatever could be done towards even considering such a petition until the clergy had distinctly and openly acknowledged my lawful authority, such as any Bishop would exercise by law in England. Mr. Newnham for the clergy, and Mr. Wathen for the laity, have agreed to this as far as they are concerned, and believe that the other clergy and laity of their party will almost all agree to it. And nothing more is to be done until the other clergy have been consulted. . . . Should the petition to the Queen be carried out, its terms, I doubt not, will be general enough, expressing no hostility towards me. But I do not doubt that Callaway and Newnham will write privately to the Archbishop, Bishops of Ely, Lincoln, and others, urging them by every possible argument to get the Government to appoint a Commission to try me. Of course, it would be somewhat hard upon me to do this at this late hour, when they have compelled me to spend my own and my friends' money in coming out here with my family, and living through a whole year of colonial life, besides undertaking various responsibilities and expenses for clergymen and churches. They might have done this a year or two ago, and then I should have readily co-operated to bring matters to an issue in that way. *Now* I do not feel that there is any reason why I should give any facility to their movement. Rather, I am bound *now* to remember that I do not stand alone, as I did almost in this colony before my return, but numbers have committed themselves in support of me in various ways, and, as Mr. Tönnesen says, our liberties are as dear to us as their traditions to them. If, therefore, I am called to account, my own feeling is not to give them a single inch; but of course I shall be guided by the advice of my counsel."

CHAPTER II.

TEACHING IN NATAL.—"NATAL SERMONS," 1865–66.

OUR review of the Bishop's work in the examination of the Pentateuch has shown the nature of the struggle with traditionalism, to which in the disinterested search for truth he committed himself. The four volumes of *Natal Sermons* exhibit some of the results of that conflict which in his notices of the *Speaker's Commentary* he declares to be internecine. On the way in which that *Commentary* was received depended, as he urged, the future course of English religious thought and life, and the mode in which missions should be carried on among the heathen. With this latter work he was more especially charged, and long before any portion of the *Speaker's Commentary* appeared he had begun to put before his people the whole counsel of God, as the conception of this counsel rose in his own mind after the long and unremitting toil which he had cheerfully undergone since the publication of his volume on the Epistle to the Romans. The *Natal Sermons* exhibit him in the character not only of a critic and judge (it was impossible for him to lay this aside altogether), but of a teacher, a guide, and a friend—one for whom the end of work was that he might "strengthen his brethren." In these sermons he spoke throughout as a fellow-worker and fellow-learner. Nowhere is there the least assumption of superiority

on the score of learning, or in any other way; not the faintest insinuation that he must be right and others wrong—that fatal insinuation which infests almost every utterance of those who belong to any traditional schools. He had never been slow to recognize the duty of tolerance; but since he listened patiently to the questions of the "intelligent Zulu," he had learnt the lesson more thoroughly, and he had come to see that, with all her faults, it was better taught by the Church of England than by any other religious body in Christendom. Against any pretences to infallibility on the part of any society of men he protested most vehemently; and he indignantly denied that any such pretences were put forth by the Church of England for herself, although some of her children might seek to fasten them upon her.

These pretences have assumed monstrous forms. It might have been thought that in the prayer "for all sorts and conditions of men" the Church of England recognised all who professed and called themselves Christians as members of the Holy Catholic Church, for whose good estate she is praying, —that here she was rejecting all arbitrary and artificial restrictions, and refusing to limit the terms of communion to those who had a reputation for orthodoxy. But there are some, it seems, for whom this prayer carries a meaning the very reverse of that which it bears to others. These will have it that in speaking of the Catholic Church, the Church of England goes on to speak not of those who belong to it, but of those who do not, so that the prayer resolves itself into the wish that all who profess and call themselves Christians, but who are really not such, may be led into the way of truth, which they have either rejected or denied, and hold the faith which they have opposed or doubted in unity of the spirit, which they have violated, in the bond of peace, to which they have done despite, and in righteousness of life, which they lack. Such an interpretation would for the Bishop have con-

verted the prayer into a mockery, which he would rather die than sanction. For him, the prayer was evidence that the real spirit of the Church of England was one which sought to include within her communion not merely those who are considered sound in the faith, but all who profess and call themselves Christians, and that by so praying she sanctioned all efforts for the removal of restrictions which never could do any good, and had always done vast harm.

It was impossible that the Bishop should, in these sermons, keep out of sight the incidents of recent years, or suppress all reference to matters of scientific controversy ; but from first to last his contention was that the Christian's duty did not call on him to enter into these debates, and that he would be judged and estimated as he was in his true self, and not with reference to opinions expressed in a series of dogmatic propositions. The Divine work in the world was the living work of a living God. It was in no way bound up with any written record ; and to suppose that it was so bound up was practically to lose all knowledge of its real nature. The Christian life had no necessary connexion with dialectics, and most assuredly it did not depend upon them. It sprang out of the Divine Love, and the quickening of this love in the heart was the direct work of the Spirit of truth and righteousness.

"All tokens of our Father's favour are summed up and sealed in that message of love, which the Christ Himself has spoken to us ; in all the life of Jesus, His life of toil and suffering, sympathy with man's sorrow, endurance of man's sins—as, well as in His death—of patient submission to His Father's will, . . . the Eternal Son was manifesting the Father to us, was revealing the Father's gracious character, was working out the Father's will—the will of Him whom He proclaimed to us as His Father and our Father, as His God and our God."[1]

[1] *Natal Sermons*, First Series, p. 21.

For the Bishop the Christ of God was the

"true Son of man, the perfect Type of Humanity, in whom the Divine idea of what a true living man should be is realised before the eye and in the mind of God."

No sign of a broad and all-embracing charity ever escaped his notice.

"It seemed meet to our Heavenly Father, with respect to whose blessed will, by whose unerring wisdom and love, all things in heaven and earth are ordered, in bringing many sons unto glory (observe, it is not said, 'in saving a few wretched sinners from the pit of woe'), to make the Captain of their salvation perfect through sufferings."[1]

In the language of the Pauline Epistles, he discerned the expression of profound moral conviction; but he had no hesitation in saying that as to the time and the manner of an outward manifestation, "when the Lord Jesus should be revealed from heaven with His mighty angels," the Apostle was certainly mistaken. Nevertheless,

"The loving faithful soul was not deceived or betrayed. Their Lord and Master had come to them again,—not in the way in which their fond hearts looked for Him—not to 'restore the kingdom to Israel' with earthly pomp and observation—not visible to mortal eyes, 'on clouds of glory seated,' encompassed by myriads of the angelic host,—not thus had He come; but by the quiet spread of His Divine teaching, by the setting up of His kingdom of righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost. . . . .

"The clouds of glory on which the Son of man came, were the pure and simple lives of the early Christians: the angels, which heralded the entrance of His kingdom, were those bright spirits which surround the throne of God, 'love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness,

[1] *Natal Sermons*, I. p. 34.

temperance.' He did come to restore the kingdom to Israel in a higher sense than they had ever dreamt of."[1]

For the Bishop, then, spiritual truth was a truth by which and in which we live. It was no matter for debate, no subject for a nice scrutiny of terms, no battle-ground for subtle and exclusive definitions. Referring to the words of Jerome, that the body of Christ is His Gospel, or to those of Ignatius, that His blood is His love, he says:—

"You are now at this moment eating the flesh of Christ and drinking His blood, as many of you as have welcomed with joyful obedient faith the precious message of our Father's love, which Jesus delivered to us,—as many of you as believe, that—in His work on earth, in His labours and sufferings, in His life of unwearied love and tender pity for the souls of men, in His constancy even unto death whereby He sealed the Gospel of His life—He was showing us continually of the Father in whose name He came, whose words He spoke, whose Spirit was given to Him without measure,—that He was manifesting to us our Father's tenderness, our Father's merciful pity for the fallen and outcast, our Father's compassion for the sorrowful and suffering, our Father's sympathizing love for His own dear children, the faithful and true in heart, the meek and pure and loving, those who are hungering and thirsting after righteousness, those who are striving by God's help to be perfect, even as their Father in heaven is perfect."[2]

But if we wish to have a technical theological teaching drawn out on the lines of passive dogmatical propositions, for such teaching we shall search his pages in vain. We shall fail to find the propositions, and we shall encounter only a condemnation of the spirit of exclusiveness and intolerance which intrenches itself behind this petrified phraseology. On whatever subject he might be speaking, his great object was to

[1] *Natal Sermons*, I. p. 81. [2] *Ib.* p. 201.

show to his hearers with all possible clearness the nature of the deadening changes which almost from the close of the Apostolic age overlaid the good news of Christ with a network of iron formulas put forth as living principles.

"Ah! how fearfully," he said, "did the Church contrive during the first thousand years of her history,—ay, during the first five hundred,—to blot out that central truth (of the Fatherly love) from her system, interposing a mortal priesthood between the conscience and its God. . . . Do we believe, then, in the mercies of God, declared to us and ministered in the life and death of Jesus our Lord? Do we believe that in Him—in His hatred of sin, in His grief for the sinner, in His pity for the weak, the fallen, and outcast, in His love for the faithful and true of heart—the Living Word was taking of the Father, and showing to us His blessed character? And have we a 'thankful remembrance of His death,'—that He sealed in that hour the labours of His life,—that he failed not, He fainted not, the dear Son of God, and Son of man, until the work was finished which His Father gave Him to do, leaving us a bright example that we should follow His steps? Do we thank God in our hearts that we fear not now to die, since that loving and Holy One has died at God's command, has breathed forth that gentle prayer, to be laid to heart by all mankind, 'Father, into Thy hands I commend my spirit?' And do we bear in mind that He,—who by His pure life and patient death, His constant mind of love, displayed to the end in that other intercession which He made upon the cross with dying lips for His murderers, 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do,' offered that one offering which alone is acceptable to infinite love, the offering of a holy will consummated in act,—has taught us also each in our measure to do the same, ... to offer up to our Heavenly Father that living sacrifice of faith and love and obedience, from all humanity, redeemed from death by the in-dwelling of the Living Word, inspired and quickened with the Spirit of Christ, with which the

Father will be 'well pleased,' which will be 'holy, acceptable in His sight, our reasonable service.'"[1]

But neither here, nor anywhere, could he put up with any approach to unreal or insincere or even ill-considered language.

"We often say," he remarked, "that our Lord's example is to be the guide to us in all our duties of life. And so, indeed, it should be,—yet not in the way that many seem to suppose, by His having actually shared in the performance of those duties and resisted the temptations more especially connected with them . . . . Of His childhood and boyhood we know scarcely anything: of His youth we know nothing. We have very little to show us how He acted as a son or a brother; we have no example in His life of a husband or a parent; no exact pattern for students or men of business, for artisans, domestic servants, village labourers, for professional men, soldiers, or statesmen. The duties of later middle life and of old age were not discharged by Him; the lot of the noble, wealthy, and powerful was not experienced by Him, nor that of the pauper in the poor-house, of the prisoner immersed for years in the dungeon of the oppressor, of the patient racked with pain, or worn with lingering disease in the wards of the hospital. The example which He has actually given us in the Bible is chiefly that of an active ministry of almost three years in the prime of life, under circumstances which can never happen again in the history of the world. . . . . How is it, then, that we are able at once to appeal to Christ's example, as the perfect model of what human beings ought to be, or ought to do, under all circumstances? It is because we appeal to the *spirit* of His life,—to the *principle* which ruled it,—to that conformity to the perfect will of God, that desire to please His heavenly Father, that surrender of His own will to God's will, which He manifested on all occasions. And

[1] *Natal Sermons*, I. p. 287.

taught as we are ourselves by the Divine Word—enlightened by the Light which is the life of men—we are able in our own minds to fill up that which is wanting for our actual guidance amidst the duties of life,—to say to ourselves, in different situations, 'In this way Christ would act or would have acted.' We are able to set before us an ideal Christ, a perfect image of the Divine Man. That image of perfect beauty and holiness—of the perfect Man—which we thus by Divine grace behold each in our own mind—is not set before us at full length in the Gospels, nor could it possibly be; no record of His life could have supplied minutely all the details needed for this purpose—for setting a mere *copy* which we are closely to follow in all our different relations of life—even if our Lord had actually entered into human relationship more fully than He has done. It is, I repeat, to the spirit of His life—to the principle which ruled it—that we must be appealing continually day by day and hour by hour, if we would 'put on Christ,' put on the Christian spirit. . . . The example, then, of Christ is not less valuable to us, because the details of His life are few, and leave many and most important points of our lives without models of conduct. Our following of any model, to be true, to be of any worth, must not be an imitation of certain acts, of certain demeanour, appropriate to this or that situation or relation, in which as human beings we may be placed. . . . Christ is our great Example, because He came not to do His own will, but the will of the Father who sent Him—because He sought not His own glory, but in all that concerned Him was simply obedient, leaving His cause in God's hands—because He bore witness for the Truth on all occasions, regardless of consequences."[1]

But this example can act upon us and influence us only through love. It was thus that it acted on St. Paul, one "among the most extreme High Churchmen of the Jewish Church," but whose chains were broken so soon as

[1] *Natal Sermons*, I. pp. 315-17.

"the truth of Christ's blessed Gospel flashed upon his mind, and he saw that it was a message of love to all mankind, a message of love from the Father of spirits, to tell us, one and all, Jew and Greek, bond and free, male and female, that we are 'all the children of God by faith,' no more servants, but sons, and if sons, then heirs of God, and joint heirs with Christ."[1]

That which Christ is we are to be.

"'As in *Him*,' St. Paul says, dwelt 'all the fulness of the Godhead bodily,' so *we*, he tells us, are 'the fulness of Him that filleth all in all.' The glory that was revealed in Christ, is revealed also in our measure in us; the Father that dwelt in Him dwells also by the Living Word in us. These words express a great mystery, which we cannot altogether fathom. But they remind us of the greatness of our high calling to be the sons and daughters of the Lord Almighty. . . . They remind us of our glorious duty and privilege to be 'followers of God, as *dear children*.'[2]

Nor was he afraid that any rude hands could shake the basis of his child-like confidence and faith.

"Theologians may dispute — as perhaps they must — on the history of the Resurrection; critics may do their work for the God of Truth in sifting its details. But nothing can touch the spiritual fact that He, who died upon the cross, now liveth—that He, who died unto sin once, now liveth eternally to God. For us, Christians, the name of Christ is exalted, as a living power, over all the earth; for us His cross is the emblem of the victory of love, of patience, of faithfulness, through suffering. Has persecution stamped out the truth which He taught us? Will it be ever able to do so? Has neglect or the lapse of time rendered His Divine teaching worn out and obsolete? Do His words cease to quicken, to strengthen, to comfort, to stir to the very depths our inner being? Will His example ever fail to instruct, and cheer, and stimulate us?

[1] *Natal Sermons*, II. p. 38. [2] *Ib.* II. p. 115.

No! in that Truth—in the assurance of our Father's love, of the Sonship of Christ, and our sonship as one with Him, of the grace of the Spirit breathing on the souls of men—in that Eternal Truth, which Christ proclaimed, is the ark of refuge, and ever will be, for the children of men."[1]

It may be said that in these sentences we do not see with sufficient clearness what may be meant by the cross and the death of Christ.[2] On this subject the Bishop had not been led, perhaps, to analyse his thoughts with a specially careful scrutiny, and there may be to a certain extent a commingling or even a confusion of two senses. But whatever the defect may be, it is as nothing to the exaggeration of this defect which may be said to characterize nearly the whole theological literature of this country. We can scarcely read the words of any preacher without encountering expressions which see in the cross of Christ only the wooden post on Calvary, and in His death only the breathing forth of His bodily life on that instrument of torture. Of the Bishop's real meaning something has been said already, in our examination of his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans;*[3] but it is enough to say that nowhere in his writings can we find any phrases which lay stress on mere outward incidents, or make the spiritual truth dependent on historical facts, or rather on records of them which may be more or less uncertain. For him beyond all doubt the death of Christ was His death to sin, the eternal death to sin, which is itself His resurrection to the eternal life of righteousness and truth. In His death to sin, in His victory is our victory. It is He, the pure and Holy One, speaking the words, doing the works of God, in whom the Father was dwelling, who came to manifest the Father to us; it is He who has taught us all to say,

"Our Father—all the sons of men, the sinful and sin-oppressed

[1] *Natal Sermons*, II. p. 120.

[2] See Vol. I. pp. 299, 300.

[3] *Ib.* p. 142 *et seq.*

as well as the faithful and true-hearted, those who have 'trespasses' to be forgiven, 'temptations' by which they are harassed, 'evil' from which they long to be 'delivered:' it is He who said to that guilty woman, 'Go and sin no more:' it is He who said to the penitent thief, 'This day shalt thou be with Me in Paradise!'"[1]

The present age had, the Bishop knew, its special difficulties and its special controversies; and for guidance through all these he could intreat his people to have recourse to that book which he was supposed to have done his best to vilify and disparage.

"If perplexed with many thoughts, and harassed with the controversies to which the present age has given rise, and in which you feel you must take a part, from which you cannot escape—rather, from which, as a true servant of God, as a faithful Christian, you cannot consent to withdraw yourself (for you cannot consent, with a weak cowardice or a guilty indolence, to let the whole burden of them fall upon your children in the next generation), you may always fall back on those words in which the writer of Ecclesiastes sums up 'the conclusion of the whole matter,' 'Fear God and keep His commandments, for this is the whole duty—rather, this is the whole—of man.' . . . . But you can do more than this: you can turn to the Bible, as a treasury of Divine instruction, and teach them out of it. The Lord's Prayer is there, with its simple petitions, which the child can understand, while the hoary-headed saint can never exhaust their meaning. The Psalms are there, which tell how men lived and laboured and longed after God, and were suffered to find Him, in the ages long ago as now. The lives of good men and true are there, with all their patient faith, their noble self-sacrifice, their joyous confidence, their sure belief in the final triumph of God and His Truth—though checkered, it is true, with signs of human infirmity. Above all, the history of Christ Himself is there, with its calm serene trust in the ever-present help of His heavenly Father

[1] *Natal Sermons*, II. pp. 169, 170.

with its purity and goodness, its holy hatred of sin, its pitiful compassion for the sinner, its boundless love to God and man, exhibited in life, and sealed in death. And you will find enough in all these, if you are faithful, to help you to do God's work and speak God's Word to your families, to 'bring up your children in the nurture and admonition of 'the Lord.'"[1]

The raising of all men, therefore, from the death of sin to the life of righteousness was for the Bishop the end and aim of the Divine work in the world.

"The faith of Christ, the faith which cares for the weak, which reclaims the fallen, which makes us see in every human creature our Father's child, which teaches us that we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren, which sets before us the Cross, the sacred emblem of love and suffering, as the glory of humanity—how can the Author of that faith, of this pure doctrine, be any other than the Lord and Saviour of men, the dear Son of man and Son of God, in whom 'the Father was dwelling' by the Eternal Word, to whom He 'gave not the Spirit by measure'? Yes! Christianity is a fact,—a fact of the present as well as of the past. No criticism of documents, no discovery of glosses, no sifting of history, can ever disprove it or rob it of any of its essential glories, as the Light,—the Great Light,—which has 'come down from above, from the Father of Lights,' to lighten our race. . . . Nothing is more plain in the New Testament than that the sum and substance of it, as of the Old, is not a system of religious worship, not a summary of many and various things to be believed or done, so that 'whosoever shall not believe or do them, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly,' but a revelation of God, and of our relation to Him, as that of children to a loving Father."[2]

He believed that true Christianity was the highest truth yet made known to man.

[1] *Natal Sermons*, II. p. 275. [2] *Ib.* p. 323.

"The 'peace of Christ' is the settled conviction of God's Fatherly love to Him and to His brethren,—this is that peace which passes all understanding, which He has left as our portion. It is this fact, of His asserting a claim of sonship to God, for Himself and for each one of us His brethren, which differences His work from that of other religious teachers. On the practical realisation by us of this intimate relation, this union between God and man, He laid the chief stress, as the very sign of His Divine mission, when he prayed in His last prayer, 'that they all may be one, as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be one in us.' . . . On this was founded that universal fellowship, which we call the Catholic and Apostolic Church."[1]

With all narrowness and exclusiveness such a faith as this must be in absolute antagonism.

"In the life of Christ, slight as is the sketch which we have of it in the Gospels, the leading idea is of one who lived wholly for others, to comfort and to heal, above all to bring home to God the lost sheep of the flock, to waken penitence in the sinner, and to assure the penitent of pardon and peace. And if the history in the Gospels of the life of our Head is but a sketch, it is in a measure filled up by the lives of the members of the body of Christ, of all His true followers in every age. Whom do we and all men recognise as true Christians, even though with many weaknesses, perhaps, and imperfections? Are not labours of love, sufferings for love's sake, the *essential* part of the characters of such? A Christian may be ignorant, feeble, perhaps imprudent; he may know nothing of the Athanasian Creed, or, knowing it, he may dislike some parts of it, and doubt or dispute others; and yet he may receive that blessing which the Master pronounced upon the meek, the merciful, the pure in heart, the peace-maker. But a cruel Christian! a selfish Christian! an avaricious Christian! a vindictive

[1] *Natal Sermons*, II. p. 325.

Christian! an impure Christian! even a self-indulgent Christian! is a contradiction in terms." [1]

But while he thus put before them the foundation of our life in God, he was unwearied in his onslaughts on superstitious beliefs which overlay that foundation with falsehoods, and put it out of sight. Many of these superstitions are mere delusions, products of ignorance and defective knowledge, to be dealt with gently and forbearingly; and assuredly no one could submit them to gentler and more forbearing treatment than that of the Bishop of Natal. At the time when he wrote he had especially to counteract a form of teaching which in later years has greatly altered its tone, if it has not dwindled away almost into nothing,—a teaching which seemed to take a positive delight in picturing the Fountain of Holiness, Truth, and Love as a vindictive and arbitrary demon. Thus in a sermon on the Devouring Fire ("who among us shall dwell with the Devouring Fire? Who among us shall dwell with the Everlasting Burnings?"), he points out (1) that the traditional method seizes on these words by themselves, and, hearing the question asked without waiting for the answer, refers them to the pit of woe, to the everlasting burnings of hell-fire; and (2) that the answer given in the context shows that the Devouring Fire is no other than the Living God, with whom dwells the man who walks righteously and speaks uprightly and shuts his eyes from seeing evil.[2] Having cast the traditional method to the winds, he was not only not afraid of speaking the truth, but he saw instinctively the way in which it would be best to set the truth before men. He would not allow them to remain in bondage to the letter of any book or the decrees of any Church; but he would have them see "that the foundations of their faith stand fixed and sure in the Eternal Rock of

[1] *Natal Sermons*, II. pp. 327, 328. [2] *Ib.* I. p. 19.

God's unchangeable wisdom and love; that that love is higher and deeper than men's thoughts about it"; that all great truths, which have ever gained a mighty mastery over the minds of men, whether in the Church of Christ or out of it, have come from the Living God, the Fountain of Truth; that the creeds of the Catholic Church—the products, no doubt, of ages when Jewish and Christian forms of thought had been intimately blended with the philosophical systems of Greece and the East, and of which the expressions, therefore, may but imperfectly correspond to the more advanced knowledge and modes of thought of our own times—do yet shadow forth to us eternal realities of the world unseen.[1] He had no hesitation in exposing the folly which speaks of every part of the Bible as so interwoven with the other parts that to invalidate one portion was to throw discredit on the rest, so that if the historical accuracy of the Pentateuch be questioned there will be little or nothing left on which the mind can lay hold for peace and content.[2] The very phrase "the comfort of the Scriptures" which suggested these expressions, exhibits the absurdity of these notions, it being impossible to refer the term "Scriptures" to any but those of the Old Testament, those of the New not being yet in existence.[3] He could quote to his hearers in Natal passages from Dr. Irons's work on the *Bible and its Interpreters*—and he had a right to do so—which the most vehement of his High Church antagonists could not challenge, Dr. Irons being one of the foremost champions of the "authority of the Church." This straightforward writer had said plainly that the records on which the so-called historical books of the Old Testament were based had perished without exception, and that the outlines which survive have been drawn by other hands, with a design of their own, so that they who seek mere history

[1] *Natal Sermons*, I. p. 39. [2] *Ib.* p. 39.
[3] *Ib.* p. 40.

must, as, in the opinion of Dr. Irons, the chronicler warns them, seek it elsewhere.[1]

If Dr. Irons[2] could so speak, the Bishop was not less justified in saying that this judgement of Dr. Irons was undoubtedly true, although he himself drew from it a different conclusion. The design of the chronicler was certainly not to write history; but it was to pervert history so as to make it appear that the Levitical Law had been fully and exactly acted upon since the days of Moses, and to gloss over, or to suppress, every fact which might militate against this position. Thus the Bishop told his people that "the chronicler never gives a hint of David's great sins of adultery and murder," nor of Solomon's heathen marriages or of his idolatry. The Books of the Kings, no doubt, contradict him flatly; but the chronicler had not the fear of the Hebrew canon before his eyes, or at all events hoped that his own version of the history would be read to the exclusion of the older books. In the same way he says nothing of the wickedness of Abijah, but makes him address Jeroboam's host of 800,000 men "in most pious language," declaring that in Judah the law was strictly obeyed, that God Himself was with the men of Judah for their Captain, and His priests with sounding trumpets to cry alarm against their enemies. The older writer again says that in Asa's days the idolatrous high places *were not* taken away out of Judah, whereas the chronicler says that they

[1] *Natal Sermons*, I. p. 41.

[2] The honesty and integrity of Dr. Irons are beyond all question. It was, therefore, only to be expected that when he and the Bishop met they should be attracted to each other. The relations between them became very friendly. Dr. Irons gave him a copy of the *Bible and its Interpreters*, then out of print, or—must it rather be said?—out of circulation in obedience to dictates which the author naturally shrank from disregarding. In the book was a friendly manuscript inscription, which greatly pleased the Bishop, but which unfortunately cannot be given here. The volume was burnt in the fire at Bishopstowe, in 1884. See Vol. I. p. 77.

were. But it is in the glorification of the priests and Levites that the latter is most persistent and most barefaced.

"Thus the Book of Samuel," the Bishop told his people, "gives not the least indication of the tribe of Levi having been distinguished in any way for their numbers, dignity, or influence, in the time of David, and especially is silent as to any great body of priests and Levites having been present on the occasion of bringing up the Ark of God to Jerusalem. On the contrary, this supposition is distinctly negatived by the facts actually stated. Instead of the priests covering, and the Levites bearing, the Ark, as the Law enjoined, ... we read that the Ark was put upon a new cart . . . . and Ahio went before the Ark, while Uzzah evidently walked behind or beside it, and so put out his hand, we are told, to stay it when the oxen shook it, and met with his death while so doing. Not a word is said about priests or Levites in the whole narrative." [1]

But according to the chronicler, the Bishop went on to say, 4,600 Levites and 3,700 priests attended David at Hebron, and with them Zadok and twenty-two captains of his father's house; that with these David took counsel for the bringing up of the Ark, charging these priests and Levites to gather together for the purpose of bringing it up to Jerusalem;

"and yet, even according to the chronicler, after all this consultation and gathering, David makes use of mere laymen—not of priests and Levites—to remove the Ark in the first instance, for it is only when warned by the death of Uzzah that David is made by the chronicler to say, 'none ought to carry the Ark of the Lord but the Levites.'"

But the numbers of the priests and Levites who attended on this occasion are carefully registered, altogether 862 Levites and two priests, although more than 8,000 had come to Hebron ten years before for the mere civil purpose of making David King.

[1] *Natal Sermons*, I. p. 50.

"The whole story" of the chronicler, the Bishop added, as he was bound to add, "is obviously a mass of contradictions."

If David forgot the Mosaic ordinances about the Levites, can it, he asked, be believed that

"not one out of so many hundreds or even thousands of the tribe of Levi—not one single priest or Levite—not one prophet, such as Nathan or Gad, who were at that time living, and doubtless were present at his side—came forward to warn the devout King that no man of any other tribe whatever should presume to intrude upon the sacred prerogatives of the priests and Levites, 'lest he die'—nay, rather, lest there should break forth 'a plague among the children of Israel'"?[1]

If he spoke of the authority of the Scriptures as writings at all, the Bishop was bound to say at least thus much; but, having said this, he added:—

"I have said enough to show you how the truth stands in respect of these Books of Chronicles. You will find much more of the same kind for yourselves, if you will only thoughtfully read the narrative, and compare it with what is written in other places."

He was not afraid to trust their judgement, and he had no misgivings about shocking their faith, for he had assured them at the outset:—

"This I say—as the testimony of one who has resolved, by God's grace, not to shut his eyes to facts of any kind which in these our days God's wisdom is pleased to make known to His children, of one who has thoroughly examined one portion at least of the Sacred Volume, and and knows now, perhaps, almost as much as is at present known of its unhistorical character, its variance with scientific certainties, its discrepancies and contradictions—this I

[1] *Natal Sermons*, I. p. 52.

say, the more the Bible is studied, the more Divine it seems; the more august, and grand, and wonderful; the more full of real support and solid comfort for the soul of man." [1]

When criticism has done its work, the Scriptures remain still the oracles of God.

"They teach us about God and His doings; they speak messages from God to the soul; they are still profitable for doctrine, reproof, correction, instruction in righteousness; they are a gracious gift of God's Providence, that we 'through patience and comfort of the Scriptures might have hope.'" [2]

Few things are more sad and instructive than the clinging to the letter rather than the spirit, which has characterized mankind in all ages; and one of the most signal instances of this disposition is to be found in the strange tradition of the restoration of the Pentateuch by Ezra, after it had been burnt at the time of the Captivity. This story, like that of the Book of the Law in the time of Josiah, starts on the assumption that there was but one copy; and it is for the traditionalists to explain how this could be. For them it seems that this story of the fiery draught which preternaturally brought back to his memory every word of the whole Pentateuch becomes the basis of their trust in the correctness of the Hebrew Scriptures as we now have them: but, as Dr. Irons insists with irresistible force, if we grant the truth of the tale,

"it is on the gigantic gifts and inspiration of the transcribers in Ezra's day that we are really depending—gifts and inspiration which yet are a mere hypothesis, of which the possessors tell us no single word. And before Ezra's day we are thus owning, unmistakeably, that the literary history of the Old Testament is lost. Let all those who would identify this with God's entire Revelation, see to what they have brought us." [3]

[1] *Natal Sermons*, I. p. 38. [2] *Ib.* p. 53. [3] *Ib.* p. 61.

"I agree entirely with this author," the Bishop adds, that "'a more hopeless, carnal, and eventually sceptical position, it is impossible to conceive,' than that 'which identifies the Written Word with God's Revelation' of Himself to man. And because I believe it to be so unsound and dangerous, I have done my best, and shall still do my best, God helping me, to set you free from it, by showing you a 'more excellent way' in which you may continue to regard the Scriptures as a gift of God, a precious witness of His love to man."

"We are often," he says, "wishing to be wiser than God. . . . We want to have either an infallible Bible or an infallible Church—something to which we may have recourse in our perplexities—some infallible external guide, some voice from without, such as men often long to substitute for the voice within. But God knows best how to train us for Himself. . . . He will not supply us with an infallible external authority, which shall supersede the necessity of our listening to that Living Word which speaks within us, and witnesses with our spirits that we are born of God."[1]

No doubt, the task of discrimination to which we are thus called is one which demands real effort of thought as well as singleness of purpose. But

"in using our best mental powers in such inquiries we are," he says, "best pleasing God, and doing the will of Him who has aroused this spirit of investigation in the age in which we live, and in which He calls us to do our part;" and we may be certain "that when all this work is done, no portion of Eternal Truth can ever be lost; it is safe in the keeping, not of Churches and Councils, inforcing belief in doctrines and creeds by excommunications and anathemas, but in the keeping of Him who is Himself the Truth, and by His Spirit will maintain a permanent supply of the true Bread of Life for the hearts of His children."[2]

[1] *Natal Sermons*, I. pp. 67, 68. [2] *Ib.* I. p. 113.

But having said that God would let us have neither an infallible Book, nor an infallible Church, he would not use language which might leave the impression that the Church of England, while declaring that the Roman and other Churches had erred not only in questions of government and discipline, but also in matters of faith, was herself incapable of making a mistake. She had made many mistakes; and there were, as he had said in the preface to Part I., many points in her formularies which called for revision and alteration. Among these were the questions put to sponsors in baptism. On this subject he told his hearers:—

'You will remember that it has now been ruled . . . . that the words in the Ordination Service, 'I do *unfeignedly believe* all the canonical Scriptures,' must be understood to mean simply 'the expression of a *bonâ fide* belief' that 'the Holy Scriptures *contain everything necessary to salvation*,' and that '*to that extent* they have the direct sanction of the Almighty.' If this is true of the Scriptures themselves, of course it must be true of the Creeds, . . . the compositions of fallible men in former days, which are only *based on* Scripture. In other words, we are justified . . . . in these days of wider knowledge and deeper thought in extending to the answer of the god-parents in baptism, who say of what is called the Apostles' Creed, ... 'All this I steadfastly believe,' the same latitude of interpretation as that which is extended to the declaration of the deacon at ordination, when he says of the Scriptures themselves, 'All this I unfeignedly believe.' We may understand the answer in question to express no more than the belief that the Creeds contain 'everything necessary to salvation,' and that 'to that extent they have the direct sanction of the Almighty.' Yet we believe also—at least I certainly do—that there are great eternal truths underlying most, if not all, the mere literal expressions of the Creeds; that, for instance, Christ will 'come from heaven' in a very living sense 'to judge both the quick and the dead,'

though we can no longer believe that heaven is a place above our heads, or that He literally '*sitteth* on *the right hand of God*.'"[1]

Much in Mr. Maurice's spirit, and with some likeness to his language, the Bishop spoke of the baptism of infants as

"a beautiful symbol of our faith that they are already in fact, —yes, from their very birth-hour,—the children of God. And in this way infant baptism in our Church is a protest, for which we may be thankful, against all exclusiveness, against all appropriation of the love of God by any. The Church declares by it that no merit—not even faith—is needful to make the human soul the object of the love and care of the Father of spirits."[2]

The kindling of His love in the heart would be its rescue from bondage to freedom—a freedom which would tell in every direction, in the way of regarding the sacraments, and of dealing with all ordinances and with all things outward, such as signs and wonders. The superstitions connected with the latter he assailed by his remarks on the Book of Jonah. As to the supposition that in speaking of the sign of the prophet Jonah our Lord referred to the story of his dwelling in the whale's belly, he insisted plainly on the impossibility of supposing

"that our Lord in this very passage, while condemning his questioners for seeking a miraculous sign as a ground of their faith, would actually in the same moment give them such a sign, in direct compliance with their own request."

The sign of Jonah was his preaching to the Ninevites, his warning to them of the consequences of sin, and his announcement that God willed not that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance.[3]

The mischief of blind subservience to ordinances, as such,

[1] *Natal Sermons*, I. p. 143. [2] *Ib.* p. 147. [3] *Ib.* p. 153.

he brought out powerfully in some very careful sermons on the Sabbath. He had no scruple in saying that the inforcement of this ordinance in Scotland had been productive of frightful mischief, and perhaps of nothing but mischief; but in saying this he was supported by the declarations of Scottish ministers whose eyes were at length opened to the folly as well as the wickedness of this wretched Judaism. He cited the words of one minister who referred to the time when

> "no street lamps were allowed to be lighted on the darkest Sunday nights, because it was held that nobody had any right to be out of doors at such hours. The Assembly forbade any person taking a walk on the Sabbath, or looking out of a window, and therefore all the blinds were pulled down; and there is great reason to fear that the spurious conscience, thus created, indemnified itself, for all the gnats it was forced to strain at, by swallowing a variety of camels."[1]

It is unnecessary to dwell on the iniquities, the hypocrisy, the misery, of the Scottish Sabbath under this Pharisaic discipline. It is enough to say that only fifty years ago the General Assembly dared to speak of *walking* on Sunday as "an impious incroachment on one of the inalienable prerogatives of the Lord's Day."[2] Here, too, the Bishop could point to all this horrible oppression and cruelty as being based on documents which were historically untrustworthy. Take away the Fourth Commandment, as given in the Books of Exodus and of Deuteronomy, and this miserable fabric of dead traditionalism topples to the ground. But not only do these two versions of the precept contradict each other, they are both the product of an age many centuries later than that of Moses. These facts the Bishop draws out very clearly and forcibly in his sermons;[3] but we have had occasion to go into

[1] *Natal Sermons*, I. p. 230.
[2] *Ib.* p. 232.
[3] *Ib.* p. 242.

the subject already.[1] The point on which he chiefly laid stress is that we are under no paramount obligation to keep either the seventh day or the first.

"There is no ground for supposing that the adoption of the Christian Sunday, in place of the Jewish Sabbath, rests upon apostolical authority. On the contrary, the apostles themselves, as we see by many instances in the Acts, kept with their countrymen the ordinary Jewish Sabbath."

He remarked further that

"no writer of the first three centuries has attributed the origin of Sunday observances to any apostolic authority,"[2]

and it needs scarcely to be said that he never felt the least scruple in pointing out the abominations arising out of or suggested by the mere ceremonial observance of one day out of seven. Thus, of the dreadful and at the same time absurd story of the man stoned to death for gathering sticks on the Sabbath, he asks,

"Who can believe that such a command as this ever really proceeded from the mouth of the Ever-Blessed God? a command, too, which would appear to have been powerless to prevent the evil which it proposed to cure, which did not hinder the people at large from defiling the Sabbath with pollutions infinitely worse than that of gathering a few sticks for a fire. 'Your new moons and Sabbaths I cannot away with; your hands are full of blood.'"

Nor was this all. The proof of the falsehood of the story was lying ready to hand, only people would not see it, because they would not think, they would not look, they would not examine.

"What a noble work then," he says, "is that of modern criticism,"[3]

[1] See Vol. I. pp. 677 *et seq.* [2] *Natal Sermons*, I. p. 252.
[3] *Ib.* p. 255.

which draws out this evidence like the Book of the Law from the hole in the wall into which it had been stowed in the days of Manasseh.[1]

"See how in a moment the finger of criticism points to the proof, lying plain before our eyes, that this story is an insertion of a later day than that of Moses, and most probably was not ever a part of the original narrative of the Exodus. '*While the children of Israel were in the wilderness*,'—how could these words have been written by *Moses*, who *never came out* of the wilderness, who delivered his last address, as we read, on the other side Jordan *in the wilderness?* Here, in short, we have another instance of those numerous insertions which have been made in the original narrative of the Pentateuch by writers of a later age."[2]

In short, the plain issue of the matter is that the Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath; that it was designed for his bodily, mental, moral, and spiritual health; and that, so far as it fails to promote, or so far as it interferes with, this health, or with any other obligations, the observance of it has for him no force whatever. That it does promote this health, and that the institution is, therefore, one of great value, no one was more ready to maintain than the Bishop.

"We need," he said, "at all events in civilised communities, where there is such continual tension of the brain, and draining of the nervous energy, the recurrence of a day of rest at shorter intervals [than those of the Greek festivals] —rest, not to be inforced upon us from the necessity of a positive law, but rest commended to us by the wise provisions of our gracious Creator, and approved by universal experience to be a source of infinite blessing, the right of the poor man as well as the rich, as needful, in fact, for the wants of our physical, social, moral, and religious nature,

[1] See Vol. I. pp. 547, 628, 669 *et seq.*

[2] *Natal Sermons*, I. pp. 255, 256.

as the rest by night after the toil of the day. But still the glory of the Sunday is common worship. And, whatever may be done, publicly or privately, to enlarge and to elevate the enjoyments of the working classes on the Sunday, God forbid that it should not be done with a due regard to the worship of Almighty God, which especially irradiates and dignifies the day, and casts a bright ray over the week besides." [1]

It is not easy to imagine an influence more potent for good, for the dispelling of noxious superstitions, dreams, and fancies, than that of the Bishop's teaching in these sermons—teaching so well weighed, so considerate, so sober in expression, so careful of the mental and moral powers of his hearers. To many the old Satanic mythology may seem now like a thing belonging to past ages; but over not a few we cannot doubt that it has a very real and a very mischievous influence still. Resolved on doing all that he could to knock these deadly fancies on the head, he attacks the very root of the conception, which has its origin in the attributes of the Vedic Vritra or the Zoroastrian Ahriman.

'A will, or spirit, so malignant as to hate God, as God—as goodness—and possessed of knowledge and power such as is popularly ascribed to the devil, 'next to' omniscience, 'next to' omnipotence,—and all these attributes exercised continually for the destruction of God's work and the ruin of His creatures, ... such a being as this is utterly inconceivable amidst the extended knowledge, and the sounder thought and reasoning, of the present day. . . . . The 'devil' has long been, with most thinking persons, a mere impersonation of evil, of the promptings of the selfish nature, which conflict with the Divine Law of love and purity; like the vast shadow on the mountain-side, in which the bewildered traveller fails to recognize himself, but sees a supernatural and monstrous foe. There is here

[1] *Natal Sermons*, I. p. 278.

a dark image of the man himself, but there is no centre of darkness and of night, to be the opposite and enemy of the radiant ruler of the day." [1]

For Luther's ideas on the subject he had no indulgence. If between ourselves and God

"a spirit of evil interposed, we should become mere helpless victims; the battle would be over us between God and the devil,—an idea almost blasphemous to a Christian mind, and which would shock us more, if we had not been long inured to it by traditionary teaching." [2]

Nay, the very feelings which some, holding Satan to be a distinct person, profess to entertain for him are terribly mischievous.

"The thought of a creature of God, set apart for hopeless wickedness and misery, and an object worthy of hatred, is fraught with danger to the soul that entertains it. If a person, a thinking being, may be hated,[3] why not also *men*, his agents, or who seem to be so. . . . . And, indeed, what a large measure of the notorious curse of all times—the *odium theologicum*—is actually due to the belief that the justly-detested devil has inspired the 'heretic,' the man who denies or doubts what we hold to be sacred truth!" [4]

The Bishop is thus carried into a train of thought which is worked out with singular clearness, strength, and beauty. It is the ingrained habit of the so-called religious world to treat the slaughtering of bulls and goats under what is styled the Old Dispensation as the true sacrifice, the sanctification of the man being a sacrifice only by a figure or a metaphor; and in the same manner it is a common thing with those who

[1] *Natal Sermons*, II. pp. 15, 16. [2] *Ib.* p. 17.

[3] See the teaching of Gregory of Nyssa on the restoration even of the "very inventor of wickedness." Vol. I. p. 169.

[4] *Natal Sermons*, II. p. 17.

profess to build everything on the "sacramental system" to charge those who, with Ignatius, Jerome, and Augustine, speak of the body of Christ as union with Him and of His blood as His love, with not "going far enough." They are ready to allow that what they say is true, if only, as they phrase it, they will go on to make the inward grace inseparable from and dependent on the outward sign. It would be impossible to show more clearly than their own words show how completely they are blind to the nature of the good news which St. Paul was never weary in proclaiming—how thoroughly they are still in bondage to the letter which kills.

Not less lamentable is the pretence that they who, as it is said, question or deny the personality of the devil, make light of the heinousness of sin. To get at the truth we must reverse the proposition.

"It is one reason," the Bishop said, "for attacking the popular superstition about the devil, that the absurd and grotesque ideas which belong to it are too apt to be associated in the minds of the young and thoughtless with sin, with guilt, with temptation,—things which should never be spoken of lightly."

The danger is not confined to the young alone. It was said of Southey that he could never think of the devil without laughing, and it is perhaps well that the conception which has its roots in the myths of Vritra, Ahriman, Set, or Typhoon, should be exhibited in its true colours. The mythology which has crept into Christianity—or rather has twined round it as a choking parasite—is formidable both in its quantity and its strength; and this mythology must be put down and cast away. It is generally supposed that the English word "devil" represents the Greek Diabolos, and is meant to exhibit him as the slanderer and accuser. The notion is quite absurd. St. Paul speaks of him as the prince

of the power of the air; and the name devil, in its almost endless variety of forms, shows that the Greek name Diabolos, applied to the supposed great enemy of God, is not the same word as Diabolos in the sense of a slanderer. The devil is as much a deity of the air as is the Vedic Dyaus, the Greek Zeus, and the Latin Jupiter; and the one word is the same as the other. The name *devil* is, in short, the same word with the Latin *Divus*, *Dyovis*, and the Sanskrit *Deva*.[1] The Christian theology about the devil, so far as it has been formulated at all, is a mass of grotesque confusion. The idea of the devil as drawn out in the fully-developed traditional picture is an impossible one. This picture would make it necessary for us

> "to believe that a creature purely evil draws every instant his being, and those wondrous powers with which the fancy of poets has endowed him, from our God and Father, the 'Father of lights.' Moral disorder may be endured for a time, if it is to issue in the victory of order—chaos before creation—but not otherwise. The mind refuses to grasp it; the heart revolts from beholding it in God's world."[2]

The mind of St. Paul rejected altogether any such idea. With him sin was the assertion of self-will, the principle of rebellion against God, issuing in alienation from God—issuing, in one word, in death, which is its wages and its recompense. But this very death, the only real death, he maintains, is being destroyed. It is the last enemy which is being conquered; and the assertion, surely, is self-evident, for when the principle of resistance, disobedience, and rebellion has been put down, what else can remain to be overcome?

[1] It can be scarcely necessary to say that the subject here touched on is one of supreme importance. Christians have allowed themselves to be scared with shadows, while they have averted their eyes from the real danger. If the reader should wish to go further into the question, I may refer him to my *Mythology of the Aryan Nations*, p. 567, ed. 1882.

[2] *Natal Sermons*, II. p. 19.

This is the enemy which Christ reigns to destroy. When it has been destroyed, He will then surrender His kingdom again to the Father, so that God may be "the all in all."

The Divine love, therefore, knows no weariness. The Divine will can never flag in its purpose. The work begun will assuredly be accomplished, for the simple reason that God cannot deny Himself. His gifts are without repentance; and His word will without fail accomplish the thing whereto He sent it.

"The work of God may be slow, but it will be sure. We wish to 'make haste' in remedying the evils of the world, in enlightening its ignorance, in casting out its sin. But this is not the process which the wisdom of our Father—ay, and His love—sees best to take. That very ignorance and sin which He suffers to exist are meant to be the means of exercising and purifying our souls, . . . of making us more truly conformed to our Father's image. And to the same love and wisdom we must commend, while we work for them, the cause of our fellow-men, however steeped they may be in sin and misery. True love as St. Paul says, believeth and hopeth all things: it is only the weakness of our love which makes us so ready to despair—to despair of any. How great is the patience and long-suffering of God let each of us answer for himself."[1]

The firmness with which the Bishop cast aside all merely material and carnal presentments of Divine and eternal truths is clearly shown in an admirable sermon on the Spiritual Resurrection, in which he examines the remarks of Dean Alford, and of Dr. Thomson, Archbishop of York, on the opening of the graves, and the reappearance of the dead saints at the moment of the passion, or after the resurrection, for the narrative leaves the time uncertain.[2] As

[1] *Natal Sermons*, II. p. 111. [2] *Ib.* p. 124.

evidence of a spiritual resurrection, the resuscitation of ten thousand dead bodies is manifestly worth nothing.[1] The two things belong to a different order; and it is astonishing indeed that any should have been able to blind themselves to this distinction.

The spiritual resurrection is a present and eternal reality; and it is on the reality of the Christian life that the Bishop's thoughts were always resting. This life must bring us to God, or it is nothing; and it can bring us to Him only by the path of love. Of this love he held that we are assured everywhere, and we are taught the lesson most of all in the Lord's Prayer.

"It is Christ who has taught us all, of every clime and country, of every age, of every character, the sinful and sin-burdened, the publican and prodigal, as well as the faithful and pure in heart, 'when we pray, to say, Our Father.' It is He who has taught us this, not only directly by His lips, but by His whole ministry in life and death, by His sympathy with human sorrow, His pitiful compassion for the fallen and outcast, the ignorant and wandering, . . . showing forth continually the 'kindness and love towards man' of the Father who sent Him, of the Father in whose name He spoke, of the Father who dwelt in Him! Thus our Lord teaches us concerning God and His relations to us, not by multiplying a list of attributes, which, though we strain our faculties to the uttermost to grasp them, one by one, transcend each, in its infinite grandeur, the power of the human mind to conceive and imagine, and are still more inconceivable in their union. Not by such abstractions as these does Jesus teach us respecting Him who is the fountain of our life and being. He bids us say to Him, 'Our Father.' The truest, nearest view for us of the Great First Cause of all, the Ruler of the universe, the Lord of the conscience and of the heart, is

[1] It would furnish no warrant even for expecting the bodily resuscitation of the ten thousand and first. Still less would it tell us anything of a moral or spiritual resurrection.

that which we gain from our knowledge of what a human parent may or ought to be." [1]

The subject of the Lord's Prayer led the Bishop directly to a subject on which a great deal of angry feeling has been roused, especially among those who find satisfaction in the use of phrases which, whether capable of justification or not, cannot be found in the formularies of the Church of England. The Bishop felt himself bound to maintain that reverence for the words of Christ Himself would withhold us from addressing prayer directly to Him.

"Our Lord teaches us," he insisted, "to pray always to God, to God our Father—not to the Virgin Mary, not to the saints, as the Roman Catholics do—not even to Christ, as many Protestants do, departing thus from the direct teaching of Jesus Himself and the example of His apostles." [2]

An examination of St. Paul's epistles brought him to the conclusion that

"in not a single instance does St. Paul pay worship to Christ either by ascriptions of praise or by offering of prayer." [3]

As an exposition of the actual practice of Christendom, the Bishop's sermon is unanswerable. That he was justified in speaking as he spoke, the tone of modern devotion leaves little room for doubting. For altering the formularies of the Church of England there has been no opportunity; but the lack of this power has been to a large extent compensated by the introduction of hymns which, like the collection known as *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, contain,

"Many expressions which," the Bishop says, "would have been utterly condemned by our Lord and His apostles, expressions in which not only is adoration paid to Jesus

[1] *Natal Sermons*, II. p. 136. [2] *Ib.* p. 144. [3] *Ib.* p. 145.

instead of to 'our Father and His Father,' to 'our God and His God,' but the very thorns and cross and nails and lance, the wounds, the vinegar, the gall, the reed, are called upon to satisfy our spirits, to fill us with love, to plant in our souls the root of virtue, and mature its glorious fruit. But, indeed, the whole book overflows with words of prayer and praise, directly addressed to Jesus, such as find no example or warrant in the lessons of our Lord Himself, nor in the language of His apostles." [1]

"The whole spirit of our Prayer Book," he insisted, "is opposed to the practice which has rapidly grown up in our day, . . . of offering direct worship to our Lord Jesus Christ."

On this point the Bishop was met by many vehement contradictions. Thus the *Spectator*, commenting on "The Bishop of Natal's New Heresy," took upon itself to declare that

"The whole service of the Church of England, the whole Liturgy which expresses her devotional frame of mind, is founded on prayer to Christ;"

and that the assumption of direct prayer to Christ is

"an essential assumption of the worship of the English Church, an assumption which penetrates it from end to end, litany, collects, everything."

We are thus brought sharply to the question of fact, severed wholly from the regions of opinion; and with reference to the Prayer Book the facts are these:—

(1) With the exception of a few sentences in the "Te Deum," and the solitary invocation "Christ, have mercy upon us," once used the order for morning and evening prayer, which constitutes the daily devotion of the Church of England, contains no prayers to Christ, for, if it be open to any to

[1] *Natal Sermons*, II. p. 150.

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suppose that the prayer of St. Chrysostom is addressed to Christ, it is equally open to anyone to entertain the opposite opinion.

(2) Of the litany, by far the greater portion is not addressed to Christ.

(3) Of the prayers and thanksgivings for various occasions, not one is addressed to Christ.

(4) Of the collects, not very far short of one hundred in number, three are addressed to Christ; and one of these in its original form was not addressed to Christ.

(5) In the Communion office, with the exception of the sentences in the hymn known as the "Gloria in Excelsis," there is not one prayer addressed to Christ.

(6) In all the occasional offices, with the exception of a solitary invocation in the Visitation of the Sick, there is not one prayer addressed to Christ.

Thus the assertion that prayer to Christ penetrates the devotion of the Church of England "from end to end, litany, collects, everything," resolves itself into this, that prayer to Christ is to be found in about three collects, in one or two canticles and hymns, and in a few suffrages of the litany. That this, however, is not all that is to be said on the subject, is shown by Dean Stanley in a postscript to the chivalrous speech delivered by him in Convocation, June 29, 1866. This speech exhibits, throughout, the native and indomitable courage of the man; and it exhibits also his habit of making admissions for which there seems to be no special need. Without these admissions the chivalry of his speech would have been perfect. It is somewhat marred by the sentences in which he declines to defend the course taken by the Bishop.

> To accumulate controversy on controversy in a community already sufficiently distracted, or to endeavour to fight out questions of abstract theology on the uncongenial field of

poetical works embodying sentiments of practical devotion, will appear to most persons in a high degree incongruous and inconvenient. This ought not," he added, "to affect the abstract doctrines or customs in dispute."

But to this the reply would be that the doctrines and customs are not abstract, and that these poetical works are compositions which cannot fail to have an immense effect for good or for evil on those who use them, and that, in fact, many of these hymns set forth the traditional mythology of Christendom in its most corrupting form. So again the Dean flings a sop to the Bishop's opponents by saying that

"Bishop Colenso's mode of dealing with the matter may be dry, narrow, and misplaced;"

but it also may not be; and in the opinion of an immense majority of those who may read the sermon carefully, in all likelihood it will not be.

Amongst his opponents many probably would like well to be told that

"doubtless in the Cathedral of Maritzburg they would hear much that we might lament;"

but this, too, is a matter of opinion, and Dr. Stanley's own remarks make it abundantly clear that the Bishop was more than justified in his contention. With these exceptions the Dean's speech was a defence of the Bishop's position as vigorous as it was righteous. He showed, in short, that the "new heresy" mooted a question which had long ago been discussed and answered in his favour. It has been the rule, not only of the English Church, but of Western Christendom generally,

"to address prayers and praises directly to the First Person in the Trinity, through, and not to, the Second."

This is a fact stated openly by Renaudot, Bishop Bull, and Waterland; and

"the question of the doctrine of the Trinity, and of the Divinity of the Second Person in the Trinity, does not enter into the matter at all."

The debate should have been closed at once by the frank admission that the Bishop was quite right, and that the phraseology of many of these hymns is wrong and offensive. But the tone assumed towards him was, as the Dean urged, only too like that of the persecutors of the Jansenist Arnauld,

"Ce ne sont pas les sentiments de M. Arnauld qui sont hérétiques. Ce n'est que sa personne. Il n'est pas hérétique pour ce qu'il a dit ou écrit, mais surtout parcequ'il est M. Arnauld."

Having thus shown the real drift of the language addressed to the Bishop, Dean Stanley went on to pay one of those noble tributes to his work and his motives which will not lightly be forgotten. He spoke of his transparent sincerity as unquestionable.

"It is this," he said, "which has won for him an amount of support and sympathy of the laity which has very rarely fallen to the lot of an English Bishop. 'I would go twenty miles to hear Bishop Colenso preach,' was the remark made by an artisan in the north to a missionary clergyman, 'he is so honest like.' The overflowing congregations of his own church in Natal . . . show how he is regarded by the bulk of the laity in South Africa. . . . The very complaints which have reached this country against those congregations show their importance: 'infidels, men who never entered a church before, working-men in their shirt-sleeves.' That the picture is extremely overcharged is now known from the indignant denial on the part of many members of the congregation itself. But even if there is any foundation of fact for those statements, it surely would be a cause for

rejoicing rather than lamenting. How gladly should we hail in London congregations of such men. How welcome would be the sight, in our Cathedrals, of even twenty artisans in their working dress."

The sum of the whole was in brief this, that

"the doctrines of the Bishop of Natal are such as the Universal Church has never condemned; such as within the Church of England are by law allowed;"

and for doctrines which are allowed the liberty of maintaining them must be conceded to all. The Church of England is not like the Church of Rome. The latter may be able to impose silence on its priests even on those subjects on which in theory they still have the power of free speech. The true voice of the Church of England in this matter

"is such as becomes a Church which never was infallible, and is now reformed,"

and which, therefore, we may add, may be reformed again.

There remain to be noticed yet two or three points on which the *Natal Sermons* are especially instructive, when viewed in the light of the experience gained since the time of their publication. While the ecclesiastical party are using language which seems to pledge God to the maintenance of particular forms of Church government, others are coming to see that the Divine kingdom is not dependent on any outward organizations. But no words in which their convictions may be expressed can be more forcible than those in which the Bishop clothed his own thoughts on the same subject twenty years ago.

"How surely," he said, "does that notion of a Church in which the Almighty is *interested* (*His* party being one amidst the many parties into which civilized society is split) lower the thoughts of all who entertain it towards the Great God our

Father. How does it also lower the characters of those who persuade themselves that they are His partisans; embitter their feelings towards all who oppose them; tempt them to think that lying, evil-speaking, and slandering, suppression of the truth, distortion of fact, watching for the stumbling of their enemy, ... and making a man an offender for a word,—that any baseness is sanctified by so great and holy an end, as to entice or drive men into that Church of theirs, out of which there is no salvation." [1]

The Bishop's thorough truthfulness is not less shown in his resolution to leave no room for interpretations not warranted by the original documents, even though these interpretations may have been supposed to inforce lessons of supreme value. When, in the Balaam story, the prophet is said to express the hope that he might die the death of the righteous, the context, he very rightly insists, shows that the writer here contemplated the righteous people, as they called themselves, "Jeshurun," the chosen nation, and that the phrase was used with a very vague notion of what it was to be righteous. But, however this may be, it is clear that the Old Testament writings furnish us with no materials for the painting of such a picture as that which Bishop Butler has drawn of his character.[2] If we are to believe the story in Numbers, Balaam does not deserve the judgement passed on him in the Epistle of St. Jude. He resisted from first to last the temptations thrown in his way by Balak, and went home as poor as he came. There is no reason for charging him with the seduction of the Israelites; there is even less ground for attributing to him a monotheism approaching even to that of the great Hebrew prophets, and therefore none, it would seem, for setting him up, after Bishop Butler's method, as a signal example of a man spiritually ruined by self-deceit. The Bishop of

[1] *Natal Sermons*, II. p. 180.

[2] For the date of this episode, &c., see Vol. I. p. 659.

Natal makes no reference to this sermon of Butler's; but there can be little doubt that it was present to his mind.

These sermons also did great good service in protesting against views of human life which make not even a pretence of accounting generally for its phenomena.

"From early times, it has been a human instinct to worship the saviour, the deliverer, of the nation. . . . . It is hard, doubtless, to forbear to ask, 'Why does not He who has the power set all things right?[1] Why do the oppressed still groan? Why, above all, are such masses of the human race left in their degradation?'—or to answer with courage and cheerfulness, 'In God's own time, which must be the best, all shall be set right.' But we must do so, or what is the alternative? If we let go our trust in the goodness of God, we must disown, or give the lie to, our own spiritual being, its most deep and living convictions, its plainest utterances. We must shut our eyes to the whole spiritual world. We must forget that we ever loved or reverenced anyone, that any character in history or fiction ever won our admiration, that we ever said 'Well done' to the generous, the self-sacrificing, the patient warrior. We must set down man as only the most cunning animal. And how much in the history of the race and the individual will then remain unexplained and inexplicable!"[2]

Not less wholesome was the rebuke which he gave to the temper of those critics who seem to take pleasure in sowing broad-cast charges of forgery and deception, where these charges have little meaning or none. The second epistle bearing the name of St. Peter may be regarded as coming with the sanction of that apostle's authority. It was not so regarded in the days of Origen or of Eusebius. All that is said of this epistle may be allowed to be true.

[1] This passage may be compared with Mr. Maurice's strangely mistaken impressions. Vol. I. p. 208.

[2] *Natal Sermons*, II. p. 189.

"It professes to be a sequel to the first epistle. It speaks of the writer as having been an eye-witness of the majesty of Christ; it personates the apostle speaking throughout."

Eusebius and Jerome were perfectly aware of all these facts, but for all this they express no horror of the document as being a manifest cheat, and they nowhere characterize it as an imposture or a forgery.[1] We have not far to seek for the explanation.

"Such practices—which we in our days should utterly condemn—were very common in the early Church [as they were also beyond its limits]: and many of the apocryphal books of the New Testament were put forward in the names of the apostles or apostolic men, evidently with devout intentions, for the purpose of gaining greater authority for the matters contained in them.[2] There were doubtless, some 'impostures,' gospels, and other writings falsified for the very purpose of maintaining and propagating certain doctrines. And Jerome himself can hardly escape the imputation of having disgracefully lent the honour of his name to support and spread such incredible falsehoods as those which [may be found in] his *Life of St. Anthony*."[3]

As valuable as any in the series are the two sermons which deal with the nature of prophecy. Here, again, the Bishop falls back, as he is fully justified in falling back, on the words of Dr. Irons. The declarations of a sacerdotalist who sees the uselessness and the falsity of the traditional theories and position, are really decisive of the question.

"It has been doubted," Dr. Irons frankly allows, "and it becomes a fair matter of inquiry, whether there is in all the Hebrew Scripture one such distinct prediction of the remote future which concerns us, as the natural mind would ask. As to the carnal, and frequently immoral, idea

[1] *Natal Sermons*, II. p. 197. [2] See Vol. I. p. 199.
[3] *Natal Sermons*, II. p. 198.

of mere prognostic, that, at all events, is not the Christian idea." [1]

This idea is fostered by the fatal habit of isolating a passage from its context, and of looking at it not with reference to the writer, but as the utterances of an unconscious oracle. The multitude generally suppose that they know the meaning of certain prophecies, because their teachers speak of them as Messianic, although this itself is a term on which they never pause to bestow a thought. In a greater degree than perhaps with any others this is the case with the passage which speaks of the Child and the Son on whose shoulders the government shall rest, Wonderful, Counsellor, the Prince of Peace.

"So accustomed," says the Bishop, "are we to hear these words applied to the birth of Christ, that it has scarcely occurred to us, perhaps, to ask if they were ever meant to have—if they ever could have had—another reference. And yet the context, which speaks of the rod of Israel's oppressor being broken, as in the day of Midian, will remind us that here also we have to do with those present realities which belonged to the actual condition of Israel at the time when the prophet was writing." [2]

The traditional interpretation was as strained, as groundless, as impossible, as is that of those words from the Book of Job which are included among the opening sentences of the Burial office of the English Church. In truth, so long as the fashion of wresting passages from their context prevails, we must be at sea and in the dark everywhere. The prophet speaks with rapture of a time "when Israel shall be the third with Egypt and with Assyria, even a blessing in the midst of the land; whom Jehovah of Hosts shall bless, saying, 'Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria the work of my hands, and

[1] *Natal Sermons*, II. p. 221. [2] *Ib.* p. 247.

Israel mine inheritance." Of this passage the "orthodox" commentator Thomas Scott says candidly,

> "I apprehend that the grand accomplishment of these verses, and of the latter part of this extraordinary prophecy, is still to be accomplished;"

that is, as the Bishop adds, he admits that it has not been fulfilled,

> "though how *Assyria* can now be joined with Egypt and Israel in a common worship must seem to most persons inconceivable." [1]

One more subject only remains on which the Bishop's remarks need to be noticed, and for these his hearers must have felt grateful to him. So much is said of the extraordinary gifts and powers of the early Church, that many nowadays become disheartened and depressed; and it is certain that the whole tone of thought which regards the Christendom of the present century as a deterioration or debasement of that of the first is altogether unwholesome and false. Among the most astonishing of these early gifts is supposed to be that of the gift of tongues. On the one side we have the statement in the Acts that without learning, without preparation, a small band of persons were suddenly endowed with the power of speaking a multitude of languages of which, before, they knew nothing, and of speaking them articulately, grammatically, and fluently, to the perfect comprehension of those for whom these languages severally were their mother-dialects. On the other we have a number of statements which scatter to the winds the story in the Acts, or the writer's assertions in reference to that story. It is easy to remark, with Erasmus, that this power did not much improve the Apostles' mastery of Greek, as their mode of writing in that language is

[1] *Natal Sermons*, II. p. 252.

"not only rough and unpolished, but imperfect,—also confused, and sometimes even plainly solecizing and absurd! for we cannot possibly deny what the fact declares to be true."[1]

It is unnecessary, however, to go off into debate. We have St. Paul's words that these utterances, whatever they were, were to all except the interpreters absolutely unintelligible. The tongues were indeed "unknown," so far as the functions of articulate speech are concerned; nor do they seem to have been heard of except at Corinth. Except in writing to the disciples there it is very noticeable that in none of his epistles does St. Paul make any reference whatever to this faculty. . .

"Nor does any other of the epistles of the New Testament, those of James and Peter, John and Jude, make the slightest reference to any such power existing in the early Church. Nor is any mention whatever made of such a gift by any of the earlier Fathers of the Church till we come to the time of Irenæus, who died in the year 202, and who says that there were brethren in his time who had prophetic gifts, and spoke through the Spirit in all kinds of tongues."[2]

After this brief appearance these strange gifts vanish away again; and the few later notices bearing on the subject have reference to wild cries, unmeaning sounds, and convulsive gestures, such as those which called forth the sternest possible rebuke from St. Chrysostom. In other words, the gifts had nothing whatever to do with that mastery of known articulate languages which is ascribed to the disciples in the Acts. What inference is it possible to draw except this, that the writer of the Acts of the Apostles[3] must as an historian be

[1] *Annot. in Act. X.* 38. [2] *Natal Sermons*, II. p. 296.

[3] For the explanation we have probably not far to go. Acts ii. 13, belongs to that representation of the gift of tongues which is given by St. Paul. The sounds were unintelligible, therefore the men who uttered them were not sober. Acts ii. 11, goes on the supposition that the various visitors at the feast (the strangers from the several countries) had no

placed on much the same level with the Hebrew chronicler? Whether the utterances of which St. Paul speaks were related to the manifestations of more modern times, is a question which may have interest for those who think that some good purpose may be answered by excitement, rapture, or ecstasy. What the latter may be we may gather to some extent from the accounts of those who profess to have experienced them; and of these reports the Bishop gives a specimen,[1] adding that we have no difficulty in concluding that the whole of these developments

"were due to a state of religious excitement, unnatural and undesirable,—very hurtful indeed to the true spiritual life."

With his usual carefulness in the measurement of his words the Bishop remarks that the reports of what took place at Corinth, when carried to St. Paul?

"caused him much anxiety, though he would not undertake to pronounce it an entire delusion."

In truth he could not do so, because by some means he had convinced himself that he could speak with tongues more abundantly than all the rest; and that in some way or other he was the better for being able to do so, as otherwise he could scarcely have thanked God for the difference. From the very nature of the case it was impossible for St. Paul to explain the meaning of the unspeakable words which he had heard in Paradise: but meaningless sounds are for human beings unprofitable sounds. On this point the Bishop contents himself with saying that St. Paul had

"a great deal of mystical enthusiasm in his character."[2]

common speech, therefore the speaking with tongues must have meant the mastery of foreign languages. The two notions are blended, the latter being of decidedly later growth.

[1] *Natal Sermons*, II. p. 297.

[2] *Ib.* p. 299. The whole sermon deserves to be very carefully considered.

This "mystical enthusiasm" has been one of the many influences which can scarcely be said to have worked for the good either of Eastern or of Western Christendom; and it must have worked yet more mischief, if his periods of rapture and ecstasy had really disturbed the balance of his sober judgement. That they should not have done so is one of the most remarkable characteristics of this most wonderful man. After all, we are concerned with facts, and not with visions, and we have to ascertain what the facts of the first century of the Christian era may have been. According to Gregory the Great,

> "the Church does daily in a spiritual manner what it did then by the Apostles in a temporal sense. When the priests lay their hands upon believers by the grace of exorcism, and forbid malignant spirits to dwell in their minds, what else do they do but cast out devils? And all the faithful who now abandon the words of this world, and utter forth sacred mysteries, these speak with new tongues; they who by their good exhortations take away ill-feeling from the hearts of others, these take up serpents."

This, with more which the Bishop quotes,[1] may attest the goodness of Gregory's heart, as well as his sound sense; but his method is either of that risky kind which may make anything mean anything (as when he himself speaks of the three daughters of Job as representing the Trinity, or else the faithful laity), or is one which may justify a conclusion vastly wider than his own. The uprooting of evil feelings by means of good exhortations is a taking up of serpents. If one injunction or promise may be so interpreted, so may all. It is impossible to shut our eyes to the fact that the commissions given to the Apostles at the beginning and end of the ministry, as also to the seventy, were couched in the same form. In each case they are charged to deal with physical conditions to

[1] *Natal Sermons*, II. p. 301.

which we may attach allegorical or spiritual meanings. All are susceptible of the interpretations of Gregory the Great; and it is only through such interpretations that they can be reconciled to our moral sense. It is, then, perfectly probable (or, rather, is it not certain?) that a strictly spiritual commission charging them with spiritual duties has been translated into the language of outward marvel and prodigy. When in his answer to the Baptist's disciples Jesus is said to have referred to the healing of the sick and the raising of the dead, He was most assuredly speaking of those who were sick to death morally, "dead in trespasses and sins," and it was the mere casual gloss of a later scribe which inserted the parenthesis in the third Gospel, asserting that in that same hour he exhibited a number of outward signs and wonders such as could satisfy none, teach none, and benefit none. Of the outward signs the first Gospel makes no mention, and the narrative in this Gospel comes with a force of which it is almost wholly deprived in the other. To do battle with superstition is one of the very first of Christian duties; and superstition has been the hydra of the Christian Church from the earliest ages. It was full blown in the days of Tertullian, who could gravely speak of ecstatic sisters to whom

> "the Spirit appeared, but not of an empty or shapeless quality, but as something which gave hope of being held, tender and bright and of an aërial hue, and altogether of human form."

Of such gross superstition the Bishop reminds us that we may find abundant instances in the *Journals* of John Wesley;

> "for that excellent man, amidst all the good which he undoubtedly was the instrument of doing, has done this evil, to make cries and tears, sighs and groans, disordered vision and diseased imagination, rank with many as undoubted evidences of true conversion, true turning of the heart to

God, true turning of the soul's eye to the light of the Sun of righteousness."[1]

At the time during which these series of sermons were preached, the Bishop was morally bound to justify and make clear to his English fellow-countrymen the course which the cause of truth had compelled him to take in the criticism of the Hebrew Scriptures. He had also to vindicate his action as one which was, under the circumstances, the most suitable to his office as a missionary Bishop. The survey which has now been made of some of these remarkable discourses may suffice to show how thoroughly he succeeded in both these tasks. The critical portion of his work becomes the means of inforcing moral and spiritual lessons of supreme moment. The history of the Levitical legislation serves to exhibit with startling clearness the righteous teaching of Jeremiah and the other great prophets in their battle with a sensual and cruel idolatry. But, in dealing with subjects referring to the Old Testament or the New, there is everywhere the same earnest effort to bring men to see the holiness of the Divine law and to pray for the quickening power of the Divine love.[2]

[1] *Natal Sermons*, II. p. 307.

[2] The readers of the *Natal Sermons* will notice the frequency of quotations from the poems of Tennyson, especially from "In Memoriam" and "The Two Voices," and the enjoyment which the Bishop manifestly derived from the wisdom and truth of their teaching. It was his habit to take a volume of "In Memoriam" with him as a pocket companion during his long and solitary rides through the colony.

CHAPTER III.

THE ROMILLY JUDGEMENT.—WORK IN NATAL.

1867.

THE celebrated judgement of Lord Romilly (Bishop of Natal *v.* Gladstone and others) was delivered November 6, 1866. This judgement, it is scarcely necessary to say, has never been appealed against, and it remains law. Nor need we add that it is law so clear, precise, and full, that it must be regarded as closing every question relating to the subject, until the decision itself has been reversed. As to the special point at issue, the judge ruled that the plaintiff retained his legal *status* as Bishop of Natal notwithstanding the assumption of fact made in the judgement of the Judicial Committee (who, as we have seen,[1] were in reference to the history of the Natal colony, misinformed as to facts); that though the letters patent might not confer upon him any effective coercive jurisdiction over his clergy, he could still inforce obedience by having recourse to the civil courts, and that, as no allegation was raised in the pleadings against the plaintiff's character or doctrine, he was intitled to the income of the endowment.

The decision, however, is not less important now[2] than when it was delivered. The defendants pleaded that the letters patent had failed to create a Bishop of Natal. Lord

[1] Vol. I. p. 260. [2] September 1887.

Romilly ruled that Dr. Colenso was Bishop of Natal, and would remain so until he died, or resigned, or was legally removed. The Bishop has ceased from his long toil, and the members of the Church of England in Natal have unanimously elected another to fill the see, which the adherents of Dr. Gray in the so-called Church of South Africa wish manifestly to suppress. With exhaustive foresight, Lord Romilly dealt with the whole question thus raised, and if the election of the Church Council in Natal is to be rejected by the Crown, the decision of the Master of the Rolls must first be formally reversed. There is not a single argument urged by Bishop Gray's followers which is not anticipated and set aside by Lord Romilly. It has been contended that the Church of South Africa and the Church of England are one and the same thing. Lord Romilly lays it down

"that where there is no State religion established by the Legislature in any colony, and in such a colony is found a number of persons who are members of the Church of England, and who establish a Church there with the doctrines, rites, and ordinances of the Church of *England*, it is a part of the Church of England, and the members of it are, by implied agreement, bound by all its laws. In other words, the association is bound by the doctrines, rites, rules, and ordinances of the Church of England, except so far as any statutes may exist which (though relating to this subject) are confined in their operation to the limits of the United Kingdom of England and Ireland. Accordingly, upon reference to the civil tribunal, in the event of any resistance to the order of the Bishop in any such colony, the court would have to inquire, not what were the peculiar opinions of the persons associated together in the colony as members of the Church of England, but what were the doctrines and discipline of the Church of England itself obedience to which doctrines and discipline the court would have to inforce. . . .

"But if a class of persons should, in any colony similarly circumstanced, call themselves by any other name—such as, for instance, the Church of *South Africa*—then the court would have to inquire, as a matter of fact, upon proper evidence, what the doctrines, ordinances, and discipline of that Church were; and when these were made plain, obedience to them would be inforced against all the members of that Church. But the fact of calling themselves in communion with the Church of *England* would not make such a Church a part of the Church of *England*, nor would it make the members of that Church members of the Church of *England*. . . .

"Any Church established by voluntary association may call itself in union and full communion with any other Church. A Lutheran Church, established in *South Africa*, might call itself in union and full communion with the Church of *England;* but the truth of the assertion is a distinct matter. But if certain persons constitute themselves a voluntary association in any colony as members of the Church of *England*, then, as I apprehend, they are strictly members and brethren of that Church, though severed by a great distance from their native country and their parent Church."

The question had been already raised and considered by the Judicial Committee in the case of Long *v.* the Bishop of Capetown. Mr. Long had professed to submit himself to the discipline and ordinances of the Church of England. A so-called Synod, convened by Dr. Gray, had laid down rules not in accordance with that discipline, and the imposition of those rules on Mr. Long, or on any one else who had not consented to them, was declared illegal. It was not questioned that the Bishop of Capetown possessed the authority of a Bishop of the Church of England; but

"it was because the Bishop had exceeded that authority, and because the Lords of the Privy Council could not find

anything in the evidence to show that Mr. Long had assented to anything more than this, that they declared the sentence of the Bishop of Capetown to be null and void."

Lord Romilly further asserts that the principle involved in this ruling is one which quickly commends itself to the mind of English colonists generally; and speaking of the consequences which must flow from this principle when put into practice, he says,

"that as soon as this matter shall have become clearly understood by the English residents in the colony, there will be a rapid and large secession from the Church which was only in union and full communion with the Church of *England* to the Church of *England* herself, which even in those distant colonies would receive and foster her brethren as part and parcel of her own peculiar flock."

To bring out into still clearer light certain contingencies which might arise, and which in fact have arisen, Lord Romilly adds:—

"That any number of persons, if they so pleased, might, though holding the doctrines of the Church of *England*, reject, either wholly or in part, the discipline and government of that Church, though they preserved still the creed, faith, and doctrines of the Church of *England*, is unquestionable. . . . But this association would not be a branch of the Church of England, although it might call itself strictly in union and full communion with it. By the law of the Church of *England* the Sovereign is the head of the Church; and in substance (for the *congé d'élire* is nothing more than a form) no Bishop can be lawfully nominated or appointed except by the Sovereign, nor, as I apprehend, would any person be legally consecrated a Bishop of such Church except by the command of the Sovereign."

Lord Romilly attacks, further, the plea most of all urged in favour of the Church of South Africa, viz. that the Chris-

tian life will best be fostered by societies independent of the law of the Church of England as interpreted by the decisions of the Sovereign in Council. He says:—

"This object will be far better accomplished by securing a uniform administration of the same law throughout the colonies instead of founding separate and independent Churches, each framing its own rules of discipline. . . . The judgement of the Privy Council has declared, in the case of Mr. Long, that the Bishop of Capetown has an effective ecclesiastical jurisdiction, provided it be administered in accordance with the doctrine and discipline of the Church of *England*, and in a manner consonant with the principles of justice; that, if it be so administered, it will be inforced and carried into execution by the power of the civil tribunals, but that if it be not so administered, it is a nullity; and that whether it be or be not so administered is a question to be determined by the civil tribunals of the colony, with an ultimate appeal to the Sovereign in Council."

Lastly, he had to deal with the question of the endowments of the see.

"If no portion of the funds of which the defendants are trustees can be applied towards the payment of the salary of the Bishop of Natal, no portion of these funds can properly be applied towards the payment of the salary of any other colonial Bishop similarly circumstanced. Are no more Bishops to be appointed in colonies having an established Legislature, and having no established Church? Are the ministers and congregations of the Church of England in such colonies to be left without the advantages which are found to flow from the superintendence and watchful care of a Bishop?

Another difficulty, and one which would seriously affect the defendants, is this: If the suit of the plaintiff were dismissed, what is to be done with the money dedicated for the endowment of a Bishop of *Natal* and the accumulated income since 1864? Is it to go on accumulating? Is it

to be retained by the trustees for their own benefit because no *cestui que trust* exists? Can it be returned to the subscribers? and, if not, is it to be applied *cy près?* The mere statement of these propositions shows that it is impossible that any one of them should be adopted. In my opinion, the truth is shortly this: These funds were subscribed to induce the Crown to appoint a Bishop of *Natal*. The Crown acceded to that wish of the subscribers, and by letters patent appointed the plaintiff Bishop of *Natal*, and the Archbishop of Canterbury has duly consecrated him Bishop of *Natal*, in compliance with the directions of the Sovereign, and accordingly the plaintiff is Bishop of Natal in every sense of the word, and will remain so until he dies, or resigns, or until the letters patent appointing him are revoked, or until he is in some manner lawfully deprived of his see."

Lord Romilly then proceeds to deal with the notion that, under these circumstances, Dr. Colenso must be irremovable. Far from this, he says:—

"I entertain no doubt that if he had not performed his part in the contract entered into by him, that if he had failed to comply with 'the covenants of his trust,' he could not compel payment of his stipend. The contract he has entered into is involved in the words 'Bishop of the Church of England as by law established.'"

But he goes on to say that

"not a word in the pleadings and evidence before me is breathed against either the moral character or the religious opinions entertained by the plaintiff. Of course, it would be foolish in me were I to pretend ignorance of what has been at the root of the proceedings against the plaintiff in Capetown, and of the refusal of the defendants to pay to the plaintiff the income attached to the bishopric of Natal; but judicially, in this case, where I am bound to proceed *secundum allegata et probata*, I am bound to ignore this matter altogether. Whether, if the case had been raised,

I should have suspended my judgement on it until proceedings had been taken by *scire facias* in the courts of common law, or until recourse had been had by petition to the Sovereign, whom the members of the Church of England in *Natal* might, as I apprehend, have petitioned on this subject, it is unnecessary for me now to speculate. This I hold certain, that if no other court could have been found to try the question I should have been bound to do so. . . . I must therefore pronounce a decree in the terms of the plaintiff's bill."[1]

So was drawn up what may be regarded strictly as the charter of the Colonial Church; and so was laid down a system which, if carried out, would have extinguished at once that bitter contention of antagonistic bodies, of which, by the action of the Bishop of Capetown and his adherents, South Africa has been made the scene.

To W. H. DOMVILLE, ESQ.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *January* 8, 1867.

. . . "And now let me return your kind congratulations on Lord Romilly's magnificent judgement. I need hardly say that it completely satisfies all our wishes, and much more than satisfies our best expectations. As far as the colony is concerned, my position is now, I think, impregnable, and, of course, has been greatly strengthened by the decision, though it was so strong before that a churchwarden, who mixes freely with both parties, told Messrs. Newnham and Callaway, a week or so before it arrived, that 'out of eight men there would be seven for the Bishop, one for the Dean, and none for them.' . . . N—— tells me that he shall make one last attempt to stir up some influential persons in England to bring me to account, and, if he finds they will not, he shall withdraw all semblance of opposition, and treat me as an

[1] The principles laid down in Lord Romilly's judgement are insisted upon with, if it be possible, greater force, and more fully in detail, in the judgement of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council on the appeal of Merriman (Bishop of Grahamstown) *v.* Williams (Dean of Grahamstown), delivered June 28, 1882.

English clergyman would his Bishop. This is very gracious and condescending, truly; however, it is a good deal from one of his crotchety spirit. . . . By next mail I shall be able, I hope, to give you more definite information as to our doings in consequence of the judgement, which has really taken away our breath on both sides of the theological camp. I shall not act under it until the next mail arrives, which will show whether they mean to appeal or not. It seems hardly possible that they should, though I have quite made up my mind to be brought to account myself for my books. On further consideration, however, I see so much reason for the Bishops shrinking from the consequences of such a trial, whether they succeed or fail, that I am by no means sure they will attempt it. If they fail, of course their discomfiture would be most complete. If they succeed, it will only be to fasten an intolerable yoke upon the necks of the English clergy, who are just beginning to awake from their long slumber, and will not, I imagine, endure to be *compelled* to say that we are all descended *from* Adam.

My Cathedral case comes on the day after to-morrow. . . . If we succeed, as I think we must, especially after the recent judgement, my first act will be to notify to F—— and R—— that they are no longer to officiate in the Cathedral; and, if they persist, I must get an interdict to compel obedience to my orders. This will raise the question, perhaps, whether F—— is, or is not (as I maintain that he is), *ipso facto* excommunicate, under the Seventy-Third Canon, for what he has done in electing a Bishop. Then I shall give notice to Green that at the end of February he must quit his house, the Deanery, and must cease to hold his schismatical services in the Cathedral. The cry of 'martyrdom' will be raised, of course; but it will only be echoed by a few here, or, I should suppose, anywhere, after all his past career, and the recent decision. . . .

I expect that by the next or the following mail our laity, and probably some of the clergy, will send home an address to the S.P.G., thanking them for past favours, pointing out that their present Committee consists of five, of whom four

are seceders from the Church of England, and whose principles in distribution of their funds are notorious, and suggesting that in future they should be placed in the hands of a Committee, consisting of all the duly-licensed clergy, and all the duly-admitted churchwardens, with the Bishop as President. Probably also Dr. Callaway, who is the only non-seceding member of the Committee, will address the Society himself upon the subject, declining to act any longer on the present Committee. . . .

"I often feel, we both do, that I have never half expressed to you the deep sense which I entertain of all your kindness. I can only hope that you will understand what may never be expressed, and that you may find some reward in the delight of seeing the great work going forward by the combined action of different fellow-workers, each in his own line, of whom you yourself are one of the first and foremost."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *January* 20, 1867.

"The Cathedral case was heard at last, ten days ago, and the judges will determine it on January 31. My lawyers *expect* the decision to be in my favour, and indeed I cannot conceive how it can well be otherwise. But I should not be surprised if they do not give me costs against Bishop Gray. The fact is that the second judge is a thorough partisan of the opposite faction. . . . Although we had had Lord Romilly's judgement a fortnight, he asserted that the Queen could not make a diocese, that the Bishop of Capetown may have exercised his lawful power as trustee in obstructing an unsound teacher; whereas our argument, of course, was that the present Bishop of Capetown never was trustee. . . . . Offy Shepstone (as we call him to distinguish him from his father, both being Theophilus), on my side, spoke, they say, remarkably well, so as even to draw an encomium from Mr. Connor, who seemed to have fresh light thrown upon his mind, and begged a copy of the Romilly judgement to take home with him. We have had it reprinted

and circulated freely here, and it is universally admired, except, of course, by some of the extreme right."

The Bishop goes on to speak of the measures to be taken with Mr. Green.

"My intention is to set forth his various offences, concluding with his participation in the election of a new Bishop, ... and call upon him to show cause before me why his licence should not be withdrawn. He will probably not appear, or appear under protest. I must try to get our acting Attorney-General . . . . to sit with me as assessor, and so pronounce judgement. Then comes the question, 'Must I now allow an appeal to Capetown?' as my own lawyer advised me to do under the Privy Council judgement. Lord Romilly seems to determine the contrary. At any rate I must bring the case before the Supreme Court, and get their opinion about it. This will be done by my withdrawing my licence, when he will no doubt still go on officiating, or keep the registers, &c., and then I must apply for an interdict, to which he may reply that he has appealed to the Metropolitan under the patent. It is to be hoped our court will set aside this plea. Otherwise Bishop Gray will, of course, overrule every decision of mine. In fact, if they allow the appeal, instead of determining upon the lawfulness of my act themselves, it does not seem to me that they can revise *his* judgement, and they would only have to say that, as my superior has (whether justly or not) set aside my decision, there was an end to the matter. In that case, it would be useless for me to remain here, unless I presented a petition to the Queen to call Bishop Gray to account for his proceedings against me. I see, indeed, that this case *may* open up some very grave questions."

Speaking of a meeting held at Richmond, the Bishop remarks:—

"Mr. Tozer had at first refused to call the meeting by my direction. So my registrar wrote to the churchwardens,

and they called it, and *he* delivers himself as you will see. He declares that he holds no licence from me, that I have no power over the clergy, and that he will still refuse to acknowledge me as his diocesan. As soon as it appears that there will be no appeal against Lord Romilly's judgement, I must, I think, call him to account for his words. . . . . But could not you get Dean Stanley to move in this matter with the S.P.G.? That Society will be guilty of the most gross breach of faith with its subscribers, if it supports this downright rebellion, and, as I see, tries to raise £1,000 a year to send out clergy here to resist my authority, though confirmed by the highest authority in the land. . . . If they would withdraw from the diocese altogether, I should manage well enough. But their present course is monstrous."

TO W. H. DOMVILLE, ESQ.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *February* 8, 1867.

. . . "We have gained our Cathedral case, with costs, by the decisive judgement of two judges. But the third, Mr. Connor, ... delivered a lengthy judgement against me, which will, I think, excite some amusement among English lawyers. He says that the patents are worth *nothing*, and that Bishop Gray is possessed of the property as a private individual. I hope that Mr. Stephen or some one will expose the absurdity of his proceedings. The mischief of it is that it just emboldens the Green party to give notice of appeal to the Privy Council, which they have done, and so I suppose we shall sink another £2,000 into the abyss. However, they surely have not a leg to stand on in this matter, and we must get a judgement with costs, as it seems to me.

" . . . I see that S.P.G. has published, *after* and in plain defiance of Lord Romilly's judgement, a scandalous set of resolutions with respect to this diocese. (1) They agree to pay the expenses of a Bishop visiting Natal at any time at the request of Bishop Gray—that is, they support him in introducing a Bishop into this diocese. (2) They approve

of Mr. Green's turning one of the first laymen in the colony . . . out of their Committee, . . . and substituting a 'faithful,' *i.e.* a subservient, layman. (3) They remodel their Committee to give it an appearance of not being merely Mr. Green and Co.; but practically it will be simply his Committee still. (4) They sanction the appropriation of the Natal grant by their Standing Committee. (5) 'Resolved to issue and circulate, subject to the approval of the President of this Society, the Archbishop of Canterbury, an appeal for additional clergy in Natal;' that is, they are going to swamp this diocese with their rebels.

"Well! this manifesto of theirs only makes it more necessary for me to see whether I have power to exclude these men from the buildings of the Church of England. . . .

"The Bishop of London's Charge is very trimming. But St. David's comes out manfully. They both sent me copies of their Charges.

" . . . Lord Carnarvon's letter to the Bishop of Montreal does not seem to do more than confirm, on the authority of the law officers of the Crown, a point which we had no doubt about, viz. that colonial Bishops could 'consecrate' without a Royal mandate. I took part in such a consecration some years ago when Bishop Mackenzie was consecrated, and had not the slightest doubt as to our liberty of action on that occasion. But can we make a colonial Bishop, *i.e.* appoint a Bishop to a see within the British Empire? 'Bishop of Niagara' is only a title, as Bishop of Maritzburg would be. The former may no doubt be called to help the Bishop of Toronto, just as Bishop Anderson is at this time called in to ordain for the Bishop of London. And so I might call in the Bishop of Maritzburg to help me. But without my licence I apprehend he could not lawfully minister within any of the churches in this diocese. I am still waiting to hear from Mr. Shaen that there will be no appeal. Not having had a line from him since the decision itself, I take it for granted that there is some reason or other for his delay in communicating formally what the papers have stated freely enough. But of course I cannot

act merely upon their information. Up to this time therefore I have taken no steps whatever against any of the disorderly clergy, except to intimate, in the letter I published immediately after the election, that by that act the seven electors seemed to fall under the Seventy-third Canon, and were become '*ipso facto* excommunicate'—that is, as I explained, not separated, as Bishop Gray profanely says, 'from the Church of the Living God,' but merely 'from the United Church of England and Ireland as by law established.' I see the Church papers talk of my having threatened to excommunicate them. Please to contradict this, as I should be sorry to be thought such a goose as to do anything of the kind. But it seems to me that, under the Seventy-third Canon they have excommunicated themselves by their own act—that is, in other words, have seceded from the Church of England. . . . If Mr. Butler comes, he will find things here very different, I expect, from what he imagines. And perhaps his coming, which Mr. Green says is certain, will bring matters to a crisis, and make my position here stronger than ever."

The history of the legal proceedings which the Bishop was compelled at this time to take will be sufficiently given in the letters which follow. The principles by which he was guided are set forth with the greatest clearness in an address to the clergy and laity, dated March 25, 1867.

"Whatever I may trust to receive from some, at least, of my clergy, I only require from all that obedience which is legally due, and which is indispensable for the general good. The clergy well know that I have never at any time during my episcopacy shown any desire to restrict them in the free utterance of their own religious sentiments, within the wide limits allowed by the laws of the Church of England. . . . I shall assume, therefore, that all the clergy who have formerly received my licences to officiate, and who, after this notice, decide to retain them, intend to act under them, and pay to me, as Bishop, due canonical obedience—

except in three instances—where the rights of the laity are concerned."

These three instances were those of the Dean, of Mr. F. S. Robinson, and Archdeacon Fearne.

"In two of these cases," the Bishop said, "the laymen aggrieved have appealed to me, as Bishop, to maintain their just rights, and I am bound to do so. . . . If any of the clergy are not willing to comply . . . with the plain demands of the law, but will still persist in declaring the Bishop of this diocese, appointed by Her Majesty, to have been lawfully deposed and excommunicated, in defiance of the repeated decisions of the courts of law, both in England and in this colony, and will therefore still refuse to pay him that canonical obedience which is legally due to him, while assuming to minister within the churches under his authority, it will be obvious to all of you that they can have no right any longer to be regarded as clergymen of the United Church of England and Ireland. And I am sure that you will feel that the sooner such an anomalous and disorderly state of things is brought to a close the better for all.

"If, however, anything more were needed to make my duty at this time plain to me, it would be offered by the recent acts of the Bishop of Capetown, and the Gospel Propagation Society.

"The Bishop of Capetown declared in his recent Pastoral, issued after the reception of Lord Romilly's judgement, and with express reference to it, that he and others 'feel constrained to resist, at all costs and hazards, be they what they may, the imposition of the Privy Council yoke upon the necks of colonial churches;' that he 'will adhere to' the system which 'subordinates the priest to the Bishop, the Bishop to the Metropolitan, and the Metropolitan to the Archbishop of Canterbury,' and according to which 'all appeals end there.' . . . In other words, he distinctly repudiates the fundamental principle of the Church of

England—that is, of the United Church of England and Ireland, as by law established in the mother country—to which we all belong; and he rejects openly the decisions of its Supreme Court of Appeal. He uses, in fact, the phrase 'Church of England' in a sense of his own, to denote an imaginary Church, an 'Ecclesia of England,' as present to his mind's eye, in which the Supreme Governor shall be, not the Sovereign, but the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the administration entirely in the hands of ecclesiastics."

TO SIR CHARLES LYELL.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *March* 27, 1867.

"Thank you very much indeed for your kind letter which reached us yesterday, and especially for the note about Dean Milman's argument with reference to the notices about Egypt in the Pentateuch. On another paper, inclosed, I have put down my thoughts in reply to it, and have also made one or two quotations from an eminent German critic (whose work only reached me yesterday) which may interest the Dean, though in direct contradiction to his notions about the age of Deuteronomy. The fact is, the Dean has not mastered the criticism of the Pentateuch, and at his age it was not to be expected that he should. The only thing to be regretted is that he should throw the weight of his great name into the scale of the opposition, without having made sure of his ground, and even help them to throw ridicule upon some of us who are slaving in no very pleasant work, underground, in dark dreary mines of labour, in the hope by God's help to get some day at the real truth as to the composition of the Pentateuch, as Kepler did at last, after much toilsome effort spent in vain, in respect of the three great laws of planetary motion.

"You will see by the printed papers which I send you by this mail that I have at last called three of my recalcitrant clergy to account in a *forum domesticum* before myself and two legal assessors. These latter have taken time to consider their judgement, which I have to give on May 9. It was

impossible to do otherwise. Within the last month another opposition clergyman has been borrowed from Bishop Twells in the Free State, and set up under the Dean in my own Cathedral, without the slightest regard to my authority, under Bishop Gray's licence. And as Mr. Butler, in the letter published here from him to the Dean, evidently says in effect *volo episcopari*, and as it is plain that the Bishop of Oxford means, if possible, to send him, I am compelled to take the necessary steps for maintaining my own position, in respect of the Cathedral and other Church property of this diocese. Things, however, are going on very well here. One of the opposition clergy, finding that his people will not follow his leading, has resigned, and is going to England. Another has begged me to allow him time to communicate with S.P.G.; but has promised to prepare children for my approaching confirmation. Another read prayers for me lately, as of old, receiving me at his house as in former days. . . . . So upon the whole we are quietly progressing here. But by the mail just arrived, the Dean has had some private letter which says that the Bishops at Lambeth have agreed 'to petition the Queen to cancel Colenso's letters patent.' What this really means, it is impossible to conjecture at present. But as they can hardly be such geese as merely to ask the Queen to chop my head off, I suppose it must mean that they are going to try at last to bring the *merits* of the case into court, and are in fact going to ask for a Commission to try me. Well I shall be ready for that, I hope, when necessary. Only I suppose I should be dragged to England for it, and that would give the enemy some advantage in my absence. By this time, you, no doubt, know in England all about the Bishops' kind intentions towards me."

The following is the paper referred to in the preceding letter :—

"According to my view *none* of the notices about Egyptian affairs in the Pentateuch were written by the Elohist of

Samuel's age; though even then, as Samuel's sons were made judges at Beersheba, on the very confines of Egypt (1 Samuel viii. 2), and there was, I believe, a considerable traffic from Egypt through Canaan, there would be nothing unreasonable in supposing the Elohist acquainted to some extent with Egyptian customs.

"But he who writes about Egypt is the Jehovist, writing in the latter part of David's reign and the beginning of Solomon's. If Solomon married Pharaoh's daughter, it is clear that there must have been for some time a friendly intercourse between the Egyptian king and David, whose conquests must have made him famous in those parts. Solomon had done nothing to attract attention. In the time of the Jehovist, then, even put as early as I put it, there was nothing to prevent such a writer having a tolerably accurate knowledge of Egyptian affairs. But I confess I can see very little in the Pentateuch which required any such knowledge, except perhaps in Genesis xlvii. 22-26, and that I have assigned to the *latest* period of his writing, in Solomon's reign.

"I received yesterday by this mail a very able German critical work by Dr. K. H. Graf, Professor at Meissen, published last year at Leipzig, from which I quote one or two passages singularly in accordance with some of my views. He begins at once in p. 1: 'Among the most generally admitted results of the historical criticism of the Old Testament may be reckoned, for all who do not turn away with aversion from those results in general, *the composition of Deuteronomy in the age of Josiah.*'

"And he considers this so certain that he takes it for granted without another word, and starts with it as the basis of his whole investigation in a most laborious work of 250 pages. Then on p. 110 he writes:—'I leave for the present unsettled the question whether the *Deuteronomist is identical with the prophet Jeremiah* (who in that case would be the writer of Deuteronomy), since this has no further bearing on the results of my present inquiry. But to the reasons alleged by Hävernick' (an orthodox writer) 'for Jeremiah's

having been the writer of the *Books of Kings*, may be added this also, that Jeremiah *is never once named in them*, and even then, when we might have expected him to appear, mention is made only of the word of Jehovah "through his servants the prophets" (2 Kings xxi. 10, xxiv. 2; compare xvii. 23); whereas any other writer than Jeremiah himself would surely have given us some particulars about his activity and fate under Josiah and the following kings, as is the case with respect to Isaiah and the earlier prophets."

"But if Jeremiah is to be regarded as the author of the Books of Kings (and so Lord A. Hervey says, *Dictionary of the Bible*, ii. pp. 28, 29: 'The Jewish tradition which ascribes them to Jeremiah is borne out by the strongest internal evidence, in addition to that of the language'), Dr. Graf also identifies the author of the Kings with the Deuteronomist, saying, on p. 108, 'That the author [of Kings] in his judgement of religious matters takes the same stand-point as Deuteronomy and the reformation in Josiah's time needs not to be remarked. We must, in fact, recognise in him the Deuteronomist himself.'"

The Bishop had been for some time expecting Mr. Gray, Canon of St. Helena, to join him in his work. In a letter to Mr. Domville, dated March 20, 1867, he speaks of him as having landed at Durban on the 15th, and as being likely to prove a valuable fellow-worker. Mr. Gray had lived on terms of intimate friendship with Bishop Welby, and his name stood high in the estimation of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The Bishop now felt himself bound to take action in accordance with the judgements which had really determined every point of importance connected with the position of the Church of England in the colonies generally. He therefore sent to Mr. Green, to Archdeacon Fearne, and to Mr. Walton, the following letter:—

"*March* 28, 1867.

"As you have plainly shown by numerous acts during the past year that you do not desire to be bound by the laws of

the United Church of England and Ireland, and as it will become my imperative duty to take such action in reference to those acts as my position seems to require, I have thought it best to offer you an opportunity of preventing the public scandal which the measures I shall be obliged to take against you may cause, by resigning the licence you hold to minister within this diocese as a minister of the United Church of England and Ireland, unless you are prepared to conform yourself in all points to the laws of that Church in future."

To W. H. DOMVILLE, ESQ.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *April* 9, 1867.

"I am afraid that this will be the only letter that I shall be able to write by this mail, for I am overwhelmed with business. . . . This is Tuesday, and on Thursday three of my refractory clergy are summoned to appear before me and two legal assessors. . . . We think it best to take no further action in that matter till the Supreme Court sits again on May 1, when we shall apply for the possession of the church (of which I am trustee), and my lawyers have no doubt about getting it. The only question will then be, if Bishop Gray, as Metropolitan, would have any lawful power to license a clergyman to that church in my absence from the colony—an absence caused by himself—when the commissary, whom I had left to represent me, had also resigned and gone to England. If so, I may have to take proceedings against Mr. R—— also, instead of being able, as I hope, to get rid of him by simply saying that he holds no licence. . . . Mr. Green, I hear, has said at Durban that they quite understand that they have separated from the Church of England; that they mean to give up the churches, &c., and have their own quiet body by themselves; that Dr. Colenso will not live for ever, and Mr. Butler will by and by be Bishop in his place, and then they will get the churches back again, &c. But I must say they do not show the least sign of vacating the

churches. By this mail they are bound to send home the papers for the appeal to the Privy Council about the Cathedral. . . . If they do not, to-morrow when the mail goes their time for appeal will be exhausted, and we shall get possession and our costs. But I suppose they will hardly do this. I take it for granted, therefore, that Mr. Shaen will get instructions by this mail to defend the action."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *April* 20, 1867.

"Since my last I have tried the three clergy. They made no appearance. Everything went off quietly and satisfactorily. Some of the other camp, as well as of ours, were present during the proceedings, which took one day and a half. I think the two lawyers are satisfied that everything charged was duly proved, except the first charge against Green, which rested upon an insertion in the *Mercury* (no doubt put in by himself), which we had not the editor at hand to bring home to the writer. The assessors have taken time to consider what judgement they will frame for me, and notice has been given that it will be delivered on May 9. What then will Green and the rest do? They will take no notice, I expect, of my judgement, if (as I expect) it deprives them; but will go on ministering as before. Then, of course, I must apply to the Supreme Court for an interdiet, which will, no doubt, be granted; and then I suspect they will appeal to the Privy Council against such a decision. This is their policy, I hear—to wear me out, by putting every possible obstruction in the way of restoring order. . . .

"We cannot learn anything about the names in the address to Butler, about which Mr. Green was so busy when I last wrote. He is said to have got about 300 signatures altogether,—men, women, and children,—only fifteen in Durban (population, *whites* of all denominations, 3,000, and the Church comprising its fair share of them), the rest partly in Maritzburg, and partly about the colony. I heard

yesterday that the address from my friends in Maritzburg alone had about 300 names attached."

With Dr. Pusey it is unnecessary to say that the Bishop of Natal had no personal acquaintance. But it may be well to give some extracts from a letter which the Bishop addressed to him, June 6, 1867. Dr. Pusey, if he was not unfairly judged, was seldom unwilling to avail himself of accidents of law in claiming the sanction of the English Church for his own dogmas or beliefs. It is only right that the nature of his position, as compared with that of the Bishop, should be clearly understood.

"In the *Guardian* of March 13, which has reached me by this mail, you are stated to have written as follows, in an appendix to your sermon preached before the University of Oxford on the fourth Sunday after Epiphany, after putting forth your own views on the Holy Communion, which are not those generally held by the members of the Church of England :—

"'These truths I hold not as "opinions" but as matters of faith, for which, if need were, I would gladly suffer the loss of all things. These truths I would thankfully have to maintain, by the help of God, on such terms that if, *per impossibile, as I trust, it should be decided by a competent authority*, that either the real Objective Presence, or the Eucharistic Sacrifice, or the worship of Christ there present (as I have above stated those doctrines), *were contrary to the doctrine of the Church of England, I would resign my office. Extra-judicial censures, or contradictions, or opinions, if directed against faith or truth, condemn none but their authors. Censures and criticisms of Bishops, in* 1841-45, *have passed away*, except in mournful effects upon individuals. *The system which they criticised has lived, strengthened, rooted deeper, through adversity.*'

Again, in the *Guardian* of March 27, at a meeting of the English Church Union, you are reported to have said :—

"'There is another reason why we should the more readily be quiet, and that is, that storms in England soon pass away. . . . England will acquiesce—it is the temperament of Englishmen to acquiesce—almost in anything. *Our countrymen have been stirred up, and the marvel to me is, that, considering the instruments which have been used,—the falsehoods, the misrepresentations, and the suppressions of the truth, even while the truth has been partially told,—I say, the wonder to my mind is, that they should not be stirred up a great deal more. For it seems to me, though we must not boast too soon, that this attempt to excite the people has proved an almost entire failure. Then, one trusts, too, that the real state of things may be seen by the opposing party, or at least by a portion of it.*'

"Once more, in a letter to Mr. Golightly, reprinted in the *Guardian* of April 3, you have written as follows :—

"'A paper has been sent to me with the signature of "A Clergyman of the Diocese of Oxford of more than thirty years' standing," in which mention is made of me. The words, I am told, are declared by a good legal opinion to be "clearly actionable." I am not, of course, after having had all sorts of things said of me for thirty-three years, going to seek redress for myself. But what occasions me to write is, that I am told the paper is yours; and then I wish to remonstrate with you about the words, "Dr. Pusey *professes* to belong to the Church of England," for this involves a charge of insincerity, *which one Christian ought not to bring against another. . . . I have heretofore challenged eminent persons to substantiate charges of this sort in a court of law. . . . There must be some means of impleading one who would be glad to be impleaded. . . . I think that the churchwardens of the diocese of Oxford would not think it an English proceeding for a "person to make charges which, when challenged, he cannot substantiate."*'

"I need hardly say that I heartily adopt every word of yours which I have italicised, substituting only 'criticisms on the Pentateuch' for 'the real Objective Presence,' &c., and perhaps moderating a little the language which speaks

of the 'falsehoods, misrepresentation, and suppressions of the truth' by which you have been assailed, though I have had my share of these also.

"But now I must remind you that the conduct which you so justly condemn, as unworthy of a Christian and an Englishman, in your opponent's letter to the *churchwardens* of the diocese of Oxford, is precisely the same as that which you have pursued towards myself, in your communications with reference to the *clergy* of this diocese. You were the first, after the judgement of the Privy Council in my case, to prompt them to a course of active disobedience to their lawful Bishop, and to tell them that 'the Church of England is freed from all complicity with Dr. Colenso.' If *you* wish to stand on clear ground with those among whom your lot is cast, so do I. And I call upon you either to 'substantiate any charges' which you may have to make against me 'in a court of law,' or to abstain henceforward from a proceeding which you yourself pronounce to be unworthy of an Englishman, viz. that of 'making charges which, when challenged, you cannot substantiate.' 'There must be means of impleading one who would be glad to be impleaded.' If you cannot bring me before a 'competent authority,' recognised as such by the laws of the Church of England, in your own person, you can, at least, move the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Bishop of Oxford, to do so—the latter of whom is so extremely sensitive for his own reputation that he can call the editor of the *Record* to account for speaking of him as a 'Romanising prelate' while professing to be a Bishop of the Church of England, though he can yet publicly stigmatize a whole congregation, professing to be Christians, as 'almost all infidels,' and then, when asked to give his authority for such a statement or else to withdraw it, can shrink behind a pretended privilege of Convocation, and suggest that his words *may* not have been correctly reported.

"You yourself, though Regius Professor of Hebrew, have not made, I believe, any public attempt as yet to disprove the main arguments of my work on the Pentateuch." . . .

The letter went on to speak of the long delay which had occurred in the publication of that portion of the *Speaker's Commentary* which was to deal with that part of the Hebrew Scriptures.

The feeling roused in some, both of the clergy and laity in England, by the action of the S.P.G. with reference to the diocese of Natal, finds a clear expression in the following extracts from a sermon preached to his parishioners by the Rev. J. D. La Touche, Vicar of Stokesay (May 5, 1867). The rule of the Society, that "every missionary selected in England proceed without delay to the country in which he is to be employed, and be subject when there to the Bishop or other ecclesiastical authority," expresses, he says,

"a most important principle, for it places the conduct of the Church in foreign countries on a level with the Church here. To forego this rule would be to sanction insubordination and disorder; and yet such a step—a most suicidal step as it seems to me—has this Society taken. . . . They have, in flat contradiction to their most important rule, which requires that missionaries in foreign parts, like the clergy at home, should yield obedience to their lawful Bishops, virtually freed them [in Natal] from this obligation. . . . Henceforth it is impossible, in contributing to this Society, to know whether or not we are supporting a Church in accordance with our own. For all that appears, we should, on the contrary, be helping to propagate dissent, schism, and insubordination in foreign countries, wherever the opinions of the Bishops did not coincide with those of a party in the Church. In consequence of this, I beg to propose that the sum which we have been in the habit of contributing to missionary work be sent directly to that Bishop who has so bravely fought the battle of freedom, and whose most earnest claim is that he is on the side of law and order against unjust oppression and tyranny. . . . The sum we have been able to spend in promoting missionary work has not been large, and it may

appear that it is hardly worth while saying as much as I have said about it, and that the action, too, of obscure persons like ourselves cannot have much weight; but I cannot think so. If you stand by me as you have hitherto done, . . . the effects of our united action may be quite as great as those of more important places. . . . At any rate, it is our plain duty to act according to right, be our means great or small: we must be faithful in the least, if we would be faithful in much."

In Natal the action of the S.P.G. after the delivery of Lord Romilly's judgement awakened feelings not less warm. Not a few protested against the attempt of the Society, to support the opponents of the Bishop with funds intrusted to it for very different purposes, as a flagrant breach of the order and discipline of the Church of England, and that, too, in open defiance of this decision of one of the highest courts of the realm, pronounced by a judge of unimpeachable integrity, who, by his experience as one of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the case of the appeal of the Bishop of Natal, as well as by the care which he had manifestly bestowed on the formulating of his judgement, gave assurance that his decision would be found to be as sound in law as it was clear in expression. That decision could not fail to have momentous results, unless something should be done to hinder it: and it was manifest that nothing could be done except to put the machinery of the S.P.G. in motion. This was done by a series of resolutions, the first of which pledged the Society

"in compliance with a request of the Bishop of Capetown, to reimburse the expenditure which *any* Bishop visiting Natal under the Society's resolution of May 18, 1866, may incur."

But that resolution had been carried at the express instance of the Bishop of Oxford, Dr. Wilberforce, at the public meeting

packed with clergy summoned from all parts of England, before Lord Romilly had given his judgement; and now this defiance was given *after* the delivery of this judgement, in opposition to the wishes of more than half the clergy, and almost the whole body of the laity, of Natal.

To W. H. Domville, Esq.

"Bishopstowe, *May* 8, 1867.

"My assessors have sent in an excellent judgement. . . . The main point is that they advise me to deprive all the three clergy, which I shall do to-morrow, but shall . . . suspend the operation of my sentence for two months under the following circumstances.

"I mentioned in my last that Mr. Wills, a clergyman from the Free State, had been intruded here by Bishop Gray . . . as curate in my own Cathedral. . . . When I first heard of his being in Maritzburg, I supposed it was merely an accidental thing. . . . But after disappearing for a Sunday or two, he returned as permanent curate, and was publicly introduced by Mr. Green, as sent with Bishop Gray's licence. Of course, I directed my registrar to serve him at once with a notice of prohibition, and I think I told you that, as of course he did not attend to it, I was going to apply for an interdict, but thought it best to wait till May, when the Supreme Court would sit again. Accordingly, I waited patiently about three weeks, and in May applied, never dreaming there would be any difficulty in obtaining it, in *this* case at all events, as Mr. Wills was an utter stranger to the diocese. Unfortunately I had reckoned without my host. It appears that Mr. Justice Connor is a most thorough-going partisan, and is doing his utmost to obstruct my obtaining my lawful rights. . . . You will see that he actually began by recommending Mr. Shepstone to 'prove that the petitioner was Bishop of Natal.' And so, in the most captious manner, he proceeded to interrupt my advocate all through. Yesterday the case came on again, and Mr. Connor was as partisan as

ever, insisting upon it that I must bring a *regular action*, instead of applying for an interdict. However, the other two judges are with me. But the result of Mr. Connor's conduct is that they have not granted the interdict *at once*, but fixed the first day of next term (at Mr. Wills's request) for arguing the question, as they say it is a serious one, involving other clergy. My friends are confident that it will then be granted, and that both Harding and Phillips have in reality quite made up their minds about it, but wish to give elaborate judgements, stating their grounds for acting as they will in the matter, and in fact laying down their view of my position. . . . But as the first day of term does not come till July, here is another heavy delay of nearly eight weeks, and meanwhile Mr. Wills is allowed to do what he likes! . . . I feel very indignant at this delay, if not denial, of justice; and it was very plain yesterday that the Chief Justice was very angry. . . . We must try to get good out of the delay, by considering that the decision when it does come will not take the public by surprise, but will be a deliberate act of the court, intending, if necessary, to support it by further action. Under these circumstances, I shall suspend the operation of my own sentence until the day after that on which the decision of the Supreme Court will be given.

"As it is possible that Mr. Robinson may hold some licence from Bishop Gray which might raise a discussion in a court where Judge Connor sits, I shall in the meantime call him to account also, and no doubt deprive him like the rest; so that five will be involved in the decision of the court."

TO THE REV. G. W. COX.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *June* 8, 1867.

"You will see by the printed papers which I send you that the enemy means to *die hard;* and so far from giving up the buildings, &c., as they promised—making a great parade of their imaginary self-sacrifice—they hold on with the utmost tenacity, putting me of course to fresh expense at

every step, though their own expenses will be far greater. In the first week of next month, the judge will, I hope, grant an interdict against Mr. Wills. . . .

"Now for the proceedings about Butler. No doubt some report has been already sent to England about the matter without the possibility of our correcting its misstatements. You know that, disappointed by the result of the 'election' in November last, Bishop Gray wrote a private circular to the clergy who had voted *against* a new Bishop, trying thus to get them, under secret influence, to retract the votes which they had given publicly in November. After two days of solemn deliberation, he seems to have succeeded with two of them (Tozer and Jacob), and with another (Baugh) who was not present on that occasion, but wrote strongly in opposition to the election. At all events, the Capetown *Church News* of April 25 tells us that out of the twenty clergy in Natal three cannot be recognised by the Church (Gray, Tönnesen, E. Robinson), and of the remaining seventeen, *twelve* have now agreed to receive Butler. Now I believe this statement to be false; but as they have published nothing here, we cannot be certain. I *know*, however, that of the twenty clergy the following refuse to receive Butler: Gray, Tönnesen, E. Robinson, Lloyd, Callaway, Newnham, Nisbett, seven presbyters, permanently settled in the diocese. I feel sure that Elder has refused; he wrote originally against a new Bishop. If not, it is a piece of dishonesty for them to reckon him, as he has actually left for England last week, . . . without any idea of returning. I set him aside altogether, as also Tozer, who has a living, I believe, in Lincolnshire, and who only came out here on leave of absence for two years, which have nearly expired, and will expire before Butler could come. Omitting these two, we have only eighteen clergy, of which (as above) seven presbyters, settled at work in the diocese, are decidedly *against* a new Bishop, and another (De La Mare) is waiting the S.P.G.'s reply to a letter of his asking them to tell him what he is to do. Thus there are seven presbyters against Butler, and one doubtful; while

for him it seems there are ten clergy (omitting Tozer and Elder), viz. the original seven, and two gained over, and Wills just imported from the Free State. Of these ten, five have been introduced by Bishop Gray, three of them being deacons ordained by himself, and one of the two presbyters (Wills) having only just been introduced to swell the number of presbyters for Butler to eight, while against him there are seven and one doubtful. . . .

"Then again the report in the *Church News* goes on to say that of the lay communicants (men, women, and, as we know, even children) '292 express their hope that Mr. Butler will become their Bishop, fifty do not desire to express any opinion on the subject, and *twelve object to Mr. Butler.*' This last statement *in italics* convicts the whole of dishonesty. For it is added, 'Those in some measure acquainted with the condition of this small and enfeebled diocese do not think that including all Dr. Colenso's communicants, a very small body, there can be a hundred communicants in the whole diocese who would object to receive Mr. Butler as their Bishop.' And yet only twelve have objected! How plain it is that the others have not been consulted. At Durban alone there are about a hundred communicants, of whom almost all would oppose a new Bishop. At Berea and at Addington are a great many more, and of course at Maritzburg and other places. But you know the stress which the Ritualists lay upon the sacrament, and how they bring up children to it, so that it is no wonder they number a good many communicants who are not better Christians than many who would not be reckoned such. . . .

"I have been out on visitation lately at Estcourt and Ladismith, and met everywhere with very hearty welcome and great kindness. Our new Governor, Mr. Keate, . . . came to my service last Sunday morning, the first time of his attending church in Maritzburg, and heard me preach. Green had sent him on Saturday evening a list of *his* hours at St. Peter's and St. Andrew's, and asked if he should keep seats for him at the latter in the morning. 'Ah!' said Mr.

Keate, I hear, 'they want to catch me;' and he and Mrs. Keate came to our service, and went to the Dean in the afternoon. This I do not mind, as he is still Dean, and holds my licence till the day after the judges pronounce their decision in July.

"Bishop Gray begins his letter to my clergy thus:—

"'REVEREND AND DEAR SIR,—

"'In consequence of the counsel given by the Primate of All England to the Rev. Mr. Butler, and contained in the letter a copy of which I inclose, and *the declaration of his Grace's views respecting the deposition of Dr. Colenso*, I am desirous to obtain from the clergy of Natal their matured and ultimate decision as to whether they are prepared to receive Mr. Butler for their Bishop in case he shall be consecrated to that office. I shall therefore be obliged by your signifying to me your intention in the matter, to be laid before the Bishops of this province and the sacred Synod of the Church of England.'

"So the Archbishop's private opinion is now the fulcrum with which to move the clergy from their solemn decision in November. To talk about now giving their *matured* and final decision, when they discussed the matter together for two whole days, and the Dean began with saying, 'I have been in constant correspondence with the clergy and others for several weeks, offering and receiving suggestions from them'!"

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *May* 25, 1867.

"I have written a letter to the *Spectator* by this mail, giving a direct contradiction to a statement which Bishop Gray has made in his last pamphlet (in answer to the Dean of Ripon, the Archbishop of York, and Bishop Browne), to the effect that I am 'gathering around me men who have been *constrained to leave other dioceses*.' That statement is without a shadow of foundation in truth, and is another of the many instances of *unveracity*—I cannot honestly say *inaccuracy*—which this theological strife has witnessed. There

are only two clergymen whom I have received from other dioceses, . . . both coming with unexceptional characters as clergymen. . . .

"But I have experienced so much dishonesty in the treatment which I have received from Bishop Gray and others—of which indeed the Bishop of Oxford set the example when he spoke of my congregation as 'almost all infidels'—that I am anxious, if possible, to guard against a trick to which my adversaries may have recourse, and which I should not be able to expose till the whole was forgotten at the end of four months, the slanderer meanwhile having done his work. Bishop Gray may have in his mind two clergymen, whom I have employed under the following circumstances. (1) The Rev. E—— was *not* received by me from another diocese, but was found here by me on my return from England. I ordained him deacon about a year before I went home, but for certain reasons I hesitated to ordain him to the priesthood. Those reasons I submitted at full length to the Bishop of Grahamstown, who wrote to me about him, and he was satisfied, and ordained him, and gave him the charge of a parish where he ministered for two years, and then returned to Natal, bringing with him a *perfectly satisfactory testimonial* from Archdeacon Merriman in the Bishop's absence. On the strength of that testimonial, I suppose, he was employed there by Mr. Green, as Vicar-General of the Bishop of Capetown, but had been dropped by him just before my return. As I knew that his views, being strongly Evangelical, were in direct opposition to those of Bishop Gray and Mr. Green in ecclesiastical matters, and his presence amongst the clergy was likely to thwart their plans, I did not wonder at this. And when he presented himself to me for employment with the testimonial of Archdeacon Merriman, and with the fact before me that Mr. Green himself had employed him, I saw no reason for rejecting him merely because his views were very narrow. I felt, moreover, that as he had been accepted, approved, and ordained by the Bishop of Grahamstown, and had ministered for two years in his diocese with the entire

approval of his superiors, I might have judged him too severely, and was glad to give him, as a good and earnest man, a post of usefulness in a field where there was great need of such labourers. For many months he did minister, I fully believe, faithfully and devoutly, to the entire satisfaction of his flock. At last, about three months ago, I became for the first time aware that Archdeacon Merriman had written *privately*, negativing in effect his former testimonial. I need not say any more than that for this and other reasons I withdrew my licence from him. You will observe, therefore, that it would be false to say that I 'gathered' round me a man who had been 'constrained to leave another diocese.' Far from this, he had left his former diocese with the full approval of the authorities; and, relying on the testimonial which he brought, I received him. (2) The other case is the Rev. F. T. D., whom also I did *not* receive from any other diocese, but who was *sent here by S.P.G.* to oppose me, who was intruded by Bishop Gray into one of my principal churches, and ranked among the fourteen clergy who met to elect a new Bishop, as renouncing *my* authority, though he voted against the election. . . . Later than this, the Bishop of Winchester, on January 17, 1866, writes to accept him for the curacy of Emsworth, and finally, in May 1866, he lands in Natal as a missionary of S.P.G. Here, then, was a clergyman thrown on my hands by the Society.

. . . You will now, I think, be in a position to meet the enemy if he should insinuate that I have gathered about me the rejected of other dioceses, in reference to these two cases. There is no shadow of pretence for Bishop Gray's assertion in any other case, though his words really apply only to Canon Gray and Mr. Mason, whom I did receive from other dioceses. . . . Bishop Gray told Mr. Lloyd that Canon Gray had not Bishop Welby's testimonial on leaving St. Helena. Certainly he had not, because he was too delicate to put his old friend, Bishop Welby, in an awkward position with Bishop Gray by asking him for a testimonial when he was going to join me. But he has since written

and obtained from him a perfectly satisfactory letter on this point, and except in relation to his union with me they are on the best of terms, as I have seen by Bishop Welby's language in his letters."

TO W. H. DOMVILLE, ESQ.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *June* 29, 1867.

I have so much matter of importance to communicate by this mail that I must begin at once to put down my facts, as it is desirable that these should be clearly and fully stated for the satisfaction of my friends, the Dean of Westminster, Sir Charles Lyell, and others, as well as yourself. First, let me say that I have duly received yours, in which you so strongly dissuade me from any unnecessary litigation with the clergy here. I think you will see, from the contents of this letter, that the course of events and the conduct of my opponents have left me no alternative but to pursue steadily the course which I am taking. . . . Having an opportunity of being driven down, I went down the coast as far as the Umkomazi, from which Mr. Tönnesen was driven last year by Mr. Moodie (the Dean's brother-in-law, and resident magistrate) and Mr. Wyld Brown, his clerk (who also has married one of Mrs. Green's sisters). These two, and (I think) three more, formed the important body of Churchmen who rejected Mr. Tönnesen. Of course, he would have continued his ministrations without any regard to them if I had not wanted him at Maritzburg. . . . About a fortnight ago, however, he paid his old neighburhood a visit, and met with the warmest reception. The magistrate and his clerk have been removed to a place lower down the coast. . . . Mr. Tönnesen will now be settled at his old place on the Umgababa, where Messrs. Savory and Co. are engaged in important sugar work. . . . We have let so much of the land for sugar-growing that we shall be able to maintain Tönnesen entirely, and allow him help for building himself a house. He will teach the natives to grow coffee, of which we have some thousands of plants there already. It is a

satisfaction to me to know that he has lost nothing and gained much by his faithfulness, though he bravely *hazarded* the loss of all. As it is, he has had £250 per annum instead of about £200, which he had before and will now have again —only free henceforth from any dependence on S.P.G., from whom he drew £180 of his former income. He will have acquired many excellent friends, and greatly raised his own position in the colony, and he will have pocketed one year's extra income from S.P.G. (£180), and a half year's from me (£125). I mention this because, of course, my friends would like to know that he has been liberally dealt with. . . I returned through Durban again to Verulam, which Mr. Elder resigned about three months ago. He left the place in the most offensive manner possible. At a large vestry meeting, where the most influential people of the neighbourhood had assembled, he told them that he was sorry he could not address them as fellow-Christians. . . . As soon as he had fairly sailed, Dr. Blaine wrote to me to come down and settle their affairs, and this was the real reason for my leaving home at this time. . . . I mention this that you may see, with reference to other matters to be mentioned presently, that my absence from Maritzburg at this particular time was not intentional on my part—I mean, was not contrived beforehand with any view to be *out of the way* under certain circumstances which were likely to happen. . . . I returned home, stopping on the way at the oldest American missionary's, Mr. Lindley, who was exceedingly friendly, and, in fact, has made some progress in the study of my books. . . .

"Meanwhile affairs had been taking place at Maritzburg of which I knew nothing till I reached home last Tuesday evening, June 25. . . . Some weeks ago we saw by one of the Free State papers that Bishop Twells had informed his congregation that he had received an invitation to the Pan-Anglican Congress, but was unable to attend it, and had written to decline it. On the Sunday, however, before I left home, a notice was given in the Cathedral, at Mr. Green's service, that a Confirmation would shortly be held

in the city. And in the course of the week a telegram was picked up in the street, from a ship agent at Durban to Mr. Green, saying that a steamer would leave for England on July 9. Putting things together, it was conjectured that Bishop Twells might be coming through Natal on his way to England. Still this was only conjecture; and I left home hoping that if he came he would act the part of a Christian and an English gentleman, and not intrude into buildings in which he had no lawful right. I supposed, in fact, that the Confirmation was not his idea, but Mr. Green's. . . . . At Durban, however, I saw that he had notified to his people that 'under the positive commands of his ecclesiastical superior' he was going through Natal to attend the Pan-Anglican. I heard no more till I returned home on the 25th, and then I found that he was daily expected in Maritzburg, and that the churchwardens of the Cathedral had locked and barred the church against the entrance of any one who could not produce the licence of the Bishop of the diocese. I repeat once more I had nothing whatever to do with this, and was wholly taken by surprise at it. But the fact is, the people had been so long and so grievously provoked by the Dean's proceedings that they have at length got the bit into their mouth, and will protect their rights in their own way.. . . To-morrow, if all is well, I shall give my usual service at 11 A.M. But no one knows what a day may bring forth. The people are in a state of intense excitement, boiling with indignation at Judge Connor's conduct, who has refused to interdict Bishop Twells from officiating. And if the doors are opened and he attempts to officiate, I very much fear there will be a riot. I wish you to observe that I have done everything to keep the peace, having endured the insult of Mr. Wills officiating under my nose for more than six weeks, patiently waiting for the decision of the law; and this whole disturbance has been brought about by Bishop Gray's proceedings.

And now for Bishop Twells. He reached the city on Thursday last (the day before yesterday), and was im-

mediately served with the Notice B, inclosed. Yesterday I find, he officiated in St. Andrew's, . . . and to-morrow, it is said, he will confirm at St. Andrew's. But in to-day's paper appears Notice C, authorising him to exercise full Metropolitical power in visiting this diocese. *I* do not intend, if possible, to interfere with him or notice him. His proceedings will only excite the people much more, and a very little will set them in a flame. He is going, it seems, to lay the foundations of two little churches. . . . The advertisement for one begins and ends with an invitation to a religious solemnity, and then, as inducements to draw a congregation, (1) all denominations are invited; (2) a picnic dinner is provided; (3) after the dinner, cricket, croquet, and Aunt Sally! I fancy never before were the foundations of a church laid with such accompaniments expressly provided for the faithful. . . .

"You earnestly dissuade me from entering into unnecessary litigation, and I can assure you I want no persuasion as to my duty to avoid this, as far as possible. But I think you will see that under the circumstances it is not possible. You assume that I have possession of the Cathedral, and I fancy you assume that no such person as Mr. Wills could be intruded upon me. But you see they will go to all lengths, and it is absolutely necessary that I should know to what extent the judges will support my authority. Bear in mind that the S.P.G. has openly declared that it will reimburse Bishop Gray any sums to be spent by a Bishop like Twells, sent to poach on my manor; (2) that it has also forbidden its clergy to take my licence; (3) that the Archbishop of Canterbury has declared that I am canonically deposed; (4) that Butler evidently inclines to come, if he can—and all this after Lord Romilly's decision: and I think you will feel that I was bound to ascertain, without delay, what my legal position is, whatever use I might then make of my authority. Besides which, having (poor as I am) to fight the Society's £2885 per annum dispensed through Mr. Green, I want the £100 per annum which Mr. Green now receives from the colonial chest, and

also the house he lives in, for Mr. Gray. If I get that, the people will take *him* off my hands entirely. Again, he has so contrived his morning and afternoon services that it is impossible for us to hold a Sunday school, which the people greatly desire and need; . . . and further, he often prolongs his morning service so as to annoy our congregation. In a climate like ours it is not pleasant to come into a church which has only just been vacated by another congregation, and is still left by them in a state of disorder. On all these accounts I cannot doubt that it was my duty to bring these clergy to account, and I have done it in such a way that I think the sentence of deprivation must stand before the Privy Council, if they choose to appeal. But we shall see what the judges say in Wills's case. My own intention (as some of my best friends know) was *not* to *silence* Green and Robinson, though they were deprived, but, having the power at any moment to apply for an interdict, should circumstances require it, on the ground that they were only acting on sufferance, and had no licence (if this could be done without abandoning my *right* to silence them), to let them go on as now, . . . until some fresh outrage was committed which required an appeal to the law. I fancy that the recent events will make such forbearance impossible, and that I must silence Mr. Green, at all events, in all our churches. As he is an outlaw, I imagine that I *must* get an interdict against him, and that he cannot appeal against it. Perhaps he will choose to go to prison rather than obey such an interdict, though they did talk of obeying, and worshipping, if needful, in dens and caves. But for the sake of all parties it is evident that the present disorders must be settled by the courts of law. . . .

"Of course there is not a shadow of foundation for the statements quoted in the *Pall Mall Gazette* from the *Church News*, which appear to have troubled you. I have written to contradict them. I never had the slightest notion of joining the 'Pan-Anglican tom-foolery,' as you call it, nor have I the slightest idea of resigning my letters patent. The whole is a fabrication of the enemy. I cannot see the reason

for these particular lies being sent forth just now. Perhaps the wish was father to the thought. . . .

"I think Bishop Gray will find that he had better have left the Bishop of St. David's alone. What an incisive pen he has! and how quietly and calmly he writes! . . .

"Mr. Keate, our new Governor, is very pleasant, and goes to the services of all parties indiscriminately—which will not please those who consider us excommunicated. . . .

"*Sunday, June* 30.—. . . The Rev. G. H. Mason has returned to the colony, after a few years' absence, and has written to-day to ask my licence to officiate, though he is utterly opposed, he says, to my views. He will, I hope, fill up without expense to me a vacant post north of Verulam. This makes nine presbyters.

"*Monday, July* 1.—Mr. Wills was heard to-day by the Supreme Court. He read his argument, which took four hours in delivering, and is supposed to have been written for him by the Dean. It was mostly irrelevant, but ended by appealing to the Thirty-Sixth Canon, which says that no one shall be admitted to preach in any Church unless he be allowed by the Archbishop of the province, Bishop of the diocese, or one of the Universities!! Of course, this has nothing to do with the question; and if it proved, what they wished it to prove, viz. that allowance by Bishop Gray as Metropolitan was *sufficient*, without my licence, it would show that anyone allowed as a preacher by either of the Universities might intrude himself, in disregard or defiance of the Bishop, into any church or any diocese in England.

"This day I met Mr. Tozer for the first time in town. . . . He is disgusted with the S.P.G. Committee and Mr. Green, and is totally opposed to Mr. Butler, and assures me that Dr. Callaway and Mr. Newnham have *not* signed the acceptance of him any more than himself. I find that Dr. Callaway, being asked if he had come to receive Bishop Twells, indignantly denied it, and begged that this might be made known. By a very singular coincidence, the S.P.G. Committee, of which Dr. Callaway is a member, was summoned by Mr. Green to meet at Maritzburg just at the very time that

Bishop Twells was expected. . . . I have now made out satisfactorily that *nine* presbyters are utterly opposed to Mr. Butler's coming, and six have accepted him.

"*Tuesday, July* 2.—Our counsel was heard for four hours: judgement deferred, Mr. Connor straining every nerve against me in the most extraordinary partisan style. . . . I believe Bishop Gray has helped me more than he can imagine by sending Twells here at this time. It was a prodigious mistake. They are all ready for him, I hear, at Durban.

"One hundred copies of [the *Natal*] *Sermons* . . . have reached us, and are all distributed. I hope that Trübner has sent another supply; I must *give them away here*. The people value the little present very much; and it is a pleasant way of returning the innumerable small attentions which I receive on all sides when travelling about the country; besides, it is desirable to spread them all over the colony, that the people may know what my views really are. . . .

"I have applied to Bishop Gray for the balance of my income two mails ago; but I do not think my lawyers have as yet had their reply. I understand that he says he has paid my £100 a year all along out of his own pocket. I know nothing of this, and I do not believe it. It will be time for me to be generous (if I have any call to be so under the circumstances) when he acknowledges what is my due. He has put me to every possible annoyance and expense by his proceedings; and he is not a poor man. I am.

"*Thursday, July* 4.—To-day . . . Judge Phillips spoke out very strongly, I hear, about the indecency of Bishop Twells's conduct, and said much in my favour. Judge Connor could not see that Mr. Phillips's remarks were needed, or why persons should be compelled to be confirmed by a Bishop whom they did not recognise (as if any one prevented them being confirmed by Twells or any one else—only not in our churches), or why the two congregations should not continue to worship in one building. Judge Harding (the Chief Justice) said that the law must be obeyed. All this looks well, I hope, for our principal case of Mr. Wills. Meanwhile, Bishop Twells, &c., intended to have a grand Confirmation

in the Cathedral. But they had given no notice of their purpose to the other side. And by a singular coincidence, when Mr. Green came to the church, he found that the sidesmen had been seized with a sudden desire to have the church well cleaned ; and accordingly he found the forms piled in a corner, and a number of men at work with pails and brooms, and the floor laid under two or three inches of water. He was very indignant, but there was no help for it. A broom accidentally touched him, and he gave the holder into custody ; but the magistrate would not take the case. And the result was that they were obliged to go off to St. Andrew's for the Confirmation. I have just had a letter from the churchwardens of Pinetown. . . . They are anxious to shut the church, and do everything to prevent Bishop Twells's entrance. But I think I shall write to tell them not to do so—to let him alone, and content themselves with a protest. Do not let this (if it is so settled) be reported in England as if he gained free access. It will simply be by my express directions, to prevent another Sunday scandal."

There are certain aspects of this momentous conflict which can only render the conduct of the Bishop's opponents more repulsive as time goes on. The ecclesiastical zealot may be pardoned so long as he abstains from employing the weapons of falsehood and tyranny; for the judge who deliberately perverts justice there can be no more indulgence than for the judge who sells it. But unfortunately in the warfare provoked by the Bishop of Capetown it is hard to find among the ecclesiastical zealots one who comes out with clean tongue and hands. Wherever we turn, it is only to find ourselves still entangled in the meshes of subterfuge, evasion, slanders, and sometimes of lies. It would be pleasanter to pass over these things in silence: bare justice alone renders it impossible to do so. There may still be some who are under the impression that the Bishop of Natal was guilty of something

like fraud and robbery in reference to the sum annually paid to him by Bishop Gray. Speaking at Wolverhampton for his plan of setting up a schismatical Bishop in Maritzburg, the Bishop of Capetown had said :—

"I shall myself give towards that object what I have hitherto given, which is a sum of £100 a year. But to this statement I must add a proviso. I will give it provided I am not compelled by law to pay it to Dr. Colenso. For I must explain that, though it was a subscription entirely of a private character, and had nothing to do with the endowment of the see, and was made subject to the condition that I was able to give it, I have recently had an intimation from Dr. Colenso—a lawyer's letter, in fact—demanding payment of the allowance since his deposition." . . .

The facts, in the Bishop of Natal's words, are these :—

"On being offered the see of Natal, I told Bishop Gray that my private circumstances were such that I could hardly do without the £100 a year, which was still needed to make up the income proposed for the Bishop. After some delay, Bishop Gray pledged himself to make good £100 to myself and £100 to the first Bishop (Armstrong) of Grahamstown, *during his incumbency of the see of Capetown.* And I always understood, having heard it, I believe, from Bishop Armstrong, that the sums in question would be paid out of £300 per annum allowed to Bishop Gray for *travelling expenses* from the colonial Treasury at the Cape—in addition, of course, to his income as Bishop. As his original diocese was divided into three, and he was spared the expense of visiting the districts of Grahamstown and Natal, it seemed very natural that he should have made the above arrangement. At any rate it was settled between us as a matter of *business* not of *friendship*, and I received the sum in question regularly up to January 1, 1864. Upon hearing, some weeks ago, the report of a statement being circulated,

which the *Church Times* repeats, 'Dr. Colenso, with extraordinary impudence, has commenced an action against the Metropolitan he repudiates, to recover the income offered him as a friend,' I wrote to a friend at Capetown to make inquiries on the subject, and the following was his reply, 'As regards your question about the Bishop of Capetown's travelling expenses, which he draws from the Treasury of this colony, he has had an allowance of £400, which he has regularly and without cessation drawn since January 1, 1849.'"

Far from bringing home a charge of dishonest grasping against the Bishop of Natal, Bishop Gray in his Wolverhampton speech succeeded rather in convicting himself of disingenuous behaviour to both Bishop Colenso and Bishop Armstrong. Bishop Gray had the reputation of being an honourable gentleman; but would not, must not, a strictly honourable gentleman have said to both his suffragans, "I am now receiving £400 yearly from the Cape Treasury for my travelling expenses; but you will now save me at least two-thirds of the labour and the cost of visitation; and so this allowance shall be divided into three portions, which will give us somewhat more than £130 each yearly?" Instead of this, Dr. Gray says nothing of the source from which the payment came; and then hesitates before he pledges himself to pay not £130 but £100 a year during his own incumbency of the see of Capetown. A few years later, as at Wolverhampton, he could speak of this allowance to the Bishop of Natal as a "subscription entirely of a private character." If there was anything of a private character about it, this was the result of his own mode of dealing with the matter. But a subscription it certainly was not, either private or public. It was, in short, in no sense a gift from himself. It came from the Cape Treasury, and as such it should have been made over to the suffragans. That he should retain for himself

allowances for travelling expenses of which more, probably, than two-thirds had been taken off his hands would have been monstrous indeed. Subsequently (1868) Bishop Gray contended that the £400 was granted *very possibly* with an eye to the expense of journeys which had cost him £500 in a single year, and were still very expensive; but the grant was absolute and unrestricted. It seems strange that Bishop Gray should have had any doubts at all on the motive for the grant. But on the latter point he seems to have been mistaken. The estimates of the Cape Governor for 1868, show on page 40 the item, "Allowance to the Lord Bishop of Capetown for travelling expenses, £400." The grant was therefore neither absolute nor unrestricted; and if the costs of travelling amounted to £500 in a single year, there was the more reason why the whole £400 should have been divided into three equal portions, locomotion in the dioceses of Grahamstown and Natal being probably more costly than in the later diocese of Capetown.

We have seen already something of the fashion in which Dean Green, following the promptings of Bishop Gray, dealt with Mr. Tönnesen and some others of the clergy, and of the great forbearance shown by the Bishop of Natal towards himself. But at Wolverhampton Bishop Gray could speak of Mr. Green as bearing witness for the faith even to the spoiling of his goods, and of two other clergymen as in imminent danger of being deprived of their immediate means of subsistence; while in London he described his "poor flock" in Natal as "obliged, to a great extent, to provide for its own ministers who were now being driven out houseless and homeless." This he could say when the S.P.G. and S.P.C.K. had transferred all their contributions from the lawful Bishop of the Church of England in Natal to the support of the Church of South Africa, which they subsidised with almost lavish munificence. Over the incomes derived thus, the Bishop of

Natal had not the least control, while Mr. Green had, at a moment's notice, cut off Mr. Tönnesen with wife and children from every penny of his income, for simply reading prayers at the direction of the Bishop; and on hearing of this the latter had certainly put to the Colonial Secretary the question whether a clergyman who could behave thus was a fit person to be employed as a colonial chaplain, receiving a stipend from the colonial Treasury. But it was notorious that in spite of outward professions of eagerness and zeal, the clerical adherents of Bishop Gray felt that the sword of Damokles was hanging over their heads, and that nothing but submission would prevent it from falling on any or all of them.

The charge of persecution of Dean Green in particular by Bishop Colenso was not a misrepresentation. It was nothing less than a lie. Mr. Green had insisted, in his defence before the Supreme Court, that he could have no fellowship with one who lay under the anathema of the Bishop of Capetown; that he must treat him as "excommunicated"; that, as ordered by the Metropolitan, he must regard him, and teach others to regard him, as *a heathen man and a publican*—or, to use his own words, that he was far more divided from the Bishop than the dead are from the living. The Bishop said in his reply:—

"I am sorry that the religious views entertained by the reverend defendant are such as compel him to narrow thus the circle of his charity and even of his hope. But I am thankful that my own enable me to regard him with more of human feeling. I can recognise most heartily in the defendant, however I may differ from him, however mistaken I may deem him, those virtues, that earnestness of purpose, and devotedness of life, which must make us all deeply regret that he should be lost to the ministry of our Church. Should your lordships' decision be in accordance with my

petition, and the defendant decide to quit the Church of England and seek to establish a branch of the Church of South Africa in this city, I am sure that a blessing from above will follow him in his labours, and I pray God that it may rest on him abundantly. But, on the other hand, should he desire to return to officiate as a clergyman in the United Church of England and Ireland, I should be most happy to welcome him. He would have full liberty to teach and preach and practise what he believes, within the wide bounds allowed by the laws of that Church as at present administered. And I would gladly do my best to make the way of return for him as easy and free from bitterness as possible."

From the persecution of the clergy, Bishop Gray, in his Wolverhampton speech, went on to speak of the wrongs done to himself in reference to the Church property in Natal, of which he ought to be, as he contended, still trustee. The majority of the Supreme Court had, he stated, ruled

"that what was vested in Robert Gray, D.D., Bishop of Capetown, and his successors in the said see," was really vested in "J. W. Colenso, D.D., Bishop of Natal, and his successors in that see." "I was ordered," he went on to say, "to pay the whole costs of the case, viz. £200. It would have been a great deal more, but my own registrar, who, I am bound to say, devoted a great deal of his time both to the Colenso trial and to the subsequent suits, said, 'I won't take anything; it is my offering as a Churchman towards the defence of the truth.'"

But the Bishop of Capetown's registrar was not the only one who could be generous. Bishop Colenso's registrar, who was said by the *Church Times* to have charged him with costs to the amount of £500, had also refused to receive any remuneration for the numerous services which he had rendered through the whole course of the litigation which the proceed-

ings of Bishop Gray and his "Vicar-General" had alone rendered necessary. But the Bishop of Natal ascertained that the taxed costs received by his registrar from Bishop Gray in the Cathedral case amounted to only £80, while the sum paid to his (Bishop Gray's) own lawyer in Natal, Mr. Green's brother-in-law, was £97, besides the "great deal more" which his registrar saved him—

"all which would have been spared if he had not interfered in the matter at all, but allowed the judges to decide, as seemed to them best, upon the application made to them. For, of course, the judges of our Supreme Court did nothing so absurd or unjust as is above attributed to them; that is, they did not say that what was really vested in Bishop Gray was vested in me. The grant in question, with some others, was made to the original Bishop of Capetown and his successors in *that* see. And it had long ago been held by lawyers that, by the resignation of his first patent, the abolition of the former see, and his acceptance of a totally different see, though still called by the old name, the trust in all these cases had really fallen into abeyance. . . . With the view of turning to some profit land which had all along been left lying waste, I was obliged to apply to the court, not to 'eject' Bishop Gray from the trust, for he was not really trustee, but to say in whom such grants ought to be vested. Of course notice was given him of the application, but it was not expected that he would contest the matter, and I must say I think he was ill-advised to do so, especially as he regards the case as of no lasting importance, and did not consider that his being trustee gave him any 'rights' in respect of the property. But he must not complain of the expense which he has thus of his own free choice incurred. He has secured thereby a considerable delay in the settlement of the question, and he has gained still further time by giving notice of appeal; so that though judgement was given here last January, yet on October 9 Bishop Gray can still say, 'I have *almost* decided not to prosecute an

appeal,' the extreme limit allowed by law being November 21. He has thus made it impossible for me to exercise, if necessary, my 'right,' as trustee, to exclude all mere intruders, such as Bishop Twells or Mr. Wills, from the Cathedral, and secured for a short time, though at some cost, the power of sending his commissary to make a display within that building as one 'authorised and empowered to exercise Metropolitan jurisdiction over all persons claiming to be in holy orders of the United Church of England and Ireland within the diocese, with all and all manner of visitorial jurisdiction, power, and coercion.'"

TO W. H. DOMVILLE, ESQ.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *July* 31, 1867.

"We have suffered a defeat to-day in the Supreme Court in Wills's case, which, however, I hope will be repaired for *practical* purposes on September 1, when the court sits again. The Chief Justice gave his judgement decidedly for giving the interdict. Mr. Connor, of course, gave his voice against it. . . . And then Mr. Phillips, to the utter astonishment of all parties, pronounced against the interdict, throwing Lord Romilly's judgement to the winds, and declaring that a Bishop's letters patent are utterly valueless to give any kind of jurisdiction whatever. And this, after he had declared all along that he would give effect to the patent, and delivering a severe reprimand to Bishop Twells for intruding into the Cathedral, which of course, on his principle, he had a perfect right to do. . . . As it stands, the decision is most ridiculous. Not only Mr. Wills, . . . but, as it seems, anyone, clergyman or not, may enter the Cathedral at his pleasure and do what he likes in it. Nobody can prevent him, unless it be the trustee, and I am not at present trustee for the Cathedral.

"To-morrow my sentence takes effect, . . . and Green, Robinson, Fearne, and Walton (of whom only Fearne has appealed to Bishop Gray, and he *too late*) will cease to have any right to officiate as clergy of the Church of England. I am

trustee for St. Andrew's (Robinson's) and Pinetown (Walton's). On September 1, therefore, I shall apply to interdict Robinson and Walton, and shall raise four points: (1) that my patent is perfectly valid, having been granted before our colony received its charter; (2) that under Long's judgement I have a right to try and deprive these clergy; (3) that under Romilly's judgement I have a right over all; (4) that as trustee I forbid their ministering, and they must prove *their* right.

"I am almost sure of a judgement in my favour. . . . Then they will appeal, and all the questions will have to be discussed before the Privy Council. I see no help for this, and obviously I cannot avoid this litigation after having had both Wills and Twells intruded as they have been. If I succeed here, I shall apply for an interdict on Green, and . . . I don't see how he can be allowed to defend himself at all, except by obeying the order (about the register, which I doubt his doing), in which case the outlawry would be removed.

"This is, of course, a great disappointment. . . . As it is, we may hope that good will come out of it by all these important questions being discussed by the Privy Council, and settled definitely.

"*August* 2.—To-day, in the *Witness*, the judgements of the Chief Justice and Mr. Phillips are given. And you will see by them that we shall be all right in our next application, Phillips having distinctly said that if I apply as trustee he would grant the interdict."

Whatever else may be shown by the argument of the Bishop of Natal before the Supreme Court of the colony (September 10, 1867), it brings into clear light the fact that the feuds and divisions consequent on Bishop Gray's proceedings had been caused simply by the interference of the latter with the ordinary course of justice. The greatest dread which an Englishman has is that of arbitrary and irresponsible power; and it was on this account that the members of the

Church of England in Natal were opposing themselves to the pretensions of the Bishop of Capetown. It was not primarily from a wish to screen the Bishop of Natal from the consequences of any misdeeds of which he might justly be proved guilty, nor was it in the first instance from general sympathy with his views, or approval of his conclusions, that they protested against the attitude and the language of the Metropolitan. Their common-sense told them what course the due administration of justice must take; and they could see clearly that Bishop Gray's action blocked this course. They could not be brought to admit the poor sophistry by which Archbishop Longley sought to assure them that they could not acknowledge the authority of Bishop Colenso without making themselves responsible for what he spoke of as the Bishop's errors. Some of them might contemplate the possibility of the Bishop's being deposed and another being put in his place; but the process must be from first to last legal, and the accused must have the power of exercising his right of appeal to the Sovereign in Council. Meanwhile, they knew perfectly that the opinions of Bishop Colenso cast no responsibility upon them, and that they in no way affected his acts in the administration of Church affairs, in the ordering of the Church's services, and the maintenance of due order and discipline. They knew that if he had really violated the law of the Church of England there would be no difficulty in bringing him to punishment, and they drew the natural inference that if the Bishop of Capetown chose to follow some other law it must be because he could insure Bishop Colenso's condemnation in no other way. But, although this was the prevalent feeling throughout the colony, there was nevertheless a large majority of persons who felt a deeper sympathy with the Bishop's work, and heartily approved his teaching generally. Nor is there any cogent reason for supposing that the number of sympathisers is much smaller now

than it was then, although opportunities of expressing their convictions are few, and in many cases lacking altogether.[1]

In accordance with the instinct for fair play thus shown throughout the diocese, the Bishop, in his argument before the Supreme Court, insisted that he neither asked nor wished for the exercise of any power on his own behalf which should not give to the accused an opportunity of showing that the treatment applied to him was not in consonance with the principles of equity or in agreement with the laws and usages of the voluntary association to which both the judge and himself professed to belong. This course would, in every case, leave a final appeal to the Sovereign, which, he remarked,

> "is all for which in my contest with ecclesiastical authority, I have been all along contending."

Everything tended to show how unlawful, how mischievous, and therefore how unchristian and uncharitable, the conduct of the Bishop of Capetown and his brethren in England had been. The courts in England were ready to bear him out in the exercise of really lawful power. The Judicial Committee had ruled that, by accepting his licence and his institution to the living of Mowbray, Mr. Long had submitted himself to the Bishop's authority

> "to such an extent as to enable the Bishop to deprive him for any lawful cause; that is, for such a cause as (having a regard to any differences which may arise from the circumstances of the colony) would authorise the deprivation of a clergyman by his Bishop in England."

To this extent they were ready to support the Bishop of Capetown against, for instance, the Bishop of Natal; but

[1] It must not be forgotten that the Bishop was spoken of as "the most popular man in the colony" just before the defence of Langalibalele roused against him an opposition of another kind.

they were not prepared to approve the deprivation of the latter on charges which could not even be entertained against him in England.

Such a contract as that which Mr. Long had made with the Bishop of Capetown, Dean Green and the two other clergymen deprived by the Bishop of Natal had entered into with himself as Bishop of the diocese. But it was only the example of Bishop Gray which had emboldened them to resist the exercise of the Bishop's lawful power, or, rather, had rendered the exercise of it necessary. It had thus become needful to go into an intricate legal debate which was to determine the grounds of the jurisdiction, and to discuss the complete or partial invalidity, or, on the other hand, the thorough validity, of letters patent. To some minds the discussion may be generally unattractive. It will cease to be so when it is seen that the question of jurisdiction is inseparably connected with the question of freedom, and that the whole subject is handled by the Bishop with such power, clearness, and skill, as must, had he made the law his profession, have placed him in the first rank of English jurists. Lord Romilly, regarding the Bishop's letters patent as "partially valid," had declared that the district or colony of Natal is a district presided over by a Bishop of the Church of England, which is properly termed a see or diocese; that

> "the members of the Church of England in Natal constituted not a Church in Natal in union and full communion with the Church of England, but a part of the Church of England itself," and that "they had voluntarily submitted themselves to the control of the Bishop of Natal, so long as it is exercised within the scope of his authority, according to the principles prescribed by the Church of England."

But what are these principles? or, as Bishop Gray would have put it, What is her faith?

"Is it," for instance, "a part of the faith of that Church to hold that 'the whole Bible is the unerring Word of the Living God," or that 'the punishment of the wicked in hell will be endless'? The Metropolitan and my brethren in South Africa say that *it is;* the Privy Council rules that *it is not;* and obviously the questions thus raised are of most real and vital importance. . . . We know that the doctrines of the 'United Church of England and Ireland' are such as are inforced by the laws of the Church in England, as interpreted by the Privy Council, or modified from time to time by Parliament. We do not know what those of the Bishop of Capetown may be to-day or what they may be to-morrow." . . .[1]

Even among those who protested most earnestly against the spirit of his acts, not one could question the courage and perseverance of the Bishop of Capetown. Whatever good qualities a zealot of the extremest school could be supposed to possess, these he possessed in full. Of the mental and moral conditions of the age in which he lived, he knew nothing and said nothing. His business was to insist on what he called the doctrines of the undivided Church for the first millennium of her history; and it mattered nothing to him if to the vast majority of his countrymen, to the majority even of members of the Church of England, many, if not most, of these doctrines seemed false or groundless. To the fact that he was the spokesman of a society which for all practical purposes had long since passed away it was impossible to open his eyes. The truth of all his premisses being assumed or granted, he could reason with commendable logical precision; but of the energy with which his premisses were rejected by all except the adherents of his own school, and some of these by many even of them, he had absolutely no idea. He could therefore go on repeating his own formula,

[1] *Argument*, &c., p. 15. See Appendix A.

or the formula which he supposed to express his own mind, with a pertinacity which was as irritating as it was wearisome; and, to his great misfortune, these incessant confessions of his faith were received, even by many who saw through their folly, with expressions of commendation for his earnestness, which confirmed him more and more in his delusions. In connexion with what he called the Catholic Church and the Catholic faith, the distinction between fundamental laws and accidental enactments had for him no existence. The judgement of the Master of the Rolls had naturally provoked his indignation. To Lord Romilly's declaration that the Royal supremacy was the foundation on which the discipline of the Church of England rests, and that, if this supremacy be denied, we forfeit our connexion with the mother Church and are no longer one Church with it, Dr. Gray could only retort with the question,

"Why, if we do not forfeit our connexion with the mother Church though we are not bound by or repudiate *some* of the laws of the Church of England, as *e.g.* those relating to tithes or Church rates, should we forfeit that connexion by declining to be bound by others?"

The answer is plain. The largest liberty conceded to colonial Churches to govern themselves according to their peculiar circumstances furnishes not the slightest warrant for the putting forth of rules which would interfere with the paramount rights of English Churchmen throughout the British Empire. The most important of all these rights is the right of appeal to the Crown, which means a guarantee against the arbitrary action of purely ecclesiastical tribunals. It may be very well to talk of the right of colonial Churches to self-government; but the lay members of these Churches have to be thought of as well as its chief officers, and if we take any of the thousand passages in which Bishop Gray

makes confession of what he calls the Catholic faith—that is to say, of his own opinions—we see that this scheduling of his own fancies involves intolerable tyranny.

"We accept," so Bishop Gray contended, "the position you have assigned us of voluntary religious bodies; but, as such, we claim that our own discipline shall be carried out through our own tribunals, in accordance with the provisions of our own canons; and that it should not be taken away from the Church's tribunals and transferred to civil courts."[1]

But here, as elsewhere, Bishop Gray betrays a complete misapprehension of the real facts of the case. No one in the colonies or elsewhere needs to be a member of the Church of England unless he chooses to be so; but if he does so elect, he is bound by the law of that Church, as interpreted by the Supreme Court of that Church—that is, of the Sovereign in Council—and he is bound to this as the only way of securing his own freedom and that of all others who claim membership with the English Church. This fundamental law, this radical principle, Bishop Gray regarded as a mere accident—as something which drops off from English Churchmen as soon as they find themselves, for instance, in South Africa. That the Church of England thinks precisely as Bishop Gray thinks, he has no doubt. The Church of England is, in its constitution, a body that was planted in England almost, if not quite, in Apostolic times.

"It has an hereditary ministry, a body of Bishops and clergy, in succession from those who first converted the country from heathenism. It has a faith which it has defined for itself in its Synods, and embodied in Articles and formularies, and it affirms that that faith is the very same that was taught in the first ages."[2]

[1] *Letter to the Members of the Church in the Diocese of Capetown*, p. 8.
[2] *Ib.* p. 9.

These sentences contain a good many historical fallacies; but if we grant the truth of the propositions, we should be only saying that from one point of view they may be right, from another totally false.

> "The English clergyman does not contract, at his ordination, to obey the statute laws of the Establishment. He is placed under them, and remains so, as long as he is in England. The moment he leaves England he is seemingly free from the operation of those laws."

These remarks may be much to the point, or they may be quite irrevelant. No Englishman enters into any contract which is to insure to him the protection of the fundamental laws of the realm. It is by no contract that he is entitled to the guardianship of the Great Charter, and of all the Acts which supplement and confirm it; and that which the Great Charter is for all Englishmen, whether clergy or lay, that also is the Royal supremacy, only that from the nature of the case its beneficent working is now felt in a vastly greater degree by the clergy than by the laity. Both the Charter and the Royal supremacy are the inalienable inheritance of all Englishmen. And it is a matter of not the least consequence whether, when Henry VIII. transferred to himself the jurisdiction thus far claimed or exercised by the Pope, he intended that the results of this transfer should be what they have been, or something very different.

But nothing, it seems, could disturb the tranquillity of Bishop Gray's convictions.

> "I claim for ourselves as a voluntary association," he loftily proclaimed, "rights which have ever been in existence in the Church from the beginning, the exercise of which held the Church together for a thousand years, until the usurpations of the Papacy broke its peace and unity, which are in

full exercise now in the greater number of our colonial Churches, and soon will be in all."[1]

We have heard the cry from Bishop Gray so often as to be well-nigh wearied with it; but its repetition does not lessen our astonishment. Bishop Gray grew eloquent over the large amount of modification needed to make the offices of the English Church suitable for use among the heathen: it was strange that he should look on himself as having these adaptations more at heart than the hated and heretical Bishop of Natal. But the fact is that all this oratory was off the point. No one would quarrel with any amount of necessary change in the Church's offices, or the character of her discipline, if these changes left untouched the right of final appeal to the Crown. But Bishop Gray never meant that it should be left intact. It was, rather, the very first thing to be assailed and put down.

"With the English Parliament and the laws which it enacts, the Church at the Cape has," he insisted, "nothing to do."

But with the principles which underlie all English legislation it had everything to do; and the Bishop of Natal was left alone to maintain the connexion. With Bishop Gray his premisses always carried his conclusions, and, as he thought, could carry nothing else.

"In England, we have Metropolitans; why, if we are the same Church, having had them once appointed in Africa, are they to be destroyed there? In England, appeals lie by law, from the suffragans to the court of the Metropolitan."[2]

But he forgot that in England the extent of Metropolitan power is a moot point; that in no case could the Primate exercise the power which Bishop Gray claimed for himself in

[1] *Letter to the Members of the Church in the Diocese of Capetown*, p. 14.
[2] *Ib.* p. 20.

Africa; and that in every case there lay an appeal from the Metropolitan's court to the Crown. It was this appeal which he was determined to cut off, and it was by this resolution that he severed himself from the Church of England. In this resolution he was inflexible. The conceding of this right involved (1) the destruction both of the spiritual character of the Church and of its actual constitution, by the annihilation of its spiritual tribunals; and (2)

> "the fencing and screening of Dr. Colenso, and through him of all unbelief, from all control, save that which civil courts may be pleased to exercise."

It is here that Bishop Gray exhibits himself in his true light, as one who is resolved before all things to break down the liberties of the English Church. For the time being it might be Dr. Colenso on whom the vials of wrath were to be poured forth; but some years earlier it would have been Mr. Gorham or Dr. Rowland Williams; or, if men of a different school from Dr. Gray were in power, it might be Archdeacon Denison, or Dr. Pusey, or Mr. Bennett. Bishop Gray was the deadly foe of all comprehension. He no more knew the meaning of the word than Lord Cobham and his Lollards knew the meaning of toleration. It is certain that the Judicial Committee would neither fence nor screen Dr. Colenso unless he could show for the screening or acquittal as good a title as Mr. Gorham or Dr. Williams.

> "But neither Lord Westbury," Bishop Gray complained, "nor the Master of the Rolls has assigned the reason why a Bishop could not enter into a consensual compact with his Metropolitan, precisely as a priest can with his Bishop. They content themselves with simply saying that 'he could not do so consistently with his duty as Bishop of Natal—that is, as a Bishop of the Church of England.' The order and constitution of the Church, as agreed upon for the

colonies, subordinates the priests to the Bishop, the Bishop to the Metropolitan, the Metropolitan to the Archbishop of Canterbury."

According to this order, he insisted, "all appeals end there," but it would be to the Archbishop in his judicial, not in his personal, capacity. The Archbishop would act through his court, and from this court we come back again to that final appeal to the Crown against which Dr. Gray had steadily set his face. Destroy this appeal, and then the river of thought would flow towards its source. The Judicial Committee had already "altered the faith of the Church of England on two important points," (1) that the Bible is the word of God, and (2) that future punishment is everlasting. We are brought back thus to that astounding perversity with which it becomes impossible to deal except by leaving it alone in the patient, care being taken that it shall do as little harm as possible to others. Bishop Gray was indeed quite well aware of the nature of his position. The decisions of the Judicial Committee were likely to upset one article of his faith after another; in other words, their interpretations would be likely or sure to show that the interpretations of Bishop Gray were either untenable or not binding on any members of the Church of England.

From the Pan-Anglican Synod which was to meet at Lambeth in 1867 Bishop Gray expected great things. His hopes were only in small part realised, although he received a large amount of (it may be, in some degree, equivocal) sympathy. The Bishop of St. David's had looked on the proposed gathering with suspicion, and writing to the Archbishop of Canterbury he had said:—

"If the meeting is to confer together upon questions or errors which may appear in these days 'to imperil the acceptance of the faith once delivered to the saints;' if it is 'to provide

a broad basis upon which to found attempts to bring about inter-communion with other portions of the Church Catholic;' if it is to discuss and affirm the common principle of 'a right ecclesiastical discipline' as 'one of the notes of the true Church;' . . . if it is to devise a course of procedure by which ministers of the Church, whether Bishops, priests, or deacons, accused of denying the faith, or infringing the discipline of the Church, may be duly tried, in a mode recognised by the whole communion as just both to the accused and to the Church, then I should feel myself obliged to make some kind of protest against these proceedings, and that which I should think most consistent with my respect for your Grace would be to stay away from the meeting."

Dr. Thirlwall, it seems, obtained some pledge that 'matters of this kind should not come under discussion, and his signature is given to the somewhat colourless document which sums up the results of their deliberations. It was a very safe assertion that "unity will be most effectually promoted by maintaining the faith in its purity and integrity." They were entering on more difficult ground when they went on to speak of this faith "as taught in the Holy Scriptures, held by the primitive Church, summed up in the Creeds, and affirmed by the undisputed General Councils." The ground thus touched was more difficult because the words seemed studiedly to put out of sight the modes in which the responsibilities of the clergy in respect of this faith were to be inforced. The judgements of the Arches Court and the Judicial Committee had agreed in ruling that references to Scripture were not admissible as evidence of heresy in an accused clerk,[1] and that the mind of the Church of England was to be gathered, not from an examination of the history or the doctrines of the primitive Church, but solely from her own Articles and formularies. Nor in the matter of General Councils was any distinction between

[1] See Vol. I. p. 325.

one class of Councils and another known to the Church of England. All, it seems, were fallible, and it was free to the clergy to say where the errors of any of them lay. It was, however, quite true that the whole Anglican communion was "deeply injured by the present condition of the Church in Natal;" nor was there any harm in appointing a committee "to report on the best mode by which the Church may be delivered from the continuance of this scandal, and the true faith maintained." The best mode was not, indeed, far to seek; but it was a mode against which Bishop Gray had set his face as adamant.

There remained many difficulties yet to be overcome before the Church in Natal could, in Dr. Gray's judgement, be fitly administered. He had resolved on the consecration of a Bishop for what he spoke of as the vacant see; and he had thought that this work might be done in England. But at this prospect many to whom he had looked for help took alarm. Dr. Tait, Bishop of London, begged him to remember that at the Pan-Anglican Synod the assembled Bishops

> "deliberately abstained from affirming that Bishop Colenso's deposition was valid, either spiritually or in any other way;"

that the report of the committee recommending the consecration of a new Bishop was with equal deliberation "not approved, but only received," and that many who were sensible of the danger of Dr. Colenso's teaching still held that his see was not vacant, since his deposition had been pronounced null and void in law by the highest courts in the realm, while some of the Bishops believed that, quite independently of questions of English law, the deposition was uncanonical. To this sobering counsel Bishop Gray replied with not a little warmth. Choosing to fix a certain character on the Judicial Committee, he insisted that

"it would be uncanonical and unprecedented for a Metropolitan, under any circumstances, to apply to a purely secular court to depose one of his suffragans;"

and, as he had never before failed to do, so now he sought to shut up Dr. Tait to the old dilemma.

"The issue at stake," he would have it, "is simply this. Have we received a revelation from God, of which the Scriptures are a written and infallible record? or have we not received any such revelation? Is Christianity, as it has been delivered to us from the first, true, or is it a lie? Are we to exchange it for a new religion or not?"

No doubt, there was here a dilemma; but it was a dilemma wholly of his own making. Every one of his propositions might be met by a flat negative from men whose title as Christians was, to say the least, as good as his own. There was something childish in this representing of theses rejected both in the Archiepiscopal court and by the Sovereign in Council, as being nevertheless essential to communion in the Church of England and binding still on the clergy. But because Dr. Tait made use of certain phrases, Bishop Gray seemed to have looked upon him, formally at all events, as ranged on his own side; and he was now the more keenly disappointed to find that, in spite of disclaimers of sympathy with Bishop Colenso, he had, whenever the subject came into discussion,

"adopted the course and employed the language which his most skilful advocate would have used, and that often with a vehemence of expression which seemed to betray an eager partisan."

It seems strange that Bishop Gray should not have been able to gauge better the mind of a prelate who, if he professed, and no doubt felt, little sympathy, or none, with the Bishop of Natal, still rejected Bishop Gray's theory of the Church,

and regarded his idea of the Christian priesthood with an aversion scarcely less intense than that which would have been felt for it by his predecessor at Rugby, Dr. Arnold.

To the Archbishop of York, who felt himself obliged to warn him that the consecration could not take place in his diocese, nor, except with the consent of the Bishop, in any diocese in the province of York, Bishop Gray replied by saying that he could not accept advice which urged him to submit the whole case "to some civil court," and by praying him to remember that

"the honour of their insulted Lord, the very existence of the Church in Africa, and in England too, as a true and living branch of Christ's holy Church, depends upon their rejection of the heretical teacher."

Then followed the old Philippic.

"Dr. Colenso has taught that the Holy Scriptures, of both the Old and New Testaments, are not to be relied upon as conveying to us an unerring revelation of God's truth and will. He has affirmed that every living man is to judge for himself—by the voice which he hears within, which is the 'voice of the Lord,' the 'light of the Divine Word'—whether any, or what, portions of the Scriptures are the Word of God; that 'by that light the words recorded by our Lord Himself must all be tried;' that 'our Lord was ignorant and in error;' that 'it is not to be supposed,' 'it cannot be maintained,' that 'He possessed a knowledge surpassing that of the most pious and learned adults of His own nation,' 'that He knew more than any educated Jew of His age'; that He ought not to be adored or worshipped, that it is 'unscriptural and unapostolic' to do so; that 'we must modify our views of Christianity itself.'"

It can scarcely be supposed that Archbishop Thomson could have read through this absurd indictment without a smile at the infatuation of the man who could think that the

cause of true religion could possibly be advanced by such a broadside of exaggerations, if not of direct falsehoods. He must have seen, and Bishop Gray ought to have been well aware, that one portion of this foolish indictment condemns the general argument of Butler's *Sermons on Human Nature;* while the other charges not merely Jeremy Taylor and Waterland, but Athanasius, Jerome, Chrysostom, and many more reputed saints and doctors of the Church, with heresy. The courage of the ignorant zealot may be worthy of admiration, but it is beyond the reach of argument. We have indeed to modify our views of Christianity itself. What is the work of the Church, if it be not her task to do this? The Church of England certainly attempted, and in part achieved, it, at the Reformation. But the intolerable wrong involved in these tirades of Bishop Gray lay in the assumption that a clergyman could be condemned at the Cape for offences with which he could not have been charged in England. The assumption is subversive of all justice and all law. It was open to Bishop Gray to maintain that the Church of England had apostatized from the faith, and to shake off the dust from his feet against her, on leaving her communion. It was not open to him to constitute in her name offences in one province which were not offences in another, and to treat as penal in Africa expressions which the Court of Arches and the Judicial Committee had declared to be at the least permissible in England.

It must have been painful to Bishop Gray to have cold water thus thrown upon his plans by Bishop Tait and Archbishop Thomson; but Archbishop Longley's refusal to permit the consecration to take place within the limits of his own diocese or province must have been more painful still. Dr. Longley had indeed told the Bishop of Natal not only that he looked upon him as properly deposed, but that he had been deposed for offences which would have insured the deprivation of an

English incumbent; but he could not summon boldness to give to Bishop Gray more than the cold comfort of his assurance that there was

> "nothing in Dr. Colenso's legal position to prevent the election of a Bishop to preside over them by those of our communion in South Africa who, with myself, hold him to have been canonically deposed from his spiritual office."

This was, indeed, much like blowing hot and blowing cold in the same breath; but Bishop Gray at once submitted to the Archbishop's decision, remarking that the Church of England herself was now really on its trial at the bar of Christendom. Where this bar might be, it would be hard to say; but the tribunal would in any case be a strange one, the two chief places in it being filled by the orthodox Church of the East and the Churches of the Roman obedience in the West, both East and West excommunicating each other, and both alike refusing the very title of Church to the society known as the Church of England, and charging Bishop Gray, as well as all other English Bishops, with schism or heresy quite as heinous as any of which the latter might hold Bishop Colenso to be guilty. Like Bishop Gray's ideal of "the Church," the bar of Christendom, as an organized court, is absolutely and purely a dream.

In the heat of the great controversy, Bishop Hamilton of Salisbury, himself an object of no small suspicion and dislike to many of his clergy from his supposed Romanising tendencies, admitted that he and his fellow Bishops could hardly trust their feelings to act with justice towards the Bishop of Natal. It is far more difficult now, after the lapse of more than twenty years, to repress a feeling of indignation for the utterances of men who could speak thus, or of others who declared not only that substantial justice had been dealt out to him in the so-called Capetown trial, but that he had not behaved like an

honest and well-meaning man in declining to defend himself at that trial on the merits of his case. In so saying, Bishop Ellicott implied that it was the duty of the Bishop to acknowledge himself a member of a society (the Church of South Africa) to which he did not belong; to admit a jurisdiction which he felt assured was utterly unlawful, and the authority of a tribunal which the laws of the English Church did not and could not recognise. Wherever they might look, his opponents could see nothing but reasons which should have led the Bishop to submission or to resignation. Even a man like Archbishop Whately, on receiving a copy of the First Part of the *Examination of the Pentateuch*, could write to tell the donor, "I suppose you will now leave the Church;" and others, like the Bishop of Llandaff, Dr. Ollivant, spoke as though the fact of Bishop Colenso's having pledged himself to pay due canonical obedience to the Metropolitan of Capetown settled the matter as thoroughly as William of Normandy chose to regard his claim to the English crown as settled by the oath of Harold over the chest of relics at Rouen or at Bayeux. Others, again (and these formed seemingly a majority in the Convocation of Canterbury), thought, apparently, that they might possibly put him down by pretending to do that which, after all, they were not doing, and had no intention of doing. Ambiguous language may be often a convenient weapon; and the majorities in Convocation felt no shame in resorting to equivocations which might do credit to the casuistry of Alphonsus Liguori. As "a spiritual body, the Church," they declared, "may rightly accept the validity of the so-called Capetown trial and sentence." The Bishop of Capetown insisted on this as showing that the Church may and does accept it. The Convocation, it seems, meant that the Church may, if it chooses, accept it, but it does not; and, beyond this, that assembly was well aware that, however clearly it might speak, it could not possibly speak as the mouth-piece of the Church of England.

But nothing, it seems, had any deterrent power with those who felt, or professed to feel, themselves bound to aim at the silencing of the Bishop of Natal as persistently as Cato demanded the ruin of Carthage. Bishop Hamilton of Salisbury, whose own house was perilously nigh the flames, joined in the cry; and the most prominent in the attack was Archdeacon Denison, who, having been condemned in a perfectly lawful court on the merits of his case, had escaped on appeal by availing himself of a mere technical informality.[1]

To W. H. Domville, Esq.

"Bishopstowe, *September* 7, 1867.

"I send you by this post a copy of the argument which I am to deliver, if all is well, on Tuesday next, September 10 . . . Our judges have found out, I believe from the Attorney-General, . . . that they were altogether wrong in purposing to give a perpetual interdict without an *action*. The result is that we have been advised to modify our plan of proceeding, and apply for an *ad interim* interdict with a view to action. The action cannot be heard till November 1; but we hope the interdict will be granted meanwhile, as then we shall have practically gained our point. I shall be curious to know what your lawyers think of my attempt at law, as you have asked me to judge of your divinity. But the fact is, it was hopeless to put the argument in proper shape through the mouth of my young advocate, or any of the Natal lawyers. Besides which, I thought it well to print it with a view to the appeal on the Cathedral case, should it be prosecuted."

To the same.

"Bishopstowe, *September* 10, 1867.

"I write this, on the chance of there being a supplementary mail to-day, to say that I have delivered my argument. . . .

[1] See Vol. I. p. 390.

But one thing occurs to me, which it may be of importance for Mr. Shaen to note. In Bishop Gray's patent there is a clause which says: 'And we are, moreover, pleased to order and direct that the said Bishop of Capetown under that title may take up, continue, and proceed with, every act or engagement lawfully commenced, done, or entered into, as Bishop of Capetown, under the letters patent heretofore granted to him as Bishop of the said see of Capetown.' I know that he considered this as securing to him a hold over the lands, &c., held in trust by him under the old patent. I believe, and have argued, that the clause is invalid as regards the land in the Cape Colony (dioceses of Capetown and Grahamstown), because that had then, in 1853, a constitutional Government, and the Queen could not make such a law as this for that colony without an Act of the Legislature. But may it not be valid for Natal? I imagine that it is; unless, indeed, the fifteen days' interval between the date of my patent and his, during which these grants all lapsed, may have any bearing on the question of such validity. But I apprehend *not*, and that he really is, by virtue of this clause, lawful trustee of the Cathedral and other sites in this colony. But this can only be on condition of this having been a Crown colony in 1853, for which the Queen could legislate by letters patent, in which case my patent will be perfectly valid. If he appeals on the Cathedral case, he can only succeed, therefore, by proving the validity of my letters patent. And as, at present, he assumes that they are invalid, according to the dictum of the Privy Council, the probability is that he will *not* appeal. It is a very curious cleft stick. He may beat me on the appeal, but then it will be to make himself trustee of *these* sites, while he will lose all his own in Capetown and Grahamstown, and my *authority* over these sites will be as thoroughly confirmed as that of any Bishop in England over any churches in his diocese, of which, of course, he is very rarely trustee.

"Supposing, however, that this should happen, I think my lawyers might very well apply for expenses (as in the Long

case Bishop Gray obtained them), for I shall have incurred this loss through the *mistake* of the Privy Council in regard to the conditions of this colony, which mistake misled our judges, who were quite right in deciding that the grants in question had lapsed, if this colony had (as the Privy Council assumed) an independent Legislature."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *October* 7, 1867.

"Yesterday Mr. Keate brought the conduct of Mr. Crompton (with whom a correspondence has been going on ever since the churchwardens of Pinetown reported his behaviour on that Sunday, when he ordered a 'special' to take me into custody) before the Executive Council, saying that he felt very strongly on the subject, and therefore did not like to trust to his own impressions. They decided unanimously to support Mr. Keate's determination to strike him off the list of J.P.'s. This is a great blow to the adversary—greater than it seems, for Crompton was a thorough-going Ritualist, and made great capital out of his J.P.-ship. . . .

"Also yesterday the Executive Committee voted unanimously that I should have a grant of £250[1] per annum from the Native Reserve, with arrears from January 1, 1866—undoing, in short, all the mischief and injustice which B—— did me. This will be a great help, and the best of it is, this too is Mr. Keate's doing. . . . Certainly, whatever Lord Carnarvon may have done in other matters, he has done a good thing for us in not sending out, as he might have done, and as the enemy seem to have expected from him, a thorough-going partisan of the opposite camp. . . .

"I reached the Umkomazi (river) on Saturday, and was warmly received by the principal resident, Mr. Mackenzie. . . . . I found that the people (under his influence, of

[1] This grant was raised to £300, to be spent on native education, divided between the Institution at Ekukanyane (Bishopstowe) and St. Mary's Native School at Pietermaritzburg.

course, to some extent) had been making great exertions to finish a school-room they have long been engaged in building in time for my holding service on Sunday. Mr. Barker (ordained by me deacon and priest) who has a Government school at the Umzinto, and is a thorough adherent of Mr. Green, rode up, I find, a day or two before and called from house to house at the Umkomazi to try to get up a congregation for himself in opposition to me, but utterly failed in finding any support except in one single house. Upon this he went down to the workmen employed in the school and actually begged them *not* to finish it. Of course, they worked the harder, and were at it long after sunset on Saturday, so that all was ready on Sunday morning, and we had service with more than forty people, including all the residents of the neighbourhood except those of the single house I have mentioned, and even some of them were there. But what makes this phenomenon the more noticeable is that this was the very place from which Mr. Tönnesen was rejected so rudely last year by five persons undertaking to represent the whole community.

'Dr. Kalisch has just sent me his Part I. on Leviticus. It is splendid, far beyond anything yet published in England, and, indeed, thoroughly outspoken. I wish some of my friends would review it, ... and point out the absurdity of the Bishops' attempting to browbeat me, and treat my books as false and unfounded. He adopts entirely the view which I have decidedly come to since I came out here, and have, by fits and starts, pursued my investigations—viz. that Leviticus is a post-Captivity work. Here is a first-rate scholar, who began Exodus almost from an orthodox point of view, and was spoken of, I know, as the man who was to make mincemeat of me. And yet, not only does he speak in his preface of the 'acute and incisive demonstrations of Colenso'—language the more satisfactory, as he says no more about my books—but writes in page 43 :—

"'From all these we are forced irresistibly to the conclusion that the minute and complicated sacrificial legislation of

Leviticus *originated at a considerably* later time than that of Deuteronomy. And as the Book of Deuteronomy can, from internal evidence, not have been written earlier than the seventh century before the present era [Josiah's time], and is probably the 'Book of the Law' or 'the Book of the Covenant" found in the Temple during the reign of Josiah, the sacrificial laws of Leviticus were not completed before the Babylonian period, and came into operation in the *Second Temple only*, after the return of the Jews from captivity.'

"With the desire to be as 'orthodox' as possible, I have hitherto in my published volumes assumed that the Levitical laws were not later than Solomon. But I am thoroughly convinced, and I have been for some time, that they are far later. And I have *proved* to my own satisfaction that Leviticus xxvi. is due to Ezekiel. Kalisch's book will be a death-blow to the traditionary school and a staggerer for the Bishops and their new *Commentary*."

To W. H. Domville, Esq.

"Bishopstowe, *October* 22, 1867.

"Since my last, poor Green has had a terrible calamity in his family, the wheel of a waggon having gone over the head of his third son, . . . leaving the child, of course, dead on the spot. . . . This was last Saturday week, and on Sunday, when the poor little fellow was buried, of course almost the whole city attended, I and Mr. Shepstone, &c., among the rest.[1] In the course of the week I wrote a note of condolence

[1] The Bishop's sermon at the Cathedral on the 20th of October spoke of the affliction which had thus befallen Mr. Green and his family. It is a sermon from which it is not easy to make extracts, being, throughout, the expression of a charity rising above all controversy, yet recognising that in the present state controversy cannot be wholly avoided. Of Mr. Green personally he spoke in terms of hearty esteem for his sincerity, his earnestness, and his conscientious discharge of duty. The sympathy felt for him by all was an assurance that "in that hour all differences of this life were hushed and silenced, ... that, although we have such controversies, such disputes, and must still have them, since only thus

to the father, which produced a reply in a softened tone addressed to me as 'The Lord Bishop of Natal,' not, as before, 'The Lord Bishop Colenso.'"

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *November* 21, 1867.

"Last Thursday I delivered my reply to Mr. Green's argument, ... and I send you by this mail a copy of it, which, you will see, is of considerable importance. I mean especially all that part which shows that not only the Bishop of Grahamstown, but the Bishop of Capetown also, was perfectly aware that my oath of canonical obedience did not bind me to recognize the Metropolitan's jurisdiction, and that the former was also well aware that I did not suppose it did, all the while they have been charging me, or suffering me to be charged, with dishonesty and evasion in respect of my oath. . . .

"By this mail I have written to Mr. Gladstone with reference to his S.P.G. speech at Penmaenmawr, and sent him copies of my argument, &c. . . . Of course, we shall be very curious to hear what the Bishops of the Pan-Anglican have done about Natal, for that they will do something, I take for granted; and if they cannot, in conference, under the Bishop of London's conditions, they will probably sign some round-robin or other of denunciation. In England, I see, the real secret of their meeting, which of course everybody guessed at, has been let out by Denison. But it has been divulged still more plainly in New Zealand. I copy a few lines from the Capetown *Church News* of October 25:—'The Bishop of Wellington in his address to his Diocesan Synod, in July last, declared his regret at his inability to accompany other Bishops of the province to the Council at Lambeth, in order

can God's Kingdom of Righteousness and Truth go forward, and the foundations of His Temple be laid for the future worship of the whole human race, yet the true life of every one of us consists not in these things, but in love—love to God, love to one another, love to the brethren.' The whole sermon deserves to be carefully studied.

to indorse the sentence on Colenso, and to consider the relation of the colonial Church to the Church at home.' So the primary object of the gathering was to indorse the sentence on Colenso. . . .'

"You will be pleased to hear that young Shepstone, who has acted all along as my legal adviser, has written to say that he shall take no payment for his service, receiving only the sums which he may have had to pay out of pocket, and his allowance of £20 per annum as my registrar, for which he has had plenty of employment independent of my litigation with Gray and Green. I had heard some months ago that he intended this, but I did not like to mention it, until I had it from his own hand. Also, Mr. M——, who is managing clerk to Mr. Buchanan (another of our pleaders), has rendered invaluable service."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *December* 3, 1867.

. . "I have just read in the *Times* the pastoral letter of the Bishops of the Pan-Anglican. A more feeble, unmeaning document I have scarcely ever read, and particularly so as coming from such a body, and at such a time. I could readily put my name to it, except for its weakness, and because many of the phrases used in it would, of course, be understood by me in my own sense of the words, and my act would be liable to be misunderstood by many. I could also very readily assent to the two 'resolutions' which concern this diocese. The state of this diocese is, no doubt, an 'injury' to the whole Church, and we should be very glad indeed if the Committee can devise a remedy for the evil in accordance with the laws of the United Church of England and Ireland. But, of course, we think that the evil is mainly due to the arbitrary and unlawful proceedings of Bishop Gray, and the disorderly conduct of some of the clergy, who have been stimulated by him and others to acts of schism. . . ."

The history of this period of his life might leave on some minds the impression that he was ingrossed with stormy debates, and had no thought except for theological strife and civil litigation. This conclusion is met at once by the question of his duty. What could he do? What ought he to do? These were points which could not be set aside; and it is perhaps enough to say that this impression, if created in some minds in this country, was not the impression left in the minds of the people of Natal. The letters already given prove so abundantly that a large majority of the English colonists were on his side that we need no longer regard this fact as matter for controversy. By some of them indeed he was thought to be moving too slowly rather than too quickly. As to the course to be taken they had no doubt or misgiving; and they felt that the continuance of the evils pressing on them would soon become unendurable. With his wonted clearness of judgement, Mr. Shepstone expresses this conviction in a letter addressed to Mr. Domville, December 7, 1867. Speaking of his fellow-colonists, he says that they

"believe themselves to be members of the Church of England and Ireland, and they are fully resolved to remain members of it. They also believe that certain property here belongs to the Church of England, and they are determined that, as far as in them lies, it shall belong to it. They see that efforts are made to cast off the supremacy of the Crown, with all its attendant privileges; and they see full well that the success of those efforts would launch them and their children into some merely colonial Church, such as that of 'South Africa.' They therefore cling to the Queen's supremacy as the sheet-anchor of their Church, and will maintain it to the utmost. But they look to their Bishop as the true consecrator and vindicator of their rights as Churchmen, because the law has made him so. They feel that he cannot, and will not, betray them into the hands of irresponsible ecclesiasticism, as appears to have been done

elsewhere; that he is too loyal to truth and straightforwardness to make any such attempt, and that it is to his foresight they are indebted for not having been betrayed already. On the other hand, they have long begun to fear that the charity which he is always inculcating on them, and the reluctance he so constantly shows to take any step having the appearance of rashness towards others, might induce him to carry forbearance too far and sacrifice the interests he is bound to uphold. They, as well as their opponents, have seen from the beginning, that the steps he has lately taken are the only means by which a settlement of the question was possible, and they have all along thought that the sooner they were taken the better. The long delay and uncertainty, during now two years; the aggressive acts and assumptions of the opposite party, such as were shown in the conduct of Bishop Twells, have so irritated and exasperated them that efforts to control their feelings and acts would scarcely have been effectual except for the example of their Bishop. The temptation to a party, by far the strongest, to take its cause into its own hands, is very great, when it finds a minority persistently invading its rights, and thinks that the only person legally empowered, and whose duty it is to vindicate them, has failed in that duty; and clearly it is the duty of a Bishop to see that the property of the Church in his diocese is not carried off to, or by, some strange body. Let us now look at the position assumed by the opposite party. Mr. Green's argument before the Supreme Court will give you a fuller idea of it than I can possibly do in a letter. As regards Church property in Pietermaritzburg, he arrogates to himself and those persons he chooses to call 'members of the English Church,' whatever that may mean, the *sole right* to control and dispose of it, 'to build or pull down, occupy or hire out, as they choose. They are the freeholders; the trustee has nothing to do with the use, it was not conveyed to him; but reserved to them under the title-deeds.' . . . . In such a case is it possible or, if possible, would it be prudent, to let things take their course? . . . . The positions

of the two parties are so thoroughly antagonistic, and the irritation caused in a thousand ways, in the daily contact of individuals living together in towns, is so extreme, that without some safety-valve explosion is inevitable. That safety-valve is an appeal to the law of the land, to which the Bishop has, by every consideration of prudence and duty, been compelled to resort.

But supposing that the Bishop gains all he asks for, what is the hardship of which so much has been made? Mr. Green will lose the house he lives in, and perhaps the £100 a year he receives as colonial chaplain, both of which he enjoys upon faith of his being a clergyman of the Church of England. If he deprives himself of this qualification by his own act, surely he, like everyone else in the world, must submit to the consequences, and is not intitled to bemoan his fate as a hardship inflicted by others. . . . Practically, however, no hardship will, I imagine, result. . . . The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, I understand, have placed large sums at Mr. Green's disposal, and judging from the past there is every reason to suppose that they will sanction the expenditure of those sums more to support recusant clergy in their opposition to the Bishop of the diocese than the inculcation of Gospel charity.

"But where are the Bishop's funds to come from? The Cathedral congregation have pledged themselves to support their present clergyman, and so far they have redeemed their pledge, in spite of the depression of their circumstances. But it is scarcely right that he, or they, should be burdened with rent when the house attached to his office is in the occupation of one who claims it on the ground that he belongs to the Church of God rather than the Church of England. . . . Besides being almost alone, destitute of funds, and in the face of lavish opposition expenditure by a rich and powerful Society, must he look quietly on while the buildings which should be under his control, both as trustee and Bishop, are used by the very party which admits him to possess both capacities, but practically and avowedly separates from the Church to

which those buildings belong? . . . It is surely a perversion of funds for the S.P.G. to expend its subscriptions to foment strife in this colony. Let it expend on such an object the sums only specially subscribed for it, if the Society be willing to undertake such a commission; but let it, for decency's sake, avoid carrying on the crusade under pretence of propagating the Gospel. Churchmen here have been in the habit of looking to that Society with reverence and gratitude, and it is to be regretted that, however insignificant they may be, any change of sentiment should be forced upon them by the course it has lately adopted. . . . I am anxious that you and other friends of the Bishop, and especially the Dean of Westminster, to whom we all have looked with such hopefulness, should understand the state of matters here from a layman's point of view. It is difficult for us to comprehend how, in a Protestant Church like ours, inquiry after truth can be made a crime, and that even the friends of freedom should find it necessary to palliate the search, so as seemingly to condemn the honest seeker. Either the Church allows such inquiry, or it does not; and the Bishop is right or wrong, as the question may be decided. If he is right, why should he be but barely excused for having done right, even by his friends; or, if wrong, why persecuted, instead of being legally proceeded against?

"I had written thus far, when I saw accounts of the statements made by the Bishop of Capetown at Wolverhampton, and I am glad I had, for it would have been difficult to write with calmness in the presence of such utter and knowing perversion of truth and fact as that prelate was guilty of, if the reports be correct. This is strong language, but it is true. Everyone here at all conversant with the circumstances knows that long ago the S.P.G. took good care to deprive the Bishop of Natal of all control over the stipends of the clergy, and even eliminated from their local Committee of finance the name of a gentleman whose sympathies for the Bishop were thought too strong; and as the Bishop of Capetown was the cause of the former at least of these

measures being taken, he knew it better than anyone, except perhaps the members of the S.P.G. Committee themselves. Were there no members of that Committee present to correct such statements? or, being present, none who dared?"

TO W. H. DOMVILLE, ESQ.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *December* 24, 1867.

. . "On the 1st of January I am to lay the foundation-stone of a new church, at Camperdown, about twelve miles from Maritzburg on the Durban road; and the chief difficulty which the *donor* (the same from whom the site was bought for the church at New Leeds) finds, is to secure that, in the event of my having no successor appointed by Royal authority, the building may on no account whatever pass into the hands of the South African clergy—those 'pagans' as he calls them. . . . At the Umhlali they have written to ask that the school vacancy may be filled up by someone recognizing my authority, who will also conduct service on Sundays. School after school, in fact, has been dropping into my hands, . . . and the people *now* seem to have no dread whatever of the 'Bishop' in respect of such matters as they had in former days *before* my heretical proceedings. They used to fear the 'grim wolf's privy paw' within the Bishop's sleeve."

TO THE REV. G. W. COX.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *December* 9, 1867.

"I want you to keep an eye on the journals, especially with reference to my £100 a year. Some, perhaps, as Stanley, may think that I had better abandon it. But I really do not feel this, as matters now stand. If Bishop Gray had said he was too poor to continue it, admitting the fact that it is my due, that would alter the case considerably. But he does nothing of the kind. On the contrary, he does not want the money for himself, but proposes to pay it to my rival (and I have little doubt he has been paying it all along

since my 'deposition' to Mr. Green). To me it seems a scandalous piece of dishonesty. I expected, of course, when Lord Romilly's decision was given, that he would submit to his fate. But nothing of the kind. Like a wild bull in a net, he turns round in a fury, and seems quite reckless of what he says or does. If, again, he would throw up his patent, and so cease to be Bishop of Capetown, my claim for the future would cease, though I should still ask for arrears; and if he persists in sending out a new Bishop here, I believe the whole body of Churchmen in the colony will petition the Queen to abolish that part of his patent which makes him Metropolitan over Natal, which is our only reason for troubling ourselves about his doings at all."

CHAPTER IV.

DIOCESAN AND OTHER WORK.

1868-1873.

THE preceding chapters have shown that Bishop Gray and his adherents exhibited in their whole conduct a singularly violent animosity to the man whom they had arbitrarily, unjustly, and illegally condemned. Few men have borne persistent hard usage with the patience of the Bishop of Natal; but it does not follow that he did not feel the wrong. A letter to his brother-in-law expresses the natural resentment which he kept steadily in check.

TO C. J. BUNYON, ESQ.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *January* 8, 1868.

. . . "I cannot understand what Bishop Gray means by saying that F—— publicly thanked him for the way in which he had dealt with me. This may be an untruth, like so much besides. But certainly I owe him no gratitude or respect for the way in which he has dealt with me since 1862, which has been most arbitrary, violent, unjust, and dishonest; and as to his profession of affection for me, I do not believe in it: he could never have spoken of me as he has done, if he really felt what he says. Of course, I do not refer to his condemning and sentencing, but to the *bitter malice*

of his words and insinuations in the course of his warfare against me."

The following letter relates to the issue of the trial which dealt with the question of the Church of England trusts, and the validity and force of the Bishop's letters patent :—

TO W. H. DOMVILLE, ESQ.

"*January* 9, 1868.

"News just brought me that judgement has been given in my favour, with costs—unanimously on the question of the trusts, and by a majority (Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Cope) on the patent. . . .

"Green has given notice that he shall apply for leave to appeal next Tuesday, and Phillips and Cope have said that they shall *not* stay execution, nor I expect will Harding. . . . I fancy that Harding and Cope maintain Lord Romilly's decision. Yes—I think they must have done so."

On the same day, January 9, 1868, the Bishop addressed to the *Times* newspaper a letter exposing in full detail the misstatements of Bishop Gray in reference to the election of Mr. Butler as Bishop by Dean Green and his adherents. All the facts connected with this matter have been given in letters already cited, and it is unnecessary to quote from this letter to the *Times* more than the concluding sentences, which deal with the alleged agreement of the general body of the Natal laity with the aims and plans of Bishop Gray.

"As to what Bishop Gray says about 'eight parishes out of eleven' having been consulted, the 'other clergy being chiefly on mission stations,' . . . I have only to say that there is but *one* 'clergyman on a mission station' among all those who have accepted Mr. Butler, and that the clergy and churchwardens of *three* parishes, and the churchwardens of *three* others, in the neighbourhood of Durban, presented to Bishop Twells, as he passed through this colony, in the

name of a large majority of their respective congregations, a protest which they desired him to lay before the Pan-Anglican Conference, if the affairs of this diocese were at all discussed there, and in which they said: 'We declare our belief that the vast majority of the members of the Church of England in this diocese will resent as an outrage upon their own rights and liberties, and a breach of the law of the United Church of England and Ireland, the intrusion of another Bishop professing to be a Bishop of that Church, by whomsoever consecrated, if appointed without the Royal authority, and will in every way in their power resist the same,—knowing as we do that most untruthful reports have been forwarded to England by adherents of Bishop Gray's party respecting the real feeling of the members of the Church of England in this diocese.'"

TO W. H. DOMVILLE, ESQ.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *January* 10, 1868.

"I find on further inquiry that the judgement is everything that we could desire. The two judges, Harding and Cope, have affirmed the entire validity of my letters patent; and *because* they are valid, they have declined to have anything to do with my judgements as Bishop, any more than they would confirm those of a military or admiralty court. Those judgements stand good upon their own basis, and I must carry them out in my own way, by my own officers. But they have done that which it was in their power to do, viz. asserted my right as trustee to exclude Green and Walton, as not having my permission to officiate in those buildings of which I am trustee.

"Nothing could be better, for, to tell the truth, I have had all along a misgiving that if they did confirm my sentences, as having been made by a lawful Bishop, Green might appeal, and argue that he had never been *tried;* he had been summoned indeed to my *forum domesticum*, and did not choose to attend a private summons of this kind; if he had been summoned to a lawful court, he might have attended,

or must have taken the consequences. Whether this would hold good or not in the Privy Council I do not know, but it possibly might, and then we should have been foiled.

"As it is, my patent is declared valid, and I get besides all that I want for present practical purposes.

"If my letters patent had *not* been declared valid, of course they would have been bound by the Long judgement to confirm my decisions when properly made."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *January* 25, 1868.

"On Friday, the 10th, Mr. Green and his friends had a meeting, at which, among other things, they agreed unanimously not to appeal. But on the 14th he *did* apply for leave to appeal, which the court granted, but refused to stay execution. This was the first moment therefore at which the Church and house have come in my power, and Mr. Shepstone on my behalf immediately offered to allow Mr. Green the use of both as before for six months. I see indications that they are going to try to pervert this, by talking about my not having made any offer of it *except in court.* Where could I have offered it more publicly and properly, more especially as Mr. Green says he is more separated from me than the dead from the living? They may say again that I did not offer it till they had vacated both. I reply that I offered it at the first moment that I could. The fact is that they bundled out in a most precipitate manner, and very probably wished to secure the honour of such martyrdom. They have abandoned all the churches, &c., and accordingly, last Sunday, I preached for the first time since my return in St. Andrew's. Last Monday I heard that he had applied to the Governor for eighteen months' leave of absence, recommending Mr. F. S. Robinson (Bishop Gray's man) as his substitute. Upon hearing this I notified to the Governor my view of his position—that he was unable to discharge the duties of his office, which was therefore vacant; and requested to know his Excellency's intentions. In reply I

was told that the Executive Council had advised the Governor that, in their opinion, Lord Carnarvon's letter precluded him from entertaining my statements, and that he had promised to give leave of absence for twelve months, and then would ask me to appoint an acting chaplain. Now it so happens that if any vacancy in any of the colonial chaplaincies in this colony (Church of England, Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, or Dutch Reformed) occurs *after next July*, it is not to be filled up, by a decision of our Legislative Council two years ago. So here was a pretty piece of craft. Green was really (as our Supreme Court has decided) deprived by me on May 9, 1867, of all power to officiate anywhere in this diocese as a clergyman of the Church of England, and yet has managed to get leave of absence long enough to carry the vacancy over next July, and so lose the annual grant to us altogether—not to speak of his being also at this moment 'in contempt' for not obeying the order of the Supreme Court about the register. He was actually to be allowed to go home in triumph, snapping his fingers at the judges and carrying off his half-stipend. Accordingly I wrote another letter to the Governor. . . . I hear that it has produced great effect in the Executive Council, and that the Colonial Secretary has since said that it was not settled about Green's getting leave. We are, of course, going to apply to the court to insist upon his surrendering the register, vestry books, &c., which he still detains, though he has vacated the churches. Among other matters is a sum of money, between £100 and £200, which has been lying in the bank for three or four years, having been begun to be collected (I believe) when Bishop Gray was here, in order to render his visit memorable by enlarging the Cathedral. . . . The whole was by an express vote of the vestry set apart for enlarging the church. Personally, I know nothing about the matter, as the whole took place while I was in England. But the people call upon me to protect their interests, and, as far as I can see, they are perfectly justified in demanding this sum, instead of allowing it to go to build an opposition place of worship.

"What you see in the *Natal Times* report about the sympathy of the Dutch Church is all fudge. Green went down and told a pitiful tale to the two amiable elders about being turned out of his church, and asked if they might have the Dutch church, as they have no minister at present. Of course they assented. Then he went on to ask for the parsonage, to which also they courteously assented, but said that they expected a clergyman presently to occupy it. No voluntary offer was made at all, they only complied with Green's requests; but you see how they will treat this matter, and no doubt will represent the 'Dutch Church' as standing up manfully by their side.

"P.S.—I have just heard that Mr. Keate has ordered a communication to be made to Mr. Green, that it has come to his knowledge that he is 'in contempt,' and that he cannot give him leave of absence till he has purged himself from it. Green has replied by offering to give the books up to the Registrar of the Supreme Court, to abide the decision of the court. Mr. Keate has replied that he knows nothing of the case, and cannot, under any circumstances, grant leave to a public officer when 'in contempt.' So the matter stands at present. It is understood that they are having the registers copied, and mean to give them up. In any case the plea of 'conscientious scruples,' which Green has all along been pleading, is shown to be fictitious. He has kept hold of them, till *now*, for his own personal convenience. He will have to give them up. Of course he might have copied them months ago, but then his conscience would not allow him to give them up."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *February* 7, 1868.

"I am, on the whole, very glad that the matter (of Mr. Green) has been referred to the Secretary of State, though it ought to have been decided in the first instance here. For the Duke of Buckingham must now decide whether the Crown

will support my letters patent or not ; and the late decision of the Supreme Court will receive very strong confirmation if the Secretary of State is obliged to declare, as I expect that he will be, that my sentence is valid, and that Mr. Green cannot any longer officiate as a chaplain of the English Church in this colony. . . . You will see at a glance that it is of the utmost importance that the Government should not be allowed to shuffle or shirk, as Lord Carnarvon did, even if they wish to do so. The case stands now so plainly before them that it seems to me they must decide in my favour. You will see also the importance of the matter being settled with as little delay as possible, to avoid any complication with the Legislative Council here, about filling up the chaplaincy, should the Duke's reply declaring it to be vacant not reach us before July next. You will observe the importance of my having brought matters to a crisis with Mr. Green, without any further delay, as really the loss of the £100 per annum would be a serious consideration in the present state of the colony. . . .

"Mr. Lloyd is of course on perfectly friendly terms with me now, and he showed me, a day or two ago, several letters from Bishop Gray to himself when I was in England, which showed me what an utter humbug the Metropolitan can be when it suits his purpose. After abusing Lloyd to me, before I came out in 1853, and advising me to get rid of him if possible, he now writes to him 'My dear Mr. Lloyd,' and actually advises him, if I landed or proceeded to officiate, to go on reading the service while I was reading!! I had heard of this amazing piece of advice, and I have now read it with my own eyes. But I saw also another passage in a letter dated May 16, 1865, in which Bishop Gray says that *all* the American Bishops have avowed their readiness to stand by and support him, even in the matter of consecrating another Bishop. This is important, as showing that he had already got the consent of the American Bishops, and out of this, no doubt, arose the Pan-Anglican."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *April* 9, 1868.

. . . "The despatch of the Secretary of State[1] is a tremendous blow for them (Bishop Gray and his friends); and, considering the tenor of Lord Carnarvon's doings, has taken us completely by surprise. . . .

"What now will Bishop Gray do? The only lawful, honourable, and straightforward course for him to take after all his blusterings, would be to throw up his patent, throw himself upon his spiritual powers, and go on with the consecration, if not of Mr. Macrorie, then of Mr. Green, braving the consequences. If he does this, I have no fear as to the result; he will find himself nowhere in Natal, or I expect in all South Africa.

"I am awake to the *possibility* that this decided action of the Government on my side may be followed by some process for bringing me to account on the 'merits.' If not, the victory is complete: if they do bring me to account, I think the Church of England will gain by it, in an immense *legalised* increase of liberty of thought and speech."

TO JOHN MERRIFIELD, ESQ.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *May* 7, 1868.

"Your writing at your age is really wonderful, and the sight of it, and the reading of your warm-hearted letters, most cheering to me and mine.

"Thanks for your kind congratulations. I am amused at the idea of the twelve right reverend brethren of mine having to go through my Parts IV. and V., Kuenen, Oort, and my volume of *Sermons*. Much good may it all do them; but one or two of them may be wiser and less confident by the time they have taken their full dose of heresy. It is just possible, of course, that they may find something which the law can touch in my various publications; but, if they do, I fancy it will be as a needle in a bundle of hay, and be so

[1] See Appendix B.

small that it will hardly suit their purposes to move heaven and earth to punish it. Well! we shall see, but in that case it may be that I shall be advised to come to England without delay, and then I may hope to see you again. However, though I face the possibility, I do not see the probability of this, and rather expect that they will lament and sigh that they can do nothing. And then Bishop Gray will soar onward in his course, and we shall see what we shall see next. Really his falsehoods are beyond all measure; he seems to lose all command of his tongue when he gets upon the subject of his 'brother once beloved.' Thus at Bath I find he said 'fifteen or sixteen clergy would be turned by me out of their homes and churches;' when he knew perfectly well, having been 'visiting' my diocese, in my absence, for two months, that there was only one 'home' in the whole diocese; and he might and ought to have known—in fact he did know—that there were only four clergy to be ejected from churches, one of whom had been intruded by himself.

"I quite agree with you in objecting to any *legal* measures to put down 'Ritualism' by coercion. The only way to meet it is to give full room for the utterance of the truth. But our Bishops dare not take this course, which the Ritualists, however, dread more than any other, for they are all banded as a man against me."

To TH. SHEPSTONE, ESQ.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *May* 11, 1868.

. . "It is quite clear, I think, that the eyes of the Government are now fully opened to the nature of Bishop Gray's doings, which is pure Fenianism—an attempt to change by force, and unlawful processes, the government of the Church in South Africa. . . . . I send you the *Guardian*, by which you will see that very important debates have taken place in Convocation, and that our judgement got home in the very nick of time, on the last day of the sitting of Convocation, just in time to put a

decisive stop to the Bishop of Oxford's plans—at least for the present. You will read with great interest Dean Stanley's and Canon Blakesley's speeches; and you will see that the majority of the clergy in the Lower House are ready to override all notions of justice, in order to do their part towards supporting Bishop Gray. It must be remembered, however, that he has, no doubt, stopped in England for the very purpose of bringing *them* up to the mark, and I have no doubt that by personal application, by letter, by the influence of the Bishop of Oxford, &c., he has brought up every man he could, to deliver, as he hoped, a deadly blow at me, which the Queen's arm—God bless her!—has warded off for the present, and, I hope, will to the end, effectually. Now I was not in England to look up my friends, and yet the minority was 26 to 41 (I think), and the whole number of members is about 160."

The following letter mentions an accident which occurred at this time:—

TO W. H. DOMVILLE, ESQ.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *October* 5, 1868.

. . "I had a nasty fall from my horse last week, and struck the back of my head, so as to lose consciousness for a few moments, while Harriette and a friend who were riding with me dismounted, and she held my head while he rode for water. But before his return I was on my legs again, and rode home three or four miles. Still, I have not been quite myself since, though I am daily shaking off the effect more and more, and shall be ready to tackle the Bishops when they come next week. . . .

"I had a very pleasant letter by the last mail from Mr. Gladstone, to whom I wrote ten months ago with reference to his language about Bishop Gray and myself at an S.P.G. meeting at Penmaenmawr. He had had my letter before him for four months, as he says; but he begs me to believe that this long interval of silence has not been due to 'any indifference or disrespect'; and, in short, he writes a very kind and courteous letter, administering a little rebuke to

me at the end, 'not so much with respect to particular opinions as to what appears to me your method (technically so called) in the treatment of theological questions,' &c., &c. Upon the whole, I hope the correspondence will help to prepare him for taking some day a juster view of the work in which I have been engaged."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *November* 18, 1868.

. . "I am hard at work, really in earnest, upon my Sixth and concluding Part of the Pentateuch, which I hope will disturb the calm which is settling down upon the question. It is making steady progress, and to my own mind satisfactory."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *December* 11, 1868.

"I was delighted to see your handwriting yesterday, and to find that you have all returned safely from the other side of the Atlantic. . . . We are still kept in suspense about Macrorie. If he comes without a mandate, he will be a mere nothing; and I fancy he will lose some of the present body of separatists, who do not wish to become schismatics. . . .

"I dare say you will see a notice in some of the papers of my having very nearly been drowned, which is true enough. Last week I was returning from a visit to the people of the Lower Umkomazi, where Mr. Tönnesen lives; it was not the proper season for travelling, as the rivers are more full than usual, and locomotion may be interrupted by rains. But as the great flood of September prevented my going at that time, and the people wished to see me, I went down; and on Thursday last was on my return home in company with Mr. John Kirkman. We had two thunderstorms in the afternoon, which made the roads very slippery, and our horses were also very tired, as we had ridden eighty-five miles in two days, so that we could not get to the river

which bounds the Bishopstowe lands . . . till dark, and we could not see that the water was much higher than usual, and the *drift*, or crossing-place, in a very dangerous state. Having repeatedly crossed it, I went in first without hesitation, and Mr. Kirkman followed me, and, in fact, his horse pushed on by my side, which impelled mine to go to the right, into the deeper and stronger current, where he was unable either to find footing, or, by swimming, to reach a place where he could get up the bank. He plunged and struggled terribly, and at last I was washed off, and carried down the stream some thirty or forty yards, and should, I believe, have been drowned (for hampered with a mackintosh and riding boots I could do little to help myself, and I cannot swim) but for young Kirkman, who behaved most gallantly, and, having got his own horse up the bank, plunged in after me, and, being a strong swimmer got me to land on the other side; then he went over again, and rode a mile to call some Kafirs, and ultimately I waded through on foot, with one arm round a Kafir man and the other around his sister's shoulders, the young lady (who appeared next day as a stout jolly wench, for it was very dark at the time) being accustomed, with her Naiad sisters, to cross the river at all hours, in sport or on business, and being able to point out the best place for so doing."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *January* 19, 1869.

. . "We are delighted at Bishop Tait's promotion. . . . I see that the [Natal] 'Clergy Fund' was commenced in May 1866. If I send you a report by the next mail, it will reach you in time to be circulated at the end of the three years' subscriptions. By that time also we shall know more definitely (1) what will be done as to Macrorie, (2) what may be done about myself; for I cannot help thinking that Archbishop Tait may now be compelled, or even think it right, to bring me to account for my doings. It *is* undoubtedly the proper thing to do under the circumstances, unless he means heartily to recognise me, as he

does the Bishop of Salisbury, whose views are quite as divergent from the *via media* of the Church of England, in one direction, as mine are in the other. You will have received a copy of the Durban protest against Macrorie, which is very spirited, and entirely their own doing. It really is monstrous that the only congregations here which are deprived of all help from S.P.G. (? from S.P.C.K. too) are those which, however disagreeing with my views, adhere to the system of the Church of England. Surely this state of things can hardly be continued, if Macrorie is consecrated merely by Bishop Gray without a Royal mandate or licence of any kind.

"I am very hard at work on my last Part *On the Pentateuch.* I need hardly say that this work, in addition to my other duties, leaves me very little time for rest or correspondence; so that, if you should hear any of my friends complaining of my remissness in answering their letters, or writing to them, please say a word on my behalf. This being our summer, and rainy season, when the rivers are too full and the weather too uncertain for convenient travelling, I am staying at home, and sit at my desk from morning till night, except that, on Sunday morning, I have to go into town to preach, and of course am occasionally disturbed by the arrival of visitors. . . . .

"The decision on Bennett's case may be an important one, whether it legalises his doctrines or not. . . . . Now that my boys are going to England, and I have pretty well fought out the fight here, and have another volume to publish, I should not be sorry if any kind of opening occurred in England for which I might suit. . . . . Of course I have not the least idea of anything presenting itself immediately. . . . . Otherwise, I am quite content to work on here, if God wills, to the end."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *February* 12, 1869.

"I have been preparing a report for you, but cannot make up my mind to send it, until I can say what course I and the

people are going to take about Bishop Macrorie, who has now come up. . . . As the Clergy Fund began on May 31, 1866, if I send my report by next mail (March 16), you will get it about May 16, and can issue it to wind up the three years. Also, by that time, I shall be able to judge what Macrorie is likely to do. But of course he wields tremendous power against me, coming into an impoverished colony with £2000 to £3000 annually at his command from S.P.G., and £2000 from S.P.C.K., for I suppose that he will have practically the fingering of that grant. . . .

"I inclose an account of the money expenditure of the Clergy Fund, which shows that we have about two years' scanty supplies in hand, wherewith to fight this great battle. That I have been able to stand my ground so long against such tremendous *worldly* influences shows how strong the cause itself must be. But if these two Societies are to use their funds unsparingly to support the South African schism, I do not see how it is possible for me to resist such a pressure brought to bear upon *needy* men. I inclose a copy of an address, which will go home by this mail, to the Archbishop as to S.P.G. But even if this avails so far as to reduce that Society to the same *formal* appearance of not supporting the schism as S.P.C.K., yet if the Committee privately devote their funds wholly for that purpose, what can I do, with the narrow means at my disposal? However, some applications will be sent home to S.P.C.K. from Greytown, Addington, Camperdown, and Clairmont, and we shall see how they are received. . . . By the next mail also I expect to send a petition of complaint and appeal to the Queen; and I think that the clergy and laity, who are faithful to the Church of England, will do the same. Of course we say nothing about Macrorie personally. *He* may come here as the head of a sect and gather what members he can. But we shall complain of the Bishop of Capetown's (1) excommunicating me; (2) excommunicating, practically, all who obey the law and adhere to me; (3) sending up Macrorie to disturb this diocese, while still

holding Her Majesty's letters patent, and in defiance of the Queen's Order in Council. . . .

By next mail our three children, Robert, Frank, and Frances, will go to England, so that they will reach England, we hope, about the middle of May. We have had most kind letters about them from Mr. Graham and Professor Jowett and Miss Bell, so that we have all the comfort we could expect to have in sending them away from us. But after my two recent accidents,[1] I feel that I am beginning to get old for riding about the country; and when I might have looked for some relief from this work, after fifteen or sixteen years of service, here is a young and active man sent up to do what I did ten years ago, but am hardly now equal to doing. Then I foresee financial difficulties, after a time, when our Fund is exhausted, and when perhaps old Mr. Lloyd may pass away and leave a vacancy which S.P.G. may fill up with a nominee of Bishop Gray. Liberal ideas are progressing so slowly in England, or else the liberal clergy are so timid and reticent, that I cannot hope for a sufficient change in the influences brought to bear at S.P.G. and S.P.C.K. to give me even fair play. If they would withdraw their funds altogether, we should soon see who would carry the day. Then, my sixth volume being far advanced towards completion, so that in about six months I may think of sending it to the press, I cannot help feeling that I have fought out this battle sufficiently, and when I see what the Queen may say in answer to my petition may retire honourably from the struggle.

. . . Do not suppose that there is any immediate reason for my apprehending difficulties in the future. The Cathedral was never better filled on Sundays than it is now. The great body of the laity are bitterly opposed to Bishop Gray and his doings. Still, Macrorie, I hear, is a pleasant man, who will make his way with some by his personal qualities, and with more by his pecuniary powers, and with *most* by the incessant action of his clergy going from house to house, repeating his praises and abusing me, and bringing

[1] See pp. 203, 204.

with them promises of gold and silver, which I have not. This must, I think, tell in the long run; and it is hard for me to feel that I am keeping all my friends from receiving any help from the two Societies, at a time when the depressed state of the colony makes them feel so greatly the need of it. As to Macrorie, I do not think that the Queen could appoint him to this see on a vacancy without an Act of Parliament, as he is not a Bishop of our Church, and has not been ordained strictly with the Church Service. Of course, if the Crown abandons the colonial Church to its own devices, the case will be altered. . . .

"With the exercise of the *utmost* economy the amount of the Clergy Fund expended in the past three years has been £627 19*s.* 6*d.*, at an average rate of £209 per annum, as against the S.P.G. grant of £2000 to £3000."

Few things show the fatal nature of the course of action followed by the Bishop of Capetown more clearly than the utterances of some of the clergy who, at the outset, had been disposed to follow him. Among these the most prominent perhaps was Mr. Newnham. When the English courts gave decision after decision adverse to Bishop Gray's schemes, he had no difficulty whatever in seeing that the position assumed by the Metropolitan of Southern Africa was untenable, and he expressed his conviction trenchantly enough in a letter to Bishop Macrorie.

"LADISMITH, *March* 4, 1869.

"RIGHT REV. SIR,

"After our conversation of the other night, I deem it advisable, for the satisfaction of my congregation, and to prevent future misunderstanding, to put into writing a portion of what has passed between us, and to make a few comments thereon.

"You asked me, 'In what light I regarded you.' I replied, 'As the episcopal head of a small Church existing in this colony, as yet undefined, but probably to be acknowledged by the Church of England as independent of, but in full communion with, her.'

"You asked, 'In what position do you consider me to stand as regards yourself?' I replied, 'In the same as would be held by a Bishop of any other Church visiting the colony.'

"You asked, 'Did I not then acknowledge the deposition of Dr. Colenso?' I replied, 'Most certainly *not*. I regarded him as the only lawful Bishop of the diocese, and all others as intruders.'

"You asked, 'Did I regard you as schismatical?' I replied, 'Most certainly, but as having very great palliatives to be urged in your favour,' and in proof of my friendly feeling to you, I made the offer that if you wished to hold a confirmation here, and would give me notice, I would prepare and present candidates to you; you entirely declined. . . .

"You then told me that you regarded Ladismith as being without a clergyman, and myself as being excommunicate, and in a letter since received you state your reasons as follows:—'If you are ministering weekly without my licence to a congregation in the diocese over which I have been placed, it is plain that you are acting inconsistently with the laws of the Church to which you profess to belong. . . . Thus it is not I who excommunicate you, but you who, by this breach of order, sever yourself from the Church.'

"I now proceed to make a few remarks in reply to the extract made from your letter. I must first profess my utter amazement at it, and leave the people of Natal to reconcile, if they can, two statements contained in it with facts previously communicated by me to you.

"First, you say I am here in a position inconsistent with the laws of the Church of England, because I am ministering here without a licence from a Bishop. I reply that you ought to have known better, and to be aware that all army and navy chaplains are without licences from any Bishop. I reply next, that you did know better, and were aware that for four years I ministered weekly to an important charge in the diocese of London, not holding the Bishop's licence, but with his knowledge. I freely acknowledge the position to be anomalous; but it is an anomaly known and

allowed at home, and it is better to be anomalous than schismatical. . . .

"Next, you state that I own no episcopal authority. I reply that you know better, that I told you I have formally recognised the Bishop of Capetown as my Metropolitan, according to the laws of the Church and Realm of England. . . . I ask again, if I were to return to England to-morrow, would not both the Archbishops of the Church of England admit me to a cure of souls in their respective sees, without even asking for letters dismissary from you? And how can you call yourself in union and full communion with the Church of England, and in the same breath cut off from communion with you one of her sons whom she would intrust with a cure of souls?

"Again, I put to you a case. You know well that your claims to be considered Bishop of this diocese would be held as cheaply by the Archbishop of Canterbury as they are by me; and that, if anything brought him to this colony, he would not ask your permission to hold services in it; if he did so week after week, would you dare to call him excommunicate? If you would not, you show that you venture to do to me, because I am weak and unfriended, what you would be afraid to do to a powerful man.

"And now I declare that, as by your conduct to my congregation and myself you prove yourself to be as schismatical in heart as you are in position, I hereby retract the offers which I made you in conversation, whilst I ignorantly deemed you true to your principles, and declare that I will not countenance, by any acts of mine, the least exercise on your part of episcopal functions in a diocese where you are an intruder, seeing that such exercise will be schismatical in spirit as well as form.

"For your language, it will not hurt, and does not move me. When the Bishop of Natal forbids me to minister here without his leave, or sends another clergyman, I will consider the position. But when a schismatical intruder into another man's diocese declares me to be excommunicate, I simply smile.

"But I desire now to do more, I desire to give one word of warning to those laymen who, in siding with you, think that they are fighting against heresy, and to tell them, though my words may be as unheeded as those of Cassandra, that they are really fighting for the severance of Church and State—that the heresy of the Bishop of Natal has been made use of as a convenient stalking-horse, for the plans of those who desire to see England priest-ridden, to see the supremacy of the Crown thrown overboard, the Church severed from all connexion with the State, and an arrogant ecclesiastical despotism established.

"And now, since you have freely told us here your opinion respecting our position, let me tell you a few facts respecting yours.

"(1) You are here in a diocese which you have every ground to consider as a legal diocese of the Church of England. You are not here as a Bishop of the Church of England. Therefore, be the see vacant or not, you are an unauthorised intruder.

"(2) You are here in opposition to the wishes of the majority of the laity.

"(3) You are here in consequence of a motion carried among the clergy by the chairman of the meeting voting once to make a tie, and then a second time to decide the tie of his own making.

"(4) The election in question, in consequence of which you are here, took place in direct opposition to the wishes of the majority of the Bishops who in Convocation gave us their advice. Therefore it was schismatical, and all its consequences are the same: therefore so is your presence here, and so, I greatly fear, will be your actions.

"And if none else warn you, I will, that a Church thus begun and continued in a spirit of contention will work no deliverance in the world; and I will not cease to pray that you may be brought to see the error of your ways, and to heal those wounds in the Church of Christ which you are now rending deeper.

"This letter I shall lay before my congregation and church-

wardens, leaving them to do with it as they like, and to take any other step which they may deem expedient.

"I shall also forward a copy of it to the Archbishop of Canterbury, begging him, as far as in him lies, to prevent any formal recognition by the Church of England of the body to which you belong, on the ground of its being schismatical and false to its profession.

"I have the honour to remain, Right Rev. Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"W. O. NEWNHAM."

This was all that the Bishop of Capetown had gained; this was all that he had succeded in bringing about: divisions and heart-burnings—a truculent ecclesiastical usurpation on the one side, and a determination to resist it to the uttermost on the other. It must not be forgotten that the strong feelings of disappointment excited by the course of proceedings which ended with the consecration of Mr. Macrorie, and his mission to the so-called see of Maritzburg, were in many, or rather in most, instances, unconnected with any sympathy for any given theological or other views. Soon after the consecration at Capetown, in which Bishop Cotterill, of Grahamstown, had taken part, Mr. W. J. Johnson, incumbent of Trinity Church, Port Elizabeth, addressed to his diocesan, February 2, 1869, a letter, admirable for the moderation of its language, and the clearness with which he dealt with every part of his subject. In the refusal of the Bishop of Capetown to allow the so-called sentence of deposition passed on Bishop Colenso to be reviewed by any tribunal of laymen, while he was willing to submit it to a conclave of Bishops, Mr. Johnson found convincing evidence "that the object pursued by those who sympathise with the Bishop of Capetown is to establish some sort of ecclesiastical authority beyond the control of the State."

"Such," he remarks, "is the opinion I have formed of the nature of the Natal conflict; and as I thoroughly accept

the doctrine of the Royal supremacy, which is, in fact (to quote the language of the late Prime Minister of England), 'giving the control of ecclesiastical affairs to laymen, and is at present the only security for our religious liberty,' I cannot refrain from publicly recording my respectful protest against the sanction your lordship has given to an assault upon this doctrine, by aiding in the consecration of an intrusive Bishop for Natal, while the legal Bishop still occupies the see."

The letter went on to deal with the reasons urged by Bishop Cotterill in justification of his action. These reasons are examined at length by the Bishop of Natal in a letter to the Mayor of Port Elizabeth.[1] All that we need mark here is that an incumbent, not belonging to the Natal diocese, could see, as clearly as any whose rights were invaded, the real iniquity of the state of things which Bishop Gray was seeking to establish.

"On precisely the same principles," he said, "a clergyman might be deposed from his office in South Africa, who opposed the High Church doctrine of baptismal regeneration, while, as the Gorham judgement shows, he might still hold office in England."

He saw also, not less clearly, the studied ambiguity of the language used in the report of the Convocation of the province of Canterbury. He there read that "the Church as a spiritual body *may* rightly accept the validity of Dr. Colenso's deposition." But, he remarks,

"there is not added, 'and this Convocation hereby does accept its validity,' without which addition, or something equivalent to it, there is no proof that the Convocation of Canterbury does accept it; and if the Convocation of Canterbury refuses to indorse the Bishop of Capetown's

[1] See Appendix C.

sentence, how can Churchmen generally be expected to respect it? . . . . Being myself resolved to remain a member of the Church of England, and desiring, as far as in me lies, to be true to its principles, I take this, the earliest, opportunity of disclaiming all participation or sympathy in the consecration of Mr. Macrorie, and the proceedings which have led to it, and I reject all responsibility for the evil consequences to our Church with which it is fraught."

Mr. Johnson's letter reflects the convictions and resolutions which have, from first to last, animated the members of the Church of England in the diocese of Natal, and strengthened them in their resistance to an arbitrary ecclesiastical system, which would deprive them of every safeguard for their liberties as English Churchmen.

To W. H. Domville, Esq.

"*March* 18, 1869.

. . . "As to Macrorie, I do not at all fear him *personally;* . . . but Macrorie with £2,500 a year is a formidable antagonist. . . . If it is seen that he has large *worldly* means at his command and I have none, I must expect him to make way, more especially as any dolt of a clergyman will do for him—since S.P.G. will pay for him—whereas my clergy, having to be supported by the people, must be superior, or they will not get supported at all. . . . But you and my friends in England must not expect me to do impossibilities. When I left England I gave myself three years of work here, to make good my ground. I have now been nearly four years, and am very well able to maintain the fight for twelve months longer or so, until, as I rather expect, Bishop Gray himself will be disposed of. If the Queen, however, will *not* attend to my petition and support me, of course the colonial Church will fall to the ground everywhere, and the English Church after it; and very much is pointing in this direction at the present moment."

TO THE SAME.

"*April* 17, 1869.

. . "As to my escape from drowning, for which I thank God, I have no doubt my enemies will regard it as a *warning* to me. It is a warning to work while it is called to-day, and publish, if possible, my sixth volume while yet life lasts. I am delighted to receive by this mail from Professor Kuenen, the first volume of his *Religion of Israel*, a very important book, one of a series on the great religions of the world, now being published in Holland; . . . . and to find that he has entirely abandoned the ground which he took in his '*Historico-Critical Inquiry* as to the composition of the Pentateuch, and is now on the most important points substantially at one with myself. . . . He now fully adopts the view that the Levitical legislation is post-Captivity work, and, indeed, the evidence on this point is so convincing that I really am sanguine enough to hope that my sixth volume will produce much more effect than anything I have yet published. . . ."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *March* 10, 1869.

. . . "Mr. Shepstone is heading a petition from the people to the Queen, and I really hope that Bishop Gray may find that he has gone a step too far. He may perhaps contrive to shuffle out of the mere fact of consecrating Macrorie, but I do not see how he can escape the consequences of a direct defiance of the Queen's Order in Council, in issuing the sentence of excommunication. Fortunately his 'Declaration' gives all the evidence that is needed for our purposes. And now I only want you, Mr. Shaen, and my other friends, to strike while the iron is hot, and, if possible, get Miss Coutts also to move, and I think we shall be able to dislodge *him*, instead of me.

"Newnham's letter[1] is superb. Macrorie must be a thorough

[1] See p. 209.

goose to have so utterly mismanaged affairs when he had the whole game in his hands, as far as Ladismith is concerned—a petty place after all, where, as Newnham told me in a note a few weeks ago, the whole population, men, women, and children, including Dissenters of all kinds, does not exceed 100. But I need not enlarge on Macrorie's folly. Newnham's letter will speak for itself. . . . Macrorie has answered the Durban people, but his letter has not yet been printed. I hear that he says he resigned his English living the day before he left England. His presence has made no difference as yet in the colony, and this step of his, in excommunicating Newnham, has done much, I expect, to make his cause hopeless with the great body of the laity. Even the Roman Catholic priest, and the leading Independent in Maritzburg, I understand, have strongly taken my part, not choosing to see an ecclesiastic holding the Queen's letters patent attempt to override the law as Bishop Gray has done.

"We have nothing else new here. Many parties have gone up to look for the gold, but it is not yet forthcoming, though many still believe in it. I am sorry to say that the *colonists* are still in a terribly depressed condition; but the *colony* is still steadily improving, and with every reason (I do believe) for expecting that we shall some day get our heads above water again. Our exports are steadily increasing, and our expenditure is being gradually reduced.

"As for me, I have almost completed in MS. my last volume on the Pentateuch, to my own satisfaction. But I don't know what we shall do without our children. I shall sadly miss one of the boys as my companion on Sundays, when I ride in for the Cathedral, and back again. But what must be, must be."

The two accidents which he had undergone had, it would seem, shaken his health, and predisposed him to acute disease. By the next mail, in a letter addressed to Mr. Domville, May 21, 1869, Mrs. Colenso had to announce that the Bishop was laid up under a severe attack of rheumatic fever.

"It is," she adds, "a new and sad experience to have him laid by. . . . It is, I think, a warning to us that we must not expect him to be able, as formerly, to travel about this wild country on horseback, and alone, riding fifty miles just to see half-a-dozen people, or to baptize a child. Surely he is wasted, as well as endangered, on such work. He has worked so hard, both at his desk, and in the pulpit here, having so little help for so long in his manifold occupations; and this tells at last upon the health every day, and life goes on faster certainly here than it does in England. . . . If you are a stranger to rheumatic fever, as I was before this experience, you will hardly imagine what the Bishop has had to undergo. . . . At the worst he could hardly bear to be touched, yet required assistance to turn in bed. And even now his daughter or I feed him, as his hands are still stiff and swollen. The doctor used the stethoscope daily at the beginning of the attack, apprehending the heart (the possibility of its being affected), but he assures me he considers there is no longer occasion to fear that."[1]

The Bishop had yet before him fourteen years of work scarcely less arduous than that which he had done already. There were before him still long conflicts, all encountered for the sake of truth and justice, some of which were to break in upon the even course of ancient friendships, but to which those who then felt the anguish of the separation may now, it is hoped, look back as part of a moral discipline leading to higher and higher good.

A month later, June 17, 1869, in a letter to Mr. Domville, the Bishop says:—

"I am thankful to be able to write to you again with my own

[1] All through this illness his native printers were kept steadily at work on the proof sheets of Part VII.; and every morning, even when he was quite prostrate, he had the proofs held up before him, the corrections being made by his orders, while, when it came to correcting Hebrew letters, he would attempt to take the pen himself, except for two or three days when the disorder fixed upon his eyes, and he became incapable of all exertion, while he was in too great pain to sleep.

hand, though the disease has not yet completely left me, and I am afraid it will be two or three weeks longer before I shall be allowed to return—and then only by degrees—to my duties. . . .

If the Crown takes up my petition, calls Bishop Gray to account, and annuls his patent, that would strengthen my position greatly; and *effectually*, if they will *appoint* another Bishop in his place, even without a patent, who should recognize my lawful authority. But if Gallio cares for none of these things, it is no use disguising the fact from myself and my friends, I must go to the wall in the diocese at large, though not in the city of Maritzburg, nor in Durban and its suburbs, during the lifetime of old Mr. Lloyd. Everywhere in the rural districts the S.P.C.K. will build their little churches, and S.P.G. will support clergy; and the people, the women and children especially, must be drawn into their net, and will be taught to look upon me and my teaching with abhorrence. You will see at once that the comparison of Macrorie with a Roman Catholic or Wesleyan Superintendent is not a just one, because *he* comes with the same Prayer Book and *apparently* the same doctrine as that which Church people have been used to, and he and his clergy denounce *me* as heretical in very strong terms to any they can get the ear of. *He* can boldly ordain and appoint clergymen where he likes, knowing that an income is sure for them. *I* have several now ready for ordination—three candidates, I may say, for deacon's orders—whom I dare not ordain, and have been holding back from ordination, because I know they cannot get much from the people, and I have no means of helping them, or rather I *had* none, till you now encourage me to hope for more assistance during the next three years. But, I repeat, I have no *present* intention of resigning, or coming to England; and you may say this publicly, should the enemy state the contrary. . . . But at my age, and after my late illness, I shrink from the work, which I must perform so long as I remain here, of taking long solitary journeys on horseback, and roughing it about the country, and begin to think of rest."

A month later again, July 16, 1869, he has still to tell the same friend, writing from Durban :—

"I have been here for the last few days for change of air, staying under the hospitable roof of my friend and brother-Cornubian, Dr. Lyle. I have gained in strength much since I came down, and have recovered considerably my appetite and power of sleeping without opium. But the disorder still hangs about me, and my hands and fingers are so swollen that I can make little use of them (except for writing purposes, I am thankful to say); and though I have walked a mile or more even, on the sands of Durban, and have ordained a deacon and a priest last Sunday, I have not yet been allowed to preach, though I expect to do so here next Sunday, and to return home [with Dr. Lyle as a visitor] on Tuesday."

It will be seen that in his letters at this time the expression of a hope that a way of return to England may be opened to him became more frequent, and the utterance is forced from him, manifestly, by the pressure of bodily weakness. In the same letter he goes on to say :—

"With increasing age and infirmity I feel that my work in this country is drawing, year by year, more nearly to its close. How I shall go about my visitation this year I hardly know. Macrorie would be driven in a carriage and pair, at least upon the main roads. I cannot afford the expense of this, and am glad to go up and down between Maritzburg and Durban in the omnibus. For my weight, and the distance I have to travel, I require a vigorous horse; but I have no power in my hands at present, and dare not mount my own horse, which has carried me hundreds of miles all over the country. I have a vehicle on four wheels, which my old horse Pen (short for Pentateuch, a name which the people gave him while I was in England) drags into and out of town (a distance of four miles); but that is of no use for my journeys. However, I am going home to

rest for a month, and then I must do the best I can on horseback with Jantjee, who had the adventure with me in the Umsunduze [river]."

It chanced to be a time in which many incidents were occurring of a very depressing kind. On August 20, 1869, the Bishop writes to Mr. Domville as follows :—

"Yours of June 20 reached me yesterday with its most unsatisfactory inclosure. The conduct of both Societies (S.P.G. and S.P.C.K.) is disgraceful to them ; but we must try to do without their grants, and by and by, I fully expect, 'their wickedness will fall on their own pates.'

"We have been horrified by Bishop Twells's affair during the last three weeks. Of course you will hear about it in England. He came through this colony in disguise, passing Maritzburg in the night, and hid himself somewhere at Durban until he could get away, which he found it very difficult to do. . . . It is the most amazing occurrence, and, I need not say, has sent a terrible shock through all parts of South Africa."

A fall so dreadful should be passed over, if possible, in silence. In this instance it cannot be done for the reason which may best be given in the Bishop of Natal's words :—

"As the judgement passed on me at Capetown was only (even on Bishop Gray's principles) made canonically valid by *his* presence as one of these suffragans, . . . I should think some compunctious feelings may visit the hearts of some of the Bishops (Llandaff, Ely, Lincoln) who pronounced in Convocation for the validity of the sentence."

In July, 1869, the Privy Council delivered judgement on the appeal of the Bishop of Capetown against the judgement of the Supreme Court of the colony of Natal, which determined, January 31, 1867, that the Cathedral church of

Maritzburg, with the land on which it was built, should stand vested in Dr. Colenso, Bishop of Natal, and his successors, with costs. For the latter, who was now the respondent, it was contended that he and his successors in the see of Natal became and are the successors in office of the appellant, within the true intent and effect of the deed by which the site of the Cathedral was conveyed to the Bishop of Capetown, Dr. Gray, in trust for the uses of the English Church. The grant is no longer in the appellant and his successors in the see of Capetown, but in the respondent and his successors in the see of Natal. Land vested in any person for pious use is not vested in any particular person, but in the use itself. The court ruled that Dr. Colenso had exercised all the rights of a Bishop and trustee, and had had possession, occupation, and access for all the purposes of his office from the date of his appointment in 1853 to the end of 1863. On all these considerations and having regard also to the former decision of this Board in the matter of the Bishop of Natal, their lordships had no hesitation in stating, with respect to the defendant, Dr. Gray, that he had and has no estate or title as trustee or otherwise, and no right to interfere; and with respect to the plaintiff, Dr. Colenso, that he has the rights expressed by that which is, in their opinion, the order which ought to have been made by the Supreme Court of Natal. Their decree, therefore, was—

"That the plaintiff, the Bishop of Natal, do have free and uninterrupted access to the land and premises in the grant of March 19, 1850, mentioned, for the purposes of enjoying and exercising all rights, privileges, and immunities, which have hitherto been enjoyed and exercised, or ought to be enjoyed and exercised, by the Bishop of Natal, as such Bishop or otherwise, in reference to or within the Cathedral thereon and its appurtenances; and that the defendant, the Bishop of Capetown, and his agents, do abstain from in

any manner interfering with such access, enjoyment, or exercise; saving, however, to any except the defendant, any rights in reference to the Cathedral as they also enjoyed."

In speaking of the costs, the court pronounced the defendant, Bishop Gray, "wholly wrong in the course he thought fit to take," and refused him costs of the appeal.

A month later, September 20, 1869, rheumatic pains were still hanging about the Bishop; but writing on that day to Mr. Domville, he speaks of the immediate need of setting out on horseback on his visitation.

"It is impossible for me to do what some of my friends in England think possible—remain at home and let country places take care of themselves. Of course, if they were all supplied with clergy, as in England, this might be done. But here the Bishop's visit often supplies the place of a settled clergyman."

On the conduct of the S.P.C.K. he still could not but feel strongly. The Society, he said, pretended a singular regard for order and law, which the S.P.G. did not; and then secretly voted every penny of the £2,000 away from those who *obeyed the law* (though many of them were not adherents at all of his,—some indeed, on religious grounds, so opposed that, while they recognised his office as Bishop, they would not come within hearing of his sermons), and gave it all to Dr. Macrorie.

"We have now a complete list from the secretary of the Society, and all I can say is that it has been so disgracefully *squandered* . . . that it will not do so much harm as it might have done, if carefully husbanded, and disposed of according to the real needs of the colony.

"I hardly know," he adds, "what to make of the Privy Council judgement. Of course, it is very satisfactory that Bishop

Gray is ousted from all power to interfere with us in this diocese. But who is to act as trustee? There is a farm, for instance, of 6,000 acres, besides a number of other Church properties, which were all held in trust by Bishop Gray, and would have all been transferred to me, if the judgement of our Supreme Court had been maintained. But now who is to look after this farm, grant leases, receive rents, &c.? I am afraid we shall have to apply to the Supreme Court again, in consequence of this decision, to tell us what we are to do.

"Just after the last mail left Natal, Mr. Keate sent me a copy of a letter from Lord Granville, saying that my petition had been laid before the Queen, but that he had not been able to advise that anything should be done in the matter. I expected this after the Solicitor-General had given his opinion that *I* could not be reached in any way for my heresy, in which case, of course, Bishop Gray could not be reached for his schism. But I do not at all believe in the justice of this opinion."

TO W. H. DOMVILLE, ESQ.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *November* 9, 1869.

"I am just about to start on my second tour of visitation this year—this time up the coast from Durban, as my first was down the coast. Macrorie has been up and down a few weeks ago, but failed in the object of his visit. At one place, the Umkomazi, the schoolroom was refused to him on the ground that they were perfectly satisfied with their own minister, and adhered to the laws of the Church of England. At another, Umhlali, they applied to the resident magistrate for the court-house, and he, though no particular friend of mine, ... replied that there was a church which answered all their purposes—the said church being in my hands and occupied by one of my clergy. . . . I inclose a newspaper cutting [1] which will inform you how matters are

[1] This cutting gave particulars of a meeting held in the island of St. Helena, September 30, 1869, to determine whether they would accept the Metropolitan's invitation to send delegates to the forthcoming Provincial

going in St. Helena. Will Bishop Gray excommunicate them all?"

TO C. J. BUNYON, ESQ.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *November* 10, 1869.

. . . "You mentioned in your last the death of Bishop Hamilton, and you are quite right in thinking that I had a very high respect for his character. He was an honourable, truth-speaking opponent, who fought a fair fight (as far as I am concerned), and said honestly in Convocation that the Bishops 'could hardly trust their feelings to act with justice towards me,' that they 'felt it difficult to deal with strict justice with regard to Dr. Colenso.' There was with him none of the slippery underhand working of the Bishop of Oxford, by this time I suppose Bishop of Winchester." . . .

TO W. H. DOMVILLE, ESQ.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *January* 20, 1870.

. . . "I am thankful to find that the Clergy Fund amounts to *so much* as £150, with which I have to fight not only S.P.C.K. and S.P.G., but H.M.'s Government also, for Lord Granville has written to say that they will not interfere about Mr. Green's £100 a year, which small 'worldly influence,' I confess, I did rather reckon upon, in addition to the Clergy Fund. Well! we still fight on and maintain our ground. . . . By the by, I see that in the *Church Times*, November 12, 1869, is a complaint that 'S.P.C.K. has just shown a remarkable degree of bigotry. They have refused even to consider the making of a grant towards the new Cathedral at Inverness. The objection was that the Episcopal Church in Scotland was *not established*.' By what right, then, have they given £2,000 to support a schismatical Church here, in opposition to one which is established according to the decision of our Supreme Court?"

Synod. The decision to refuse the invitation was unanimous, and the ground taken for it was the resolution to adhere to the Church of England instead of joining a society which disclaimed obedience to her laws.

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *February* 22, 1870.

. . "If you see reports of the 'Provincial Synod' at the Cape, you will see that Dean Green has been making himself ridiculous, by saying that he hoped no step would be taken to admit the laity to have votes in the Synod until they had communicated with—the Patriarch of Constantinople! to know if such a measure would be a hindrance to reunion with the Greek Church. Macrorie also has not distinguished himself, having actually threatened them that, if they passed a certain rule admitting the laity to vote, his . . . . Church would secede! which caused an explosion among the grandees of Capetown."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *March* 10, 1870.

"I need not say that I was most agreeably surprised by the contents of your last letter, and that I feel deep gratitude to our departed friend, and to the gracious Providence which overrules all, for this bequest, which relieves me from all anxiety respecting my boys' education, under which I was beginning to feel burdened. . . . Now, thank God, I can breathe freely, and I feel bound, out of regard to Mr. Perry's memory, to try to complete and publish my sixth volume. . . . By the same mail I had a letter from my brother-in-law, strongly advising me *not* to publish my sixth volume, because he understood that it contained a good deal of hard criticism, and would not be likely to sell. It is, of course, quite true that it is to some extent of this character; that cannot be helped, for it is absolutely necessary to put the plain truth, and the evidence of it, clearly and fully before the scholars of England and Europe, and I have no expectation that the book will do more than realise its expenses, though I think it will do that, as Part V. did and more. . . .

"I see Macrorie at the Cape says, 'When it shall please God to remove the sole cause of our disorder [meaning my

unworthy self], there will be perfect peace and unity in Natal'! I think he is mistaken;[1] but certainly I might, if I thought it right to indulge in such indecent speculations, retort the language with quite as much force."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *April* 24, 1870.

. . . "The principal event here, since I last wrote, is the termination of the 'Provincial Synod' at the Cape, and the publication of its proceedings, which will give me ample matter for discussion at our approaching Church Council. I have summoned it for May 31, and the summons has been most heartily responded to by the laity, who have everywhere (except at Ladismith) . . . . elected the very best men; and we shall have a very strong, highly respectable, and influential Council,—about thirty altogether, including six or seven clergy. I shall be able to show that in various points 'The Church of the Province of South Africa,' as they now formally call themselves, have deliberately separated from the Church of England, *e.g.* forbidding their clergy to marry a person whose divorced husband or wife is still living, and declaring that they will not be bound by the decisions of the Queen in Council, &c."

Bishop Gray set great store by Synods and Convocations. The Bishop of Natal, probably, achieved more effectually all that is good in such assemblies through the Church Council, of which the first session was held in 1858,[2] the two following in 1859 and 1860. The fourth session in 1861 was broken up after a short sitting, owing to the trouble which was at that time apprehended from the Zulu country, most of the lay delegates being thus prevented from attending. In the years which immediately followed, the assembling of the

[1] The event has shown that the Bishop was right in so thinking.

[2] The secession of certain members of the Council from the preliminary conferences has been noticed already (Vol. I. pp. 105, 106).

Council was rendered impracticable by the proceedings of Bishop Gray. The fifth session was therefore not held till 1870, when, on May 31, the Bishop once more took counsel with his clergy and laity. The chief subject for discussion was, necessarily, the formation of the Church of South Africa, and the results which were likely to follow from this enterprise. The subject was one of the gravest practical importance; for it resolved itself into the question whether the being in union and full communion with a given body was the same thing as being part and parcel of that body. The state of union and full communion was claimed by the South African Church; but they claimed it under conditions precisely parallel to those under which Wesleyans, professing to remain Wesleyans, might reject the authority of the Conference; or Presbyterians, remaining Presbyterians, might avow that they had adopted an episcopal form of government. If the Wesleyans and Presbyterians would not put up with such treatment at the hands of these virtual seceders, so neither will the Church of England. But the South African Church had done much more than proclaim its freedom to reject the law of the English Church; it had in Natal set itself in direct opposition to an integral portion of the Church of England in that diocese. Speaking in the Upper House of Convocation, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Tait, said:—

"The Bishop of Natal is just as much Bishop of Natal as any one of your lordships is Bishop of his own diocese. It has been decided by the court before which this matter was brought that in the eye of the law of England Dr. Colenso is Bishop of Natal; and until that decision is reversed, he is in the same position as myself, or any other of your lordships at this table. It has been said that the Church of South Africa is in no better and no worse position than any dissenting body; but if that applies to any part of the Church in Africa, it is to the Church in Capetown. The

> Church in Natal is by no means in that condition ; it is a branch of the Church of England, established to a certain extent by law, and in which the Bishop has coercive jurisdiction over his clergy. . . . So long as that judgement remains unaltered, it seems to me ridiculous to treat the Church in Natal as a mere voluntary society, when it is nothing of the sort."

Not only, however, had the Church of South Africa claimed the power of rejecting, if need should so be, the law of the Church of England ; but in its Provincial Synod, held before the promulgation of the so-called sentence against the Bishop of Natal, it had bound itself to be governed by rules which are in some respects directly at variance with that law, and had thus separated itself effectually, in fact as well as in name, from that Church. This the members of the South African Church would have been quite free to do, if they had kept aloof from all interference with the affairs of the Church of England. But, as the Bishop of Natal rightly insisted,

> "it is different when we observe throughout their proceedings a systematic purpose to interfere in our affairs, and an unfair attempt to claim all the advantages which may be derived from retaining their former organic connexion with the Church of England, while yet deliberately renouncing the principles and laws by which that Church is governed."

Thus, in England, a clergyman, though not obliged, is yet free to celebrate marriage between persons the divorced husband or wife of either of whom is still living. In the Church of South Africa this has been made a penal offence. But the standard of rebellion was raised most especially against what were termed secular courts—that is, against the jurisdiction of the Sovereign in causes ecclesiastical. It was especially declared that

> "in the interpretation of the standards and formularies the Church of this province be not held to be bound by decisions

in questions of faith and doctrine, or in questions of discipline relating to faith and doctrine, other than those of its own ecclesiastical tribunals, or of such other tribunal as may be accepted by the Provincial Synod as a tribunal of appeal."

In these words, the Church of South Africa had refused to acknowledge decisions

"by which the 'interpretation' of the standards and formularies is taken out of the hands of mere ecclesiastics, and committed to the highest court of judicature in the realm, including what the nation regards as an amply sufficient representation of the ecclesiastical body."

It is useless to beat about the bush in such a case as this.

"It is a mere pretence," the Bishop of Natal urged, "a mockery —to speak of holding the same standards and formularies, the same Creeds, Articles, and Liturgy as the Church of England, if the 'interpretation' of them is to proceed upon totally different principles: in the one case being based upon facts and the exact legal meaning of words; in the other upon the theological sentiments of the presiding judge or judges, supported by an appeal to the 'general principles of canon law,' whatever these may be."

Few steps have ever been taken more gravely affecting the liberties of Englishmen than this setting up of the so-called South African Church. The Bishop of Natal might well say:—

"How Bishops of the Church of England, like the Bishops of Capetown, Grahamstown, and St. Helena, can pretend that laws like these—which excommunicate a clergyman if he refuses to submit to suspension or deprivation because he has 'married a divorced person, whose divorced husband or wife is still living,' or because he teaches doctrines which have been decided by the Privy Council to be perfectly lawful within the Church of England—are according to the

laws and usages of the Church of England ; or how Bishop Gray can allow himself to say, in the hearing of the 'Provincial Synod,' 'We have been supposed by some to desire to found a Church in South Africa, severed from the Church of England: our true purpose is the precise opposite to this,'—it is not easy to understand."

Nor was it a very difficult matter to divine the motives of the Bishop of Capetown and his abettors. In the Bishop of Natal's words, they were trying to combine two things which are incompatible with each other—the enjoyment of all the status, influence, property, and other advantages connected with adherence to the Church of England, and the power of making for themselves as an independent Church laws which, though they may not be such as to break communion with the Church of England, must of necessity exclude from their body all the attached members of that Church, whose eyes have once been opened to the real nature of their proceedings.

To the Bishop, the clergy, and the laity of the "diocese of Natal" no invitation to attend the "Provincial Synod" had been sent—whatever may have been done for the so-called diocese of Maritzburg. Still, with the assurance which characterised all his proceedings, the Bishop of Capetown insisted that the Synod represented the whole province ; and a decree was framed accordingly. It became, therefore, a matter of mere self-defence to take all possible precautions to prevent, in case of the avoidance of the see of Natal, the intrusion into that see of a Bishop who might be "not a Bishop of the Church of England," but bound to administer among his flock the laws of another Church.

With the subjects already noticed the question of Church property is most intimately connected ; and this question the Bishop treated with great fulness and precision. Bishop Gray and his supporters had done all that they could to maintain

their hold on this property ; and in this, as in their other plans, they were unscrupulously aided by the funds of the two Societies (for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the Promotion of Christian Knowledge) whose rules bound them to administer their grants to missions through the Bishop of the diocese to which those missions belonged. The aid thus granted amounted to £4,000 or £5,000 a year ; and these were tremendous forces indeed in a community of necessity so poor as that of Natal.

"It could not but be expected," Bishop Colenso said, "that a schism so powerfully supported by moneyed arguments should have made some progress amongst us. Yet you all know how little comparatively has been done to weaken the attachment of English Churchmen to their mother Church. Your presence here to-day is a sufficient proof of this ; and I thank God heartily that, amidst all discouragements, we have had so much to console us in the past, and have so much ground of hope in the future."

Nothing could have been more unfavourable to the body of English Churchmen generally than the recent financial condition of the colony, which left them almost wholly at the mercy of their antagonists.

"However, thank God," the Bishop added, "better times, we trust, are now at hand ; and the day of gloom—of thick, dark, almost hopeless gloom—seems at length to have passed away."

The spirit in which the Bishop's remarks were received is sufficiently shown in the following passage of the address in which the Council says that they are

"Churchmen who, leaving our various avocations, have come hither, many of us from the more distant parts of the colony, to aid, as best we can, that branch of the Church of England which is established here, and to which we belong. The injustice with which our Church has for many years been

treated will, we believe, when known to our brother Churchmen in England, arouse something more than a feeling of surprise, and will obtain, for your lordship and us, sympathy and aid in maintaining in this colony the Church of England with all its rights and liberties—rights and liberties dearer than ever to us, because of attempts to wrench them from us, but which we are resolved, whatever may be the opposition, to uphold and adhere to. In saying this, we are speaking not only for ourselves, but for the congregations we represent; and we beg to assure your lordship that we shall continue as heretofore to support you as Bishop of Natal, head and ruler of the Church of England in this colony, under Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria as 'supreme head.'"

But the members of the Church of England in Natal were not the only persons who felt it their duty to speak out against the schism involved in the setting up of the Church of South Africa. Bishop Gray said that he had exerted himself to get together the funds necessary for establishing the bishopric of Natal for far other teaching than that of Bishop Colenso. But decision after decision has made it plain that the clergy of the South African Church have no right to endowments in land or money set apart for the uses of the Church of England, from which they are separated "root and branch." Nay, more the Bishop was obliged to remind his Church Council that, in answer to an inquiry from the registrar of the diocese of Natal, Lady Burdett-Coutts, the donor of the endowment for the original see of Capetown, had stated:—

"I can have no hesitation in declaring that the object of my endowment was to maintain a bishopric of the Church of England in the diocese of Capetown. Therefore any attempt to apply that endowment to the establishment of a separate Church is opposed to the views and wishes which I entertained at the time when I provided the funds, and still continue to entertain."

TO THE REV. G. W. COX.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *August* 8, 1870.

"It was refreshing to see your hand again, and very pleasant to receive your books, and to know that you were still actively at work. I have read a great part of the small one; but the *Aryan Mythology* I have only at present run my eye over, having reserved it for a visit to the coast, for which I start to-morrow, when I expect to have several days of complete leisure while waiting near Durban at a friend's house for the steamer which we hope will bring our daughter Frances from England. I have not the slightest doubt that your book is one of grave importance, and that it will mark an epoch in the history of the religious conflict of the age. We want someone to say boldly what we all know or surmise, but shrink from suggesting—that sun-worship is at the basis of *popular* Christianity (I do not say of Christianity as Christ taught it), and that when so many young ladies wear the elegant symbol of the cross so strikingly displayed upon their bosoms, they are but doing what heathen girls did ages ago. I am certain it would be a most interesting and instructive study if somebody would pursue thoroughly the connexion between the ancient solar worship and *Church* Christianity, of which Romanism and orthodox Protestantism are only different developements. I expect to find that in the course of your work you have given many hints which may fructify in the reader's mind.

"My work on the Pentateuch is nearly completed; but I shall like to see the *Speaker's Commentary* on the Pentateuch, which is promised at the end of this year, before going to press with it. Of course, I do not expect profit from the publication; but it completes MY *magnum opus* in life, and justifies many of the statements and assumptions in former volumes, correcting others (all in the less orthodox direction: I mean that I am compelled by the truth to be less conservative now than I wished to be, and was able to be, when I wrote my first volumes). At any rate it will put on record a mass of results which have cost me a great deal of labour, which future writers may use as stepping-stones."

In his next letter, May 16, 1870, the Bishop had to inform Mr. Domville of a disappointment which he had long been looking for with no little anxiety. The departure of Dean Gray had become a necessity, chiefly from monetary misfortunes (caused by the failure of a bank) which lay beyond his control. The providing of a successor was under the circumstances a difficult task.

"The people," he says, "are going to try Newnham, and I should not be surprised if he consented, as he is worn out with work in his present post; but a few days will tell us. . . . Possibly I shall have to take the double duty again by myself for a while, as of old. . . .

"I really believe," he adds, "that the diamond fields are a great fact; and if so, South Africa will be revolutionized. Major Francis, I hear, an excellent friend of ours, has just offered another friend . . . . all his expenses and £60 per cent. of the proceeds, if he will go up and take charge of a party of diamond-seekers for him. This shows the reality of the movement, and also, I expect, the hazardous character of the work. Lynch law will be prevalent, I expect, where a small stone is so precious—more here than at the gold-fields."

Writing four weeks later, the Bishop speaks of the diamond discoveries as no longer an uncertainty or as unworthy of consideration. One stone of thirty-five carats had been valued at £9,500; and if some diggers had reaped so far a poor harvest or none, others had been abundantly recompensed for their toil. From the gold-fields came tidings of an increasing yield, and the two could not fail largely to affect the colony generally, and to give fresh importance to its Church affairs. Of the meeting of the Church Council he speaks as a "great success."

"Nothing could have been better, as Mr. Shepstone and all the delegates agree. . . . The tone throughout was excellent."

TO W. H. DOMVILLE, ESQ.

"*August* 20, 1870.

. "There is internecine war at present between the colonial Government, backed apparently by Lord Granville, and the colonial legislators. They have again, I believe, refused the supplies; and in that case Mr. Keate fully expected that the charter would be withdrawn, and the colony fall back again into a Crown colony, with which conclusion of the struggle many of the most intelligent members would be perfectly content."

TO TH. SHEPSTONE, ESQ.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *September* 8, 1870.

. "I have dropped a note to Bishop Wilkinson boldly, to ask him what he means by saying that he was 'sent out by the Church and State of England to form one of the Bishops of the province of South Africa.' I have asked him if the Church of the province of South Africa, which formally excludes the diocese and Bishop of Natal, as established by the Queen's letters patent, has been officially recognized by any public act, unknown to me, by the Church and State of England."

TO HIS SON FRANCIS.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *December* 19, 1870.

"We were delighted to get your letter by this mail, and to find that you are comfortably settled in your rooms at St. John's. I almost envy you the luxury of having rooms in the old College, which I should very much like to see once more before my sand runs out. You remember—or perhaps you were too young then to know much about it—that when I wrote to ask the Master, who was a very old friend of mine, and had received me once or twice most kindly, to give me, if he could, a room at the time of the opening of the new chapel, to which I had subscribed my £25, he was obliged to write and ask me not to come. I suppose that either Mr. Reyner, or Bishop Browne, or Bishop Ellicott, or

others of the same class, had expressed their determination not to attend if I did, or that they dreaded some scene at the Holy Communion. If Mr. Reyner helped to administer, probably he would have openly refused it to me. I am glad that the Master has been kind to you, as I knew he would be; and so I should hope would some other of my friends among the Fellows. Remember me very kindly, when you have an opportunity of so doing, to Messrs. Mayor and Todhunter, and even to Reyner if you like to do so; for, though he has become such a narrow-minded partisan of Bishop Gray, I do not think that he has any personal hostility to me, and we used to be intimate friends; and it might even do him good to hear of me, and especially to be assured that the reports sent home [by Dean Green and others] are in numberless cases exceedingly false."

TO W. H. DOMVILLE, ESQ.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *October* 25, 1870.

"I hope that you have long ere this returned from the Continent, without having seen the inside of a French or German prison, as some of your fellow-countrymen have, it appears, in their zeal to supply England with news. It is idle, however, to say more about the war, which will have passed through different phases doubtless with you, while we have only a telegram announcing in a few words the Emperor's captivity and the surrender of 80,000 of his army. *Our* sympathies are wholly with the Germans in the conflict; but I trust that the King of Prussia will be moderate in the hour of triumph, as I fully believe he has every wish to be. . . ."

TO THE SAME.

"*December* 4, 1870.

. . . "At this moment I have a Bill before the Legislative Council, which I hope will be passed, making me trustee of all the lands which were formerly held by Bishop Gray. On the whole, I hope we shall carry it either this session or

the next. The Bill includes the site of the Cathedral. If we do get it, my hands will be strengthened, as I shall be trustee as well as Bishop; but if we are beaten, we shall be no worse off than we are.

I hear that Cetshwayo, the real power in Zululand, will not receive Bishop Wilkinson as 'Bishop of Zululand,' but only as an ordinary missionary, there being already a Lutheran Bishop there—Bishop Schreuder, the head of the body to which Mr. Tönnesen once belonged, and which has laboured in the field for more than twenty years."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *December* 19, 1870.

. . "In our Natal almanac, just published, Macrorie has actually entered himself as Bishop of the Church of England, and two deacons, ordained by him, as clergy of the Church of England, though on landing he stated to the Durban Churchmen that he was not, and had never claimed to be, a Bishop of the Church of England, inasmuch as there could be no Church of England out of England. . . .

"Captain Harford, M.L.C., has just had a line from his brother, who is a Minor Canon at Westminster, advising him to put the whole account of his treatment at the hands of Bishop Macrorie[1] before the Archbishop of Canterbury. So by this mail he sends home a letter to his Grace through my hands, asking him to say whether Macrorie is a Bishop of the Church of England, and whether the clergy ordained by him become thereby clergy of that Church. I do hope that the Archbishop will reply and say 'No.' It would help us very much if he did, in the face of these assumptions."

[1] Captain Harford and his wife, at the request of a bridal party whom they accompanied to St. Cyprian's church, presented themselves as communicants, and were passed over by Bishop Macrorie. The correspondence which followed between Bishop Macrorie and Captain Harford was published. A letter from the Bishop of Natal to Captain Harford, published as an appendix, pointed out the inaccuracies and misstatements in the letters of Bishop Macrorie.

TO TH. SHEPSTONE, ESQ.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *February* 2, 1871.

"By the time this reaches you, you will probably have seen your father, though from what I have heard I fear you will have found him in broken health, and ready to receive the call to 'come up higher.' If you should still be with him when this finds you, may I ask you to present my most sincere respects to him, as one whom, though not having seen, I have learnt to admire and love, through the knowledge which I have gained of him from my conversations with yourself?"

TO HIS SON FRANCIS.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *March* 20, 1871.

"My new volume is now in the printers' hands. . . . The point of it is to show that all the priestly and sacrificial portions of the Pentateuch were written *after* the Captivity; the evidence of which, when once clearly and fully set forth, is irresistible. Besides this Part VI., I have also Part VII. (the concluding Part of the work) in hand with the printers, and Fani [a native printer] is printing 1 and 2 Samuel in Zulu, . . . and Davis and Sons are reprinting my *Zulu Grammar*, which has taken up, and still will take up, much of my time, as this new edition will be much enlarged and improved. . . . You may possibly hear somewhere that Bishop Wilkinson[1] has been treated with unkindness by me and my friends. In fact, he has just written to me a letter, in which he speaks of 'the unkindly attitude assumed by yourself and party towards me, which deeply saddened my involuntary stay in your colony, and made me glad to leave behind me, I hope for ever, all the hard words and bitter feelings which assailed me almost daily, from the day of my arrival to that of my departure.' What he means by this tirade I cannot in the least conceive. I suspect that he is angry with himself and his advisers, in having himself taken up a position of hostility to me and mine upon his

[1] Missionary Bishop in Zululand.

landing. I am not conscious that a single demonstration of 'hard words and bitter feelings' has 'assailed' him since he landed, from any of my friends or from myself. I know that we were all prepared to receive him courteously and kindly, and Archdeacon Lloyd and his churchwardens intended to ask him to preach in St. Paul's. But when he rejected the very first advances of Mr. Lloyd (as he admits he did), how could he expect that there should be any demonstrations of friendship on our part, which we had every reason to suppose would be in like manner rejected? Besides, we were all, in fact, rejected in the person of the Archdeacon; and no doubt, though I do not know it as a fact, he was 'let severely alone' by the members of the Church of England while here, and has probably felt that Macrorie and his sect did not compose the whole population either of Durban or Maritzburg."

TO JOHN WESTLAKE, ESQ., Q.C.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *February* 20, 1871.

. . . "I see that in the *Guardian* Bishop Gray states that Macrorie's income will come to an end very soon, unless a fresh effort is made on his behalf. Ah! if it were not for the dishonest proceedings of S.P.G. and S.P.C.K., it would soon be seen how little hold he has really upon the colony. If they would only leave us like Prussia and France, to fight it out by ourselves, the monster would soon be thrown back, like Louis Napoleon, after his first noisy boast of triumph. . . . Ten years hence I expect this colony will be flourishing enough; at present it is very poor, and the internecine conflict between the Government and the elective legislators has greatly increased our difficulties.

"I hear nothing about Bishop Wilkinson, except that having been duly warned against using my Zulu translations, and having furnished himself with a supply of Dr. Callaway's when he went off to Zululand, he has been obliged to write to his bookseller in Maritzburg, and request him to send up a supply of my books, as he finds he cannot get on with

Dr. Callaway's, and mine are well understood by the Zulus. So much for the £800 grant of S.P.C.K. to enable Dr. Callaway to translate and print the Bible in Zulu."

TO W. SHAEN, ESQ.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *August* 19, 1871.

"We have arrived at a crisis in our political affairs in this colony; and I rather apprehend that Mr. Keate's term of office as Lieutenant-Governor may come to an end before another year has passed over our heads. . . . Now can anything be done to bring the name of Mr. Shepstone favourably before the Secretary of State? I know of no one in England to whom I could address myself on the subject except Mr. Fortescue, and he is not, unfortunately, now in the Colonial Office. Some weeks ago, however, I drafted a letter to him, of which I inclose a copy, which would put all the facts of the case before you, and which you possibly might be able to make some use of through your friend Mr. Stansfeld, though I know how chary Ministers are of intruding in any way upon each other's Departments; and I do not feel at all sure that anything can be done in this way. However, it is worth my trying, for I am quite sure that the Bishop of Winchester will be at work to get a successor to Mr. Keate after his own heart and Bishop Gray's, which Mr. Keate is not, though he has steered very clear indeed (and some may even think too clear) of showing any special leaning towards *me* in matters affecting my position here. Still, it would be a great blow to me if a regular High Churchman were sent out to take his place, who would fraternise thoroughly with Bishop Macrorie. However, this is a very minor consideration indeed. I write in the interests of the whole community, and especially of the natives. . . . That Mr. Shepstone would be generally acceptable you may gather from a copy of the *Natal Times*, which I send you. It is edited by Mr. Ridley, the leading Radical in the House, who is pushing hard for responsible government; but yet you will see, whatever he

says against Mr. Shepstone's policy, there is an evident recognition of his invaluable services and great abilities, which, coming from an avowed opponent of the Government, is even a more important testimony to his real worth than anything I can say.

"*Do what can be done in the matter.* I think another friend will write to Mr. Charles Buxton on the subject, and it really is a time when all who feel for the native races under our charge should exert themselves, if possible, to secure such an appointment for one who has all his life long been a devoted friend of the natives, as well as a most valuable servant of the Crown.

"I need hardly say that Mr. Shepstone himself has not the remotest idea of my writing, or of any movement whatever being made in his behalf."

TO HIS SON FRANCIS.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *August* 19, 1871.

. . . "I was very glad to find that you had secured your First Class; and though probably you are not quite so high in it as you may have hoped, that is of no consequence whatever. You have now learned to measure your strength with your fellows, which you had never an opportunity of doing before, and have done uncommonly well, considering the drawbacks you have had. Work on steadily, and you will secure a respectable place, I feel sure, at the next examination,—and at any rate you will have done your duty, which is the main thing to aim at.

". . . I have been very hard at work since the last mail arrived, reviewing Bishop Browne's work in the new *Bible Commentary* (which is really a disgrace to the Church of England in this age). I have finished a pamphlet or little book, in which I have thoroughly discussed every part of his contributions to that *Commentary;* and perhaps shall take all the writers, one by one, in hand, and especially my old friend, the editor, Canon Cook, who is, I almost think, even worse than Bishop Browne. . . .

Macrorie is down on the coast. . . . We have had an amusing correspondence—*indirect*, through Mr. Hughes—about a certain box addressed to the Lord Bishop of Maritzburg, which a Kafir put into my carriage one day without my looking at it, and so I brought it home, but sent it in again the next morning by post-Kafir. . . . Thereupon Macrorie writes Mr. Hughes[1] a fuming letter, as he had no other mode, he said, of communicating with the 'Bishop of Natal,' using my title for once, in inverted commas, and begged him to ascertain if the box had been opened, since, if the address did not prevent its being taken to Bishopstowe, he saw no reason why it should prevent its being opened. So you see the style of man."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *November* 20, 1871.

. . "I wish you particularly to make an inquiry for me as to whether my name still remains on the list of Incorporated Members of the S.P.G., and if so, in what form does my name appear? as Bishop of Natal? I was elected, I think, in the year 1851 or 1852, when I was actively employed by S.P.G. My name would be sure to appear in the Report for 1852 or 1853; and they have no right to strike it out. Please inquire. . . . If it is struck out, I should ask some one to ascertain *why*.

. . . Now for our Church Lands Bill. . . . It has passed through our Legislative Council after a tremendous fight. Every possible endeavour has been made . . . . to get it thrown out; but they have failed, thanks to the courageous and able advocacy of Messrs. Sanderson and Ridley. The latter began by being unfriendly to it; but, as the work went on, he became more and more decidedly in favour,

[1] Mr. Alfred Hughes, second son of the Bishop of St. Asaph (mentioned Vol. I. p. 182, &c.), had come to Natal for his health. He soon became one of the inner circle at Bishopstowe, throwing himself enthusiastically into work for the Bishop, both in verifying references and correcting proofs of critical matter, and also as secretary to the Finance Board of the Diocese, an office which was no sinecure.

and made an admirable speech on the second reading. . . . . Now the Bill has gone home,—rather will go home next mail,—to the Secretary of State, for the Queen's consent, and they will move heaven and earth to try and get it negatived in Downing Street. In fact, Mr. Turnbull (registrar, as you know, of Bishop Macrorie) said, in the House on the third reading, that they had influential persons at work in England, and therefore the Bill would not receive the Royal assent."

TO W. H. DOMVILLE, ESQ.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *October* 16, 1871.

"I have reviewed the *Bishops' Commentary* to the end of Leviticus, and cannot help thinking that when the shallowness of that work is thoroughly exposed, as I am able to expose it, more will have been done to shake the traditionary position than perhaps by anything else that I have done. Probably no one could have done this so effectually as I can, because no one will have all the points of the case so completely at his fingers' ends as I must have them, from the necessity of the case, after thoroughly completing my own labours on the Pentateuch. Scholars generally will turn away from the *Bishops' Commentary* with contempt, as beneath their notice in respect of critical knowledge, though, of course, it contains some good information on geographical and other matters, all which, however, may be found in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible.*

"The diamonds are greatly disturbing the colony, though ultimately, I doubt not, both they and the gold will be the making of it, together with our own products of sugar, coffee, and cotton."

TO THE REV. C. VOYSEY.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *April* 19, 1872.

"I have received the proposal from Mr. Wright to become President of your Association, but have felt obliged to decline it. In the first place it seems to me hardly correct

to become President of an Association with whose proceedings I could not interfere. Although it would be an honour to be associated, even nominally, with such an influential body as is formed by your supporters, yet I should certainly be held—by my adversaries, at all events—and rightly held, to be responsible substantially for all your teachings and doings.

"Now you know that I do not think that any permanent result will be obtained by separating from the National Church, so long as such a Church exists, and that I do not therefore agree with the course which you have taken in trying to establish a distinct Church. . . . Even if I fully agreed in the principal points of your teaching, as set forth in the paper forwarded to me, and which may be regarded, I suppose, as a sort of manifesto of the Association itself, I should not be sanguine as to any lasting effect resulting from the experiment. During your own life-time, and while health and strength last for the work which you have undertaken, . . . no doubt your services will afford relief to many pious souls who cannot worship elsewhere. But when you are gone, what will then become of your new Church? I see no signs of stability in it. . . .

"Then, again, I cannot say that I fully approve of the manifesto, as I call it, of your Association. I can heartily adopt all your positive statements; but there are some of your details which I could not indorse, at least in their present form. I could not undertake, for instance, to deny the 'doctrine of the Trinity.' What 'doctrine' do you mean? The Platonists held *a* doctrine of the Trinity, and so do several heretical bodies. And I, for one, should not be able to use your expression without definition of the particular 'doctrine of the Trinity' to which you refer. The case would be otherwise if you had said 'not maintaining as necessary to salvation' the doctrine in question, whatever it may be. But how can you undertake to dogmatize on so mysterious a subject as the Divine nature? May there not be, as philosophers of old have held, a Tri-Unity in the Godhead, which at any rate good men may

hold, if they do not inforce their views upon others, and which you are not called upon, nor (as it seems to me) authorised, to deny?

"Again, I do most certainly hold the doctrine of salvation by faith only, and consider my view on that point to be the Pauline and orthodox view. In short, I admire and thoroughly approve of your positive statements, but I do not agree with all your negations, and I should altogether object to some of them. As to the name of your Church, I could not call myself barely a Theist. Of course, I am a Theist, but I am a 'Christian Theist,' not a 'Hindoo Theist,' or a 'Mussulman Theist.' . . . Of course, by Christianity I do not mean believing certain dogmas attributed, rightly or wrongly, to Christ and his Apostles, and laid down by the Church. But I mean receiving Christ's doctrine concerning the Father, as His Father and our Father, His God and our God, and trying to live in the spirit of Christ. Imperfectly as that spirit is exhibited in the Gospels, Christ assuredly revealed the Father to men, and has taught us, by His example in life and in death, to be also in our measure revealing daily the Father one to another. In short, the three primary doctrines of Christianity, as I hold it, are these: the Fatherhood of God, the Brotherhood of Man, and the Revelation of God in Man; and these really lie at the basis of the Church Creeds."

To W. H. Domville, Esq.

"Bishopstowe, *June* 17, 1872.

. . . "About a month ago a paragraph appeared in our papers, saying that our Church Lands Bill had been disallowed. Since then I have heard from very good authority that Bishop Gray has written to say that Mr. Gladstone had said that the Bill was objected to because I was made sole trustee; and no doubt this is the source of the paragraph in question. It will be a great piece of unfairness if Mr. Gladstone interferes; but it seems plain that they have applied to him, and I gather that they are not quite

at ease as to Lord Kimberley. . . . Please to communicate the above to Mr. Shaen. He knows, of course, that the enemy compelled us to strike out the check on my action which was provided in the Bill by the necessity of the Church Council approving of my proceedings. They would not hear of the Church Council, in which clergy and laity vote in one house—horror of horrors!—and now that they have struck it out, make the sole trusteeship an objection, though Bishop Gray was sole trustee in the Grahamstown Bill. Why was not this objection raised before, when three others were raised, all which have been met in the present Bill, as we should have met this also if we had known that it would be raised, instead of spending £100 of my precious money upon the Bill? Who are to be co-trustees with me? Bishop Gray or Bishop Macrorie, who both ignore my very existence, and will not have the slightest connexion or communication with me? My own Dean or Archdeacon? Well, I should be perfectly ready to consent to this; but this would be only myself in another form, whereas now I cannot part with any property, under the Bill, except by giving previous notice in the *Gazette*, which of course gives the opportunity of opposing in the Supreme Court."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *July* 20, 1872.

. . . "Macrorie has just been holding his Synod, which has covered them with ridicule in the eyes of the colonists, as one of the main points considered was the necessity of calling upon the Capetown and Grahamstown dioceses to excommunicate all my supporters, as Macrorie and the rest do here; so that Mr. and Mrs. Keate ought to have had a 'ticket of leave' from Macrorie or one of his clergy before they should be received to communion at Capetown, or, of course, in England. These and like proceedings (one young clergyman calling the Privy Council a 'despicable tribunal,' another older one 'warning those white heathens

who had been married by a magistrate that they were not married in the eye of the Church, and that any man so "married" would be allowed by the Church to abandon his so-called wife and marry another woman'—and all this in the presence of Macrorie, and without a word of protest or reproof from him) have opened men's eyes, and made the breach plainer than ever between the Church of South Africa and the Church of England. . . . In short, this Synod has greatly strengthened my position. . . . The Rev. G. H. M——, of Cambridge, who is a narrow Evangelical, and therefore has no sympathy with my views, had been officiating on the coast without any licence, having means of his own, and being equally opposed to Ritualism and Rationalism. So Macrorie bullied him and coaxed him alternately, till he got him to accept his licence about a month ago. But after a day or two he threw it up, and said that, if he must take some licence, he would prefer to take that of the lawful Bishop of the diocese. Accordingly I went down and saw him, and regularly licensed and instituted him to the valuable preferment of New Carisbrooke *cum* Victoria *cum* Umhlali, from which altogether he may extract about £40 per annum, but as he is independent in means this does not matter. . . .

"As Bishop Macrorie's operations in respect of Mr. M—— obliged me to run down to the coast, I thought I might as well wait about Durban till the mail-steamer arrived with the new Governor. . . . In due time . . . . Mr. and Mrs. Musgrave landed, and received an enthusiastic welcome from . . . . the people of Durban. Last Thursday they gave him a grand public dinner, at which I also was a guest; and I have ordered a copy of the *Natal Mercury* to be forwarded to you, though I fear that it cannot be posted in time to accompany this letter. So I may as well say that, when I arose to return thanks for the 'Bishop of Natal and the clergy of all denominations,' I was received with what the papers call 'tremendous cheering, which continued for some time.' In fact, they gave me a complete 'ovation,' which I received, of course, as given, not to myself personally, but

to the cause which I represent, in opposition to the doings of Macrorie and his Synod. As there were more than 120 guests, and very many of them belonging to different Dissenting bodies, this reception was very satisfactory, as giving the new Governor the information that I did not stand alone in the colony, and he might show his colours (which I believe are liberal) without any hesitation."

To C. J. Bunyon, Esq.

"Bishopstowe, *August* 4, 1872.

. . . "I have nothing to do with Mr. Voysey's present movement, except that I respect him as a faithful servant of the God of Truth according to his light. . . . That he is a most sincere Christian, whether he adopts the name or not, I do not in the least doubt—perhaps a far better one than many of the so-called orthodox believers who scream out against him. But I exceedingly regret some of the expressions used by him in his sermons, and I do not at all agree with his mode of carrying on the warfare against traditionary notions. But to his own Master he must stand or fall. There is very much that I admire and love about him; and I heartily embrace him as a fellow-labourer for the kingdom of God."

To W. H. Domville, Esq.

"Bishopstowe, *August* 14, 1872.

. . . "By this mail the Governor has received a letter, from the President of the Council to Lord Kimberley, with reference to our Church Lands Bill, in which I notice . . . that the Privy Council knows nothing of the 'Bishop of Maritzburg,' but speaks only of 'Bishop Macrorie' and the 'Bishop of Natal.' . . . No one here was aware of the fact until it incidentally comes out in this letter from the Privy Council. . . . Of course, I have no means whatever with which to carry on an expensive litigation. Otherwise this reference to the Privy Council is a superb fact for us, and what was not at all anticipated, I venture to believe, by the

enemy. They probably thought to overwhelm me by 'back-stairs influence' at Downing Street; and I have no doubt that it has been applied most unsparingly by the Bishops of Winchester, Capetown, &c.; and therefore Lord Kimberley has really done a very kind as well as sagacious thing, in referring it to the Privy Council. . . I only hope that the Liberals in England will be willing to help with funds, should they be needed, as I fear they will be; for it would utterly ruin *me* to have to bear them, and our Church Council is doing its very best, under Mr. Hughes's most active and disinterested exertions, to support the clergy."

TO THE REV. C. VOYSEY.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *August* 15, 1872.

"I must write a few lines in reply to yours of June 11, for which I thank you; and as I am pressed for time you will excuse any hurried expressions of mine, being assured, I hope, that I respect and love you very sincerely as a faithful servant of the God of Truth, according to your light, and that I am not going to renounce your friendship and fellowship because I differ from you on some points of importance.

"And I *do* differ very strongly indeed—rather with my whole soul I object to your warfare against the name of *Christianity* and the character of *Christ*. You have no right to assume that those few passages of the Gospels, which in your eyes seem derogatory to His character, are historical, while you utterly reject those which record His miraculous actions. I am confident that you are doing harm by this kind of preaching, which what you say on the other side will never undo. You know I said as much to you long ago—perhaps not so plainly. A mail or two ago a warm supporter of yours, and frequent attendant at your services, expressed great regret at the manner in which you spoke of Christ. I feel sure that you would not do so of a deceased friend of your own whom you thoroughly revered. Take Mr. Maurice, for instance. You and I know well enough what grounds we have of complaint against him; but we

should not think of bringing forward such defects as we *know* of, whereas you expose to view what you *suppose* to be defects in the character of Christ, but which you do not know of, but only receive on very uncertain evidence ; and you do this when to multitudes, who do not believe in the Deity of Christ, His name is most dear and precious. However well grounded may be your complaints of the cowardice of some of the Broad Churchmen, it is *impossible* —you have made it impossible—that they should ally themselves intimately with you. . . . The expressions of scorn, and even hatred, which you express for the name of Christian . . . remind me of Voltaire's famous motto, '*Écrasez l'Infâme*,' by which, however, he did *not* mean Christianity or Christ, for he wrote to D'Alembert, 'You are well aware that I speak of superstition only, for as to the Christian religion I respect and love it, like you.' Why should you attack Christianity, instead of the superstition which has well-nigh crushed Christianity? Are there not multitudes of Christians, in *my* sense of the word, whom such speeches as yours must drive poles asunder from you? when in heart, I fully believe, if they understood the real object of your life and labours, they would be drawn very closely to you—such expressions, *e.g.*, as, 'Let the Christians only agree in finding an authority which they will all recognise. . . . Until they know how to settle their own disputes, and especially disputes as to what Christianity is, how can they expect us to become Christians?' One might excuse such words, which appear to me simply nonsense, from Voltaire or Tom Paine, living a century ago, in a wretched age ; but for an intelligent English clergyman in this age! and for one who thinks that he is helping to 'preserve the Church of England!'"

The death of Bishop Gray brought back to the Bishop of Natal the memory of years of happy and kindly intercourse, which had preceded the mournful disputes of later times. It also furnished an opportunity for rectifying the mistakes of the late Metropolitan, and restoring his province to that

organic connexion with the mother Church, which his own act had severed. Eager to avail himself of the opening thus offered, the Bishop addressed himself, in a spirit of singular moderation and of high judicial impartiality, to the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Tait).

TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *October* 10, 1872.

"MY LORD ARCHBISHOP,

"As senior Bishop of the Church of England in these parts, I feel it to be my duty to bring before your Grace certain particulars which may not be fully known in England, but which appear to me of great importance, and necessary to be brought to the notice of those in authority, who, like your Grace, may be called to take a prominent part in filling up the vacancy caused by the decease of the Bishop of Capetown. I will not expatiate on the loss sustained by South Africa through this event. But I am sure that your Grace will believe that the differences which have practically severed my connexion with our late Metropolitan for some years past have not blinded me to the eminent virtues of his character, and have only deepened the pain with which I have received the announcement of his death. I am most unwilling on every ground to 'stretch beyond the measure of the rule' assigned to me in my own diocese, and interfere with the diocese of Capetown. But, after mature consideration, I have come to the conclusion that I should be culpably negligent of my own duty to the Church, of which I am the senior Bishop in this province, if I did not come forward at this crisis, to do my part towards securing due protection, in the appointment of the next Bishop, for the vast amount of property belonging to that Church which lies within the diocese of Capetown.

"In a letter addressed to Earl Kimberley on the 14th of December, 1871, in opposition to a Bill which has passed the Natal Legislature, for vesting in the Bishop of Natal and his successors certain lands in this colony, which were

originally transferred 'in trust for the English Church,' to the Bishop of Capetown and his successors under the letters patent establishing the former see of Capetown—of which letter a copy has been forwarded by my legal agents in England—Bishop Gray, it appears, wrote with reference to those lands :—'The property is now vested in me by name and in my successors in the see of Capetown. . . . The Provincial Synod has since that time appointed trustees for the holding of such property, which by Act of Parliament the see is able to divest itself of. I have transferred to trustees appointed by the Provincial Synod property to the value of full £100,000. The Bishop of Grahamstown has done the same. I am ready to transfer to the same body property held by me in Natal, if desired.'

"But your Grace will no doubt be aware that the Privy Council judgement of July 20, 1869, has ruled with respect to some portion of this very property, held formerly by Bishop Gray in Natal, under his first letters patent, as follows :—'The words quoted from the Bishop of Capetown's patent [*i.e.* the *second* patent, that of 1853] are plainly insufficient to give him any estate in the land or premises in question, or to continue any estate in him. He ceased to be trustee when he resigned. He then ceased to have any interest in it, legal or otherwise, under the grant.' This applies also to all property in Natal similarly situated. It would therefore have been impossible for him to have transferred, as he here proposes to do, such property to 'the trustees appointed by the Provincial Synod,' since he had no legal hold upon it. He had 'ceased to have any interest in it, legal or otherwise, under the grant.'

"But this decision equally affects the property similarly transferred to him under his first patent, within that part of his original diocese which forms the present dioceses of Capetown and Grahamstown ; he 'ceased to have any interest in it, legal or otherwise,' under the original grants, when he resigned the office which he held under these letters patent. He was not, therefore, able to transfer to the Bishop (Cotterill) of Grahamstown that portion of this

property which lay within the diocese of Grahamstown; and he was equally unable to transfer the property belonging to the Church of England which he formerly held under similar circumstances within the present diocese of Capetown 'to the trustees appointed by the Provincial Synod'; nor, of course, could the Bishop of Grahamstown transfer to such trustees property which he never legally held. It is true that, 'by Act of the Cape Parliament,' No. 36 of 1860, the see of Capetown was able to divest itself of 'certain property *which it then held*'—'all or any of the lands or other immovable property *now vested in the Bishop of Capetown and his successors*, but situate, lying, and being within the diocese of Grahamstown.' But it could not, of course, transfer, under this Act, property vested in the *former* Bishop of Capetown, but not '*now* vested' in the Bishop of Capetown. In fact, the Act in question applies only to such lands as may have been acquired under the second patent. I do not know what these may be, but I should suppose that they form but a very small portion of the 'property to the value of full £100,000,' mentioned by Bishop Gray. I repeat, it appears to me beyond all question that none of the lands held by Bishop Gray 'under the first patent within the present dioceses of Capetown and Grahamstown' passed to him under the second patent, for the clause in that patent which may have been, perhaps, inserted to provide for this very difficulty among others—viz. 'And we are moreover pleased to order and direct that the said Bishop of Capetown under that title may take up, continue, and proceed with any act or engagement lawfully commenced, done, or entered into [by him] as Bishop of Capetown, under the letters patent heretofore granted to him as Bishop of the said see of Capetown'—is obviously invalid, since at the time when this patent was issued (December 8, 1853) the Crown had no longer power to legislate for the Cape Colony. Accordingly, the transfers of such lands, whether to the Bishop of Grahamstown or to the Provincial Synod, are altogether illegal and invalid, and must be inevitably ascertained to be so whenever the

validity of any one of them comes to be tested in a court of law.[1]

"Thus it would appear that at the present moment a vast amount of property belonging to the Church of England in these two dioceses is lying now without any trustee who can act legally on behalf of the Church in respect of it. The same is, of course, true in this diocese, except that the chief portion of the lands which the Church possesses in this colony have been acquired by me, and are vested, 'in trust for the Church of England,' in the Bishop of Natal and his successors in that see. The Bill passed by our local Legislature, which awaits now Her Majesty's decision, was intended to remedy this difficulty, for nothing can be done to improve permanently the property in question—*e.g.* in the way of granting leases for purposes of building, sugar-growing, coffee-planting, &c.—for want of a trustee; and rates are accumulating, year by year, upon some of them, which threaten to eat them up eventually. Should it be the case that no other 'Bishop of Natal' will be consecrated under Royal letters patent, yet that would not prevent a Bishop being consecrated by your Grace with Royal permission, who would be a Bishop of the Church of England, and as such capable of filling this see and being legally recognised as my successor, from an equitable point of view. But I apprehend that it is impossible that one who is not a Bishop of the Church of England can be, in any sense, held legally to be a successor either of the Bishop of Natal, or of the original or late Bishop of Capetown, or can have any equitable claim to enter upon the trusts in question.

"I would venture also to submit to your Grace that the Provincial Synod of the 'Church of the Province of South Africa,' as at present constituted, cannot be a fitting body to nominate trustees for the management of property belonging to the Church of England:—

"(1) Because that Synod has expressly excluded the Bishop,

[1] See the letter to Mr. Domville of September 10, 1867 above (p. 182).

clergy, and laity of the diocese of Natal from all share in its deliberations.

"(2) Because it is provided in Article I. of the constitutions of the 'Church of the Province of South Africa' that in the interpretation of the standards and formularies, the Church of this province be not held to be bound by decisions in questions of faith and doctrine, or in questions of discipline relating to faith and doctrine, other than those of its own ecclesiastical tribunals, or of such other tribunal as may be accepted by the Provincial Synod as a tribunal of appeal; and consequently decisions of such tribunals may be in force in this Church at variance with those which regulate the Church of England, while by Canon 17, Rule 15, it is provided that 'any person against whom judgement has been given, who shall refuse to obey the sentence of any tribunal of this Church, shall be, if not sentenced to suspension or deprivation, *ipso facto* suspended; and if sentenced to suspension or deprivation, *ipso facto* excommunicate.'

"(3) Because the Synod, by Canon 14, Rule 11, 'forbids any clergyman to celebrate holy matrimony between persons the divorced husband or wife of either of whom is still alive,' thus making it criminal for the clergy of the 'Church of the Province of South Africa' to do what would be perfectly lawful for a clergyman of the Church of England.

"On the above grounds it appears to me certain that the courts of law would not recognize such a body as this as a fitting representative of the Church of England in these parts. Nor could a law be passed taking such lands from the Church of England, and vesting them in the 'Church of the Province of South Africa' with its present code of laws, without doing a grievous wrong to those clergy and laity in the dioceses of Capetown and Grahamstown who desire to remain attached members of the Church of England, and to enjoy the blessing of her liberties and her laws; so that, for instance, no clergyman shall be deprived except for any lawful cause—that is, 'for such cause as, having regard to any differences which may arise from the

circumstances of the colony, would authorise the deprivation of a clergyman by his Bishop in England' (Privy Council in the Long judgement).

"These are the facts which I wished to set before your Grace. It is impossible for me to conjecture what course may be taken, under the circumstances, by the clergy and laity of the diocese of Capetown. They may perhaps elect a Bishop under the rules of the 'Church of the Province of South Africa,' and such Bishop may be consecrated, as Bishops Webb and Merriman were, as Bishops of that Church, and not as Bishops of the Church of England. In that case, I apprehend, serious difficulties would arise, if the authority of such a Bishop were at any time disputed in the law courts, when exercised in respect of any of the properties belonging to the Church of England; as, in fact, the authority of Bishop Merriman, though he is personally regarded with high respect, is at this moment, I believe, contested, on principle, before the Supreme Court at Capetown, by certain lay members of the Church of England in respect of the Church at Queenstown in the diocese of Grahamstown.

"Moreover, the above rules (Preliminary Resolutions, No. 1) define the said 'province' as consisting of 'the dioceses of Capetown, of Grahamstown, of Maritzburg [embracing the diocese of Natal], of St. Helena, and of the Orange Free State, which were originally comprehended in one diocese of Capetown, and has been constituted an ecclesiastical province, of which Capetown is the Metropolitical see, such constitution having been determined for them in accordance with the decision of authorities of the English Church, through the intention or effect of acts of the Crown under which the said diocese was subdivided.' Such language, it would seem, can only be understood of the diocese of Natal as legally existing by virtue of the Queen's letters patent, and in accordance with this in Article XXIV. of the Constitution express mention is made of 'the diocese of Maritzburg or Natal' being one of the dioceses of the said province.

"Now in Canon 2, Rule 2, it is provided that, 'whenever the Metropolitan see is vacant, the Bishop who by consecration is senior among the Bishops of the province, shall execute all functions appertaining to the office of the Metropolitan until the see be again canonically filled, and during the vacancy the other Bishops of the province shall render to the said Bishop such obedience as they are bound to give to the Metropolitan.' Under these rules, I imagine that the senior Bishop of the province would be held in a court of law to be at the present time the Bishop of Natal; and that any proceedings in which any other Bishop of the province during the vacancy of the see of Capetown may undertake to 'execute functions appertaining to the office of the Metropolitan,'—*e.g.* 'to summon a Provincial Synod and preside at it,' 'to confirm with his comprovincials the election of a Bishop of the province' (Canon 2)—would be pronounced in a court of law invalid, according to the laws to which the members of that Church have voluntarily submitted themselves. I need hardly say that I have no desire whatever under existing circumstances to intrude myself into the affairs of Churchmen at Capetown. I merely wish to call attention to the facts of the case, as they appear to me to stand at present, and especially to the necessity which under these rules exists that in every case of the election of a Bishop there must be a confirmation by the Bishops of the province, including the Metropolitan (Canon 3) or his *proper* representative.

"It is possible that these difficulties may be felt by Churchmen at Capetown, and that the rules of the 'Provincial Synod' may be set aside, and direct application made by the clergy and laity of the bereaved diocese to the authorities in England, to appoint and consecrate a new Bishop for them with the permission of the Crown, who in that case, being a Bishop of the Church of England, might I presume, be regarded in a court of law as successor in effect to the late Bishop of the see of Capetown; and being appointed by the heads of the Church in England might not need the confirmation prescribed by the rules aforesaid,

though even then some provision would have to be made by law for the proper tenure and discharge of the trusts now lying in abeyance in the dioceses of Capetown and Grahamstown, or in that of Natal, for which our local Legislature has sought to provide; and such Bishop would, of course, be bound to act according to the laws of the Church of England, and not according to those of the 'Church of the Province of South Africa,' wherever these latter differ from the former.

"Should such be the course which, under Divine Providence, affairs may take, and assuming that the Metropolitan see would no longer be sustained by Royal letters patent I should gladly recognise for myself the Metropolitan office of such a Bishop, in accordance with the provisions of my own letters patent, supposing, of course, that he will adhere to the system of the Church of England as paramount to any rules of the 'Church of the Province of South Africa.' And I should heartily rejoice, if under his auspices those rules should be purged of such provisions as conflict with the laws of the Church of England, in which case I venture to believe that they would be accepted cordially by the clergy and laity of this diocese, and the Constitution be re-established which was 'determined for these dioceses in accordance with the decision of authorities of the English Church, through the intention or effect of acts of the Crown.'

"I have the honour to be, my Lord Archbishop, your Grace's very faithful and most obedient servant,

"J. W. NATAL."

TO W. H. DOMVILLE, ESQ.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *October* 12, 1872.

. . "I have heard this morning from Port Elizabeth, and I fancy that they are all at sea at Capetown, and don't know what to do. And I am informed, on what is thought to be good authority, that Canon Ogilvie has been sent to St. Helena, ostensibly to summon Bishop Welby (who is an infirm, nervous old gentleman, quite unfit for rough work)—

but really to prevent his coming—to undertake the office of Acting-Metropolitan, for fear that in that case I should assert my right. It would be the oddest thing if the 'Church of the Province of south Africa' has so contrived its rules that I am really the 'Senior Bishop of the Province' against my own will as well as theirs, and they cannot even amend their arrangements without my summoning a Synod and presiding. I hope that Baroness Coutts will be firm about not letting her money go to support a Bishop of a Church which formally repudiates the authority of the Privy Council in matters affecting the Church. . . . Our colony is to have a system of railways, and an Eastern line of steamers, *viâ* Zanzibar, both immediately; so that I hope there are signs of progress; and indeed our exports for the last nine months, published to-day, have exceeded last year's for the same time by £105,672."

TO THE REV. C. VOYSEY.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *December* 10, 1872.

"Many thanks for yours of October 5, which has just reached me. But, to prevent mistakes, I must say that it is no part of *my* 'argument,' as you seem to assume, that you should consider how many good friends you will lose within and without the Church by anything you say or do. You must know very well, I should think, by this time, that I am the last person in the world to make use of such an argument, and yet your letter dwells upon this point throughout.

"What I said with reference to this was merely in reply to your own lugubrious cry, '*Væ victis*,' as if, merely because you were beaten down, men like Stanley and others—and I was not sure that you did not feel half disposed to reckon among them myself—shrank back from supporting you. I thought that you had no right to say this—and I knew that you had no such right to say it in my own case—and therefore I tried to explain to you that the course which you thought it necessary to take, in most unnecessarily dragging the very name of Christ and Christianity into the mire, must inevitably drive

from you men who would otherwise have wished to stand by you publicly. Of course, I know very well that I shall probably do the same for myself by speaking of the Chronicler as *intentionally dishonest*, instead of trying to plaster over his lies with some specious explanation. But he is a fraudulent writer, and wrote with a dishonest purpose—the proof is plain and overwhelming, and I shall not shrink from saying so, whatever friends I may lose by so doing. But you cannot say this of the character of Christ, nor of any sayings or doings which you can show to be His ; and all the arguments used for the purpose by Francis Newman (whom I greatly admire and love), as well as yourself, seem to me futile and frivolous. Your reasonings (as it seems to me) will not *prove* to anyone that He is not God, and they will offend many who do not now hold that belief, and who would not even undertake to maintain His perfection as man, yet (as I said in my last) would be disgusted if you set about trying to tear their own dead fathers' and brothers' character to pieces, and point out their faults ; and are equally pained when you do this, and on such utterly insufficient grounds, in the case of Jesus Christ.

" I think it is quite possible to deny what you have said about Christianity. I feel confident that if you will take a number of true Christians of various denominations, however they 'may fight about their different dogmas, they will agree in saying that, after all, the essence of Christianity consists in a life like the life of Christ, and that these dogmas are of primary importance, because essential (as they suppose) to the support of that life."

To C. J. Bunyon, Esq.

" Bishopstowe, *February* 17, 1873.

. . " I do not know what my enemies would say if they knew that the Archbishop writes to me 'My dear Lord Bishop' ; and that this form of address is not accidental, but intended, is shown by the fact that the first of the two letters (both written by the secretary and signed by the

Archbishop) began originally with the cold formality 'My Lord,' and the 'Lord' has been written over, evidently by the Archbishop's direction, so that it stands, 'My dear Lord Bishop,' like the other. I hope that I may regard it as a sign of some reviving cordiality on the part of the Archbishop; and it is not impossible that he may have seen that my Part VI. is a work of which the Church of England need not be ashamed."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *June* 24, 1873.

. . "By this mail I requested the editor to forward you a copy of the *Natal Colonist* with an abstract of the report in the *Cape Argus* of the doings for the election of a Metropolitan at the Cape. I hope you will take the trouble to read it, as it will show you, more than anything I can say, how completely Bishop Gray's whole South African system has gone to the ground, now that his powerful personal influence is removed. It appears that he was even afraid of his own creations, and instead of making over the £65,000, which he had amassed by his visits to England, to the trustees appointed by the Provincial Synod, in accordance with his own rules, he, by his will, has placed it in the hands of Archdeacon Badnall, charging him in a codicil not to make it over to any Bishop who had not first subscribed the rules of the Church of the Province of South Africa. Besides this £65,000 there was £12,000 more, which Badnall claimed as the private property of the late Bishop, but which the registrar asserts to be a reserve of Church Funds. Bishop Gray kept but one account at the bank, and one cheque-book for both private and Church property; his private property is under £9,000, and Mrs. Gray's £45,000,—so that between the two it is no wonder that they were strong in 'worldly influence.' . . . . I have seen letters from laymen at the Cape (not partisans of mine in any sense) which show that the laity are determined to shake off altogether the yoke of

the 'Church of the Province of South Africa, and return to the 'Church of England,' whatever the South African Bishops may do. . . .

"The Tabular Report which the S.P.G. has prefixed to its account of the 'Diocese of Maritzburg' in the last Report (1872) is . . . . simply ludicrous to a Natalian: Mr. Barker with 1,600 square miles, Dr. Callaway with 3,000, &c., when they just live at their own comfortable houses. . . . So Barker has 18,822 people under his charge, Fearne 12,500, Walton 5,500,—that is, they swell the *appearance* of their work by including all the thousands of natives within ten or twelve miles, though *they never do a single thing for their improvement*, devoting their time wholly to the few white people who come to their services, —lies, but they go down in England, like many others."

TO MRS. MERRIFIELD.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *August* 12, 1873.

. . . "I was delighted to get your note of June 3, and to find by it that both yourself and my dear old friend Mr. Merrifield are well. . . . I am afraid that such innumerable falsehoods have been propagated by the Jesuitical party who are opposed to me in theological matters, that even my friends in England hardly imagine how strong my position is here, and how many and influential are my friends and supporters in this colony. The whole strength of the colony, I mean among Church-going people, is on my side, and I am on very pleasant terms with leading Dissenters of all classes. I mention this because you speak of 'party feeling' being 'still high in Natal,' and I have continually indications in letters from English friends that they have a very mistaken view of the real state of affairs here, and I may say in South Africa generally. I expect that the proceedings at Capetown, where the structure raised by Bishop Gray with so much industry, for so many years, has been deliberately overthrown at the recent election of a Metropolitan, may have opened people's eyes a little in England.

But the amount of downright lying which is practised in support of the 'orthodox' party is astonishing, and it is almost impossible to counteract it. For instance, our last Governor, Mr. Musgrave, was a warm friend of mine, theologically as well as socially, and our present is so socially,—at least he says so,—though he is a Presbyterian, and does not accept my theology. But when each of these was welcomed on his arrival at Durban at a great public banquet, the Bishop of Natal was (next to the Governor) the most warmly received guest, and had to return thanks for the 'Bishop of Natal and clergy of all denominations.'"

TO TH. SHEPSTONE, ESQ.

"*August* 28, 1873.

. . "I was glad to get yesterday your letter of the 22nd, and to find that you were all well, and that you do not appear to anticipate any *serious* difficulty with Cetshwayo. Still I shall be anxious till we get your next news from the camp. However, before this reaches you I trust your work will have been successfully accomplished, and you will be on your way back. . . .

"I wonder what you will think of Sir B. Pine's new slave law. It is the first time we have had full-grown women—wives, and mothers with babes—put out in this way. And I should like to see the white people who will *fulfil* the undertaking to teach the apprentices 'reading and writing, and the elements of Christianity,' and to keep their lodgings separate from our natives."

TO C. J. BUNYON, ESQ.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *November* 7, 1873.

. . "What do you mean by saying 'The present difficulties of belief are enormous; but the difficulties of unbelief are still greater?' *Belief* in what? *Unbelief* in what? I have often heard that saying used as a mere clap-trap, just like Gladstone's (copied from Burke, I think) that 'the liberty of the clergy means the slavery of the laity.' I grant the

difficulties of *unbelief* in a personal God—Creator of all things, all-wise, and all-good, the Father of spirits, the Father of men—must be for most minds, certainly for mine, insuperable; as also the difficulties of *unbelief* in a future state and a righteous judgement for the deeds done in the body. But the difficulty of *belief* in the traditionary system is the very fact that it makes a belief in such a Being *impossible* to mere intelligent, reasoning men. Who can in these days believe in the stories of the Creation, the Fall, or the Deluge; or in that of the Jordan, running in full flooded stream, rising up into a heap higher and higher, without flowing over the lands on each bank, while the Israelites crossed over on dry ground? Why do not intelligent men—laymen, clergy, and Bishops—admit the absurdity of teaching any longer such old wives' fables, or rather the sinfulness of teaching such 'lies in the name of the Lord,' whatever else they may hesitate to admit?"

CHAPTER V.

"THE SPEAKER'S COMMENTARY."

1871–74.

IT is well known that the work familiarly styled the *Speaker's Commentary* was virtually the rejoinder to a formal challenge. In the Bishop of Natal's words,

> "it would be an affectation to pretend to be ignorant that the idea of this *Commentary* was first suggested by the disturbance that was caused by the appearance of the first three parts,"

of his *Critical Examination of the Pentateuch.* The policy of ridicule had, for some reason or other, been laid aside for that of a professed dialectical refutation. When those volumes first appeared, Archbishop Longley and Bishop Wilberforce seem to have thought that weapons drawn from the armoury of contempt and disgust would suffice to demolish them. They therefore sneered at the Bishop's criticisms as "rash and feeble speculations;" they set aside his arguments as puerile and trite, and banned them as being in all essential points "only the repetition of old and often-answered cavils." Such a mass of childish nonsense and folly would, it might be thought, deserve no notice; but, in spite of this, the waning of this happy confidence, and the growth of an alarm which threatened to become panic, led the Speaker of the House of Commons, as we are told, to suggest the idea of a *Commentary*, in which

"the chief points and difficulties, which not a single writer only, but others, whether in England or on the Continent, have raised or felt, should be examined and receive such solutions as our present knowledge and learning may enable us to give them."

If this announcement implies at bottom the infallibility of the writers, or, at least, the notion that all difficulties may be solved, it was certainly generous to offer solutions, not only of difficulties which had been raised, but even of those which had been only felt, by critics. If this remark seem flippant, the flippancy must be laid to the charge of those who could announce the *New Bible Commentary* as

"one in which every educated man may find an explanation of difficulties which his own mind may suggest, as well as of any new objections raised against a particular book or passage"

of the Bible. Here then we are bidden to find a repertory of answers to all possible objections, past, present, or future, which may be brought against any statements in some seventy or eighty books; and, if the work is to meet any or all difficulties which the mind of any educated man may suggest, it must itself suggest a thousand difficulties to those minds whose activity may have been exercised in other regions of thought, while over and beyond all is the astonishing assumption that all these difficulties may be met and explained, and, in short, that they are not difficulties at all. This is in truth to go in the teeth of human experience. It is perhaps conceivable that a wholly new state of things may at any moment be ushered in; but we have no warrant for expecting it, and therefore the sentences which announce the *Speaker's Commentary* have, at the very outset, a false and hollow ring.

It would be not merely an idle but an unworthy task, were we now to attempt to do more than ascertain whether on any one subject of any importance this *Commentary* vindicates the

historical trustworthiness of the Pentateuch against the criticisms of the Bishop of Natal or of anyone else. The Bishop felt himself called upon to examine and reply to it from beginning to end. With infinite patience and unruffled serenity he set himself to a work which he felt that he could not, if he would, evade; and which, in his belief, his countrymen had a right to expect at his hands. For those who come after the Bishop, the situation is changed; and if, on any two or three points, the charges of partiality, misrepresentation, evasion, or falsehood can be brought home to the commentators, their work may be cast aside as no adequate solution of difficulties, as no ingenuous contribution towards the discovery or the promotion of truth.

Foremost in the ranks of these commentators stood Bishop Harold Browne, whose counsel and sympathy Dr. Colenso had at one time thought of asking, and in whose name he rejoiced to see a guarantee of the sincerity and candour with which his treatise on the Book of Genesis would be undertaken. Such was his assurance, arising, we may suppose, from his own singular generosity and forbearance. To others it might seem that Bishop Browne's method of dealing with matters of fact[1] was ominous of anything but impartiality and veracity in the execution of his new task.

A few instances only shall therefore be here adduced as specimens of answers which he put forth as adequately meeting the arguments of the Bishop of Natal. At the outset Bishop Browne stated that the

"sacred narrative itself contains assertions"

of the Mosaic authorship of the whole Pentateuch. The whole Pentateuch is on trial. The whole history contained in it is said to be full of inconsistencies, contradictions, and impossibilities. Bishop Browne has himself been compelled to say

[1] See Vol. I. Chapter IX.

that of the numbers of the Israelites and of their army he can make nothing [1]; and yet for the genuineness of this book he can appeal to the book itself. In the singular controversy which led to the publication of Cardinal Newman's *Apologia pro Vita sua*, Dr. Newman represents Mr. Kingsley as saying, "If you are quite sure you did not say it, I'll take your word for it," and himself as replying, "My word! I am dumb; somehow I thought it was my *word* which happened to be on trial."

It is precisely thus with the Pentateuch; but Bishop Browne had no difficulty and felt no qualms in appealing to its word in its own behalf. But if these five books—or as we might almost say these ten or dozen books—had bristled with such assertions, these assertions, until the character of the narrative had been vindicated as genuine and trustworthy history, would be absolutely worthless. But when we come to examine them, these statements are dispersed like morning mist. Bishop Browne adduces Exodus xvii. 14, "Write this for a memorial in the book." But how are we to know, what grounds have we for saying, that this book was the Pentateuch?

> "Why may it not have been a book of notes—one of the ancient records from which, as some suppose, the Pentateuch was in part composed by later writers?"

The few passages cited from Deuteronomy refer only to that book, and are only parts of the fiction which ascribed this later book to Moses.[2]

Having thus "proved" from the Pentateuch that Moses wrote the Pentateuch, Bishop Browne next asserts

> "that the concurrent testimony of subsequent times proves that Moses did write the books now known by his name."

[1] See Vol. I. Chapter IX.

[2] *New Bible Commentary Examined*, Part I. p. 45.

This assertion has been answered already; and it may be dismissed with Bishop Colenso's summary retort

> "that there is not a single reference to Moses as a *lawgiver* throughout the two Books of Samuel, and none in the Books of Judges and Kings before the finding of the book in Josiah's time,"

except some four or five sentences

> "which may be shown to be plainly due to the Deuteronomist —as also that Moses is not even named by Isaiah or any other prophet before the Captivity, except in Jeremiah xv. 1, where he is ranked with Samuel; and Micah vi. 4, where he is classed, but as a *leader* only, with Aaron and Miriam."[1]

By way of evidence in detail, Bishop Browne has no hesitation in adducing 2 Kings iv. 1, where a widow complains to Elisha that her creditor has come to take her two sons to be bondsmen, and where therefore there must be a reference to Leviticus xxv. 39, which orders that no Israelite shall be made a bond-servant. But if Elisha knew of this prohibition why did he not

> "denounce the wickedness of the creditor, instead of working a miracle to pay the debt?"[2]

Even thus the reference would be only to the injunction, not to Moses as the legislator. The finding of the Book of the Law in the Temple is necessarily Bishop Browne's great dilemma. We have seen how Bishop Lord A. Hervey fared in this dangerous pass.[3] Bishop Browne will have it that the book so found is the Pentateuch. The preservation of the autograph manuscript of Moses, for seven or eight centuries, presents, he thinks, no difficulty in the dry climate of Palestine. But, if so, it had shared all the wanderings and

[1] *New Bible Commentary Examined*, Part I. p. 8. [2] *Ib.* p. 24.
[3] See Vol. I. p. 669, *et seq.*

dangers of the ark, and must have been brought with the ark to Jerusalem. How is it that we are not told that it was so brought? When it was so brought, why did not Solomon read it? Why did not his priests read it? Why did not he or they teach out of it? Why did not Solomon copy it with his own hand, as he was bound to do if he had any regard for the solemn injunction in Deuteronomy xvii. 18-20? Why did not his successors copy it after him? When was the Pentateuch lost? Bishop Browne thinks that it was hidden away in the reign of Manasseh—

"very likely built into a wall by the priests to keep it from the hand"

of that idolatrous king, who not only did not care to copy the Law as the precept in Deuteronomy bound him to do, but had a special desire to destroy this Mosaic autograph. But where were all the other copies? If Bishop Browne be right, and if the Pentateuch was not lost till the time of Manasseh, then there must have been at least nine or ten copies made by the kings who are said emphatically to have done right in the sight of the Lord, and who therefore would not treat with defiance the solemn command of the Hebrew lawgiver, who spoke with the authority of God Himself. Where were all these copies? Were they not kept in the royal archives? Did the chief officers and priests know nothing of their existence? But according to Bishop Browne the Pentateuch was not lost. All the other copies might have disappeared; and must have disappeared with an ease which would show that very little thought was bestowed upon them. But this one autograph copy of Moses was regarded with different feelings. This copy was carefully hidden "away in a wall by *the priests*," who of course knew quite well what they were about. But had these priests no memories? Had they no sooner built it into the wall than they, every one, clean forgot

that they had done so? The plea that they might have been frightened out of their senses by a depraved and idolatrous Sovereign will not serve. The Chronicler, to whom Bishop Browne gives implicit credit as an honest and veracious historian, says that Manasseh bitterly repented his sin during his captivity at Babylon, and lived to re-fortify Jerusalem. Surely, to a penitent king, the re-inforcement of the Law would come before the restoration of the city walls, or the setting of captains in the fenced towns of Judah. Surely Manasseh would then have besought the priests to search for the Pentateuch, of which in his earlier years he must at least have heard; and surely the search which he must have instituted, would have been rewarded with the recovery of at least two or three of the copies of the Law made by his predecessors. Again, if Manasseh repented, it is incredible that the priests should fail to reveal joyfully the place where they had hidden the Mosaic autograph. If they revealed it, it is quite certain that the short reign of Amon, lasting only for two years,

> "would not have sufficed to blot out all knowledge or memory of it; and yet, when it was found in the eighteenth year of Josiah, king, priests, and people are all aghast at the discovery of a book of which they had never heard."

During all those years had Hilkiah, the high priest, never told the young king a word about the ancient scroll of the Law, which had so mysteriously disappeared? Had he himself nothing to do with the building it into the wall? Did it never occur to him to tell the docile and obedient boy that it was his duty, and should have been his delight, to make with his own hands a copy of the Law book which had thus vanished out of sight? These are questions which may suggest themselves to the mind of any educated man, and will suggest themselves to the mind of any educated man who will think; and it is simply sickening to find them utterly ignored by

Bishop Browne, who tells us that, when the book was found by Hilkiah,

"all the most important witnesses were satisfied that it was the *Temple copy* of the Law."

But where were all the ten or twelve royal copies which should have been preserved, and some of which must have been preserved, from the time of Saul and David? The *Speaker's Commentary* started with the profession of dealing honestly, straightforwardly, and manfully, with all the difficulties connected with the Old Testament; and in the course of a few pages we find ourselves immeshed in a tangled coil of assumptions, misrepresentations, evasions, and falsehoods. A ludicrous aspect is imparted to this lamentable immorality by the assertion that the testimony of the Samaritan Pentateuch may *perhaps* be carried back to the reign of Manasseh. Bishop Browne is indeed only contingently committed to this statement. He would be glad to believe it if he could; but the inference would follow that, with Hilkiah and Jeremiah by his side, Josiah reigned for seventeen years without a copy of the Pentateuch, while the idolatrous Samaritans possessed it. Was it impossible for Hilkiah to send scribes, who should take a copy of it in Samaria?

We have been compelled already to express a doubt as to Bishop Hervey's belief in his own assertions.[1] We are driven to the same conclusion with regard to Bishop Browne. The law of jealousy, like all other laws, is said to come from Jehovah Himself; but by the admission of writers in the *Speaker's Commentary*

"it was adopted by Moses from existing and probably very ancient and widespread superstitions."[2]

The descent of the priesthood by birth, the distinction

[1] See Vol. I. p. 672. [2] See Vol. I. p. 697.

of clean and unclean meats, the purifications of the priests and Levites, the ceremony of the scapegoat, the Urim and Thummim of the high priest, are all described as Divine ordinances, originating with Jehovah; but Bishop Browne adduces them all as proof that

"the Mosaic laws and institutions of worship are penetrated throughout by knowledge of Egyptian customs,"

and as evidence of an intimate acquaintance with the customs of Egypt in him who wrote the Pentateuch and *delivered* the Mosaic Law. Well may Bishop Colenso add that

"such a statement takes away one's breath."

Most "orthodox" persons have been in the habit of supposing that all these institutions were founded in Israel by express Divine revelation to Moses—that Jehovah delivered the Mosaic Law; and it is amazing to find that, in so doing, the Divine legislator merely copied the practices which were already in vogue in connexion with the Egyptian idolatries.[1]

So much for Bishop Browne's Introduction. When he turned to the actual commentary on Genesis, the Bishop of Natal found in almost every page quotations seemingly unverified and certainly misapprehended. Bishop Browne, he says,

"has just caught up whatever seemed to suit his purpose for the moment, without troubling himself to make any 'painful inquiry' to ascertain the real value of the argument. And in the interests of truth I protest against such pretended criticism. He does not even care to temper the mortar which he daubs upon the wall to hide its cracks."[2]

[1] *New Bible Commentary Examined*, Part I. p. 37.

[2] *Ib.* p. 85. Bishop Browne's comments on the narrative of the Temptation are wonderful. They deal with a subject of supreme importance; but it is one which can be spoken of in detail only in an Appendix. See Appendix D.

Of the Noachian deluge little more needs to be said than that Bishop Browne, taking no notice whatever of the objections urged to an impossible tale, introduces some new touches of the grotesque by gravely referring to Peter Jansen's boat, built in 1609 on the same proportions as the Ark, though smaller—viz. 120 × 20 × 12 feet—and to the

"curious calculation by which John Temperarius ascertained that the Ark would have afforded abundant room for all the animals then known, and food for their voyage."

"Is it possible," asks Bishop Colenso, "that such solemn nonsense could be penned in this age by a Bishop of the Church of England for a *Commentary* intended to make the latest information accessible to a man of ordinary culture?"

Such a tub would of course

"hold more than an ordinary vessel of the same tonnage properly shaped."

Its floating powers amidst eddies swirling like those of Niagara are another matter. But it is nothing less than disgusting to be obliged to ask whether Temperarius calculated also

"in what state the *carrion* would be—taken on board for a twelvemonth's supply of vultures, &c.—at the end of a day or two? . . . How was this huge '*Great Eastern*' drained and its nests cleaned day by day?"

What, again, is meant by "room for all the animals then *known*"?

The numbers known to Noah and his sons may have been as few as those which are known by experience to the inhabitants of Cumberland; and at this rate all those which had not the good luck to be known to the patriarch would have been left to be extinguished. The narrative speaks not of things known, but of things living. Well may the Bishop say that

"here we have this *Commentary*, set on foot by the Speaker of the House of Commons, ... bringing the English Church

into contempt throughout the world by these ineptitudes. There is something very solemn and impressive in the grand old myth, with the Ark and its . . . . inhabitants floating alone upon the waste of waters over a dead and buried world. It is only such writers as these, with their attempts to justify and render credible the details of the story, who make the whole ridiculous."[1]

Even the burlesque exploits of Samson, when told in the old language, are not subjects for mere contempt and laughter, although they become such when the infatuation of traditionalists renders an analysis of their conditions necessary. But neither the courtesies of scholarship nor Christian charity require us to waste time over Bishop Browne's desperate attempts to give light to the Ark by converting the solitary window-hole into a window-course glazed with

"some transparent substance," which "may easily have been known to the antediluvians."

The provision for light leaves us then without air, for the door, "which," Bishop Browne tells us,

"could not have been secured by pitch or bitumen by Noah, was by some providential or supernatural agency secured and made water-tight."

With Bishop Browne the *Deus ex machina* is always forthcoming when wanted to deal with matters on which even his apparatus of unbounded hypothesis can throw no light. It seems a hard task to drive tigers, lions, bears, into a dark box; but

"under the pressure of great danger, or great suffering, the wildest animals will, at times, become perfectly tame and tractable."

Will they so remain for two or three years, for the embarkation of all existing species could scarcely be got through in an

[1] *New Bible Commentary Examined*, Part I. p. 102.

afternoon? But the resources of conjecture are not yet exhausted.

"Most likely Noah and his family would choose pairs of very young animals, just old enough to feed themselves, as being the most tractable,"

or it may be for a thousand other reasons which may be hatched in the brains of an advocate. No doubt, it was the easiest thing in the world for Noah to get at litters of lions and leopards, with broods of birds, and make a leisurely choice among them; and no doubt, it is also possible to go through the wearisome catalogue of hypotheses, guesses, prevarications, evasions, and deliberate mystifications, which are included in the weapons of the arsenal of traditionalism. The stomach of the Israelites loathed the light food of the heaven-sent manna; but the husks which Bishop Browne scatters lavishly around him furnish food not much more nutritious. From the beginning to the end of his contributions, it is the same. The office of the hierophant is not always a respectable one, and the position which Bishop Browne has chosen to assume is not more dignified than that of the relic-keeper who exhibited the sword that Balaam wished for, when he could not show it as the one with which he had smitten the ass. In one place there may be an affectation of learning; in another an affectation of ignorance, and this ignorance is affected[1] just where, as in the narrative of Eve's temptation, it may involve a fatal danger.

"Put thy hand under my thigh," is said to be an action as to the signification of which

"nothing is known with certainty."

We are accordingly favoured with a long string of conjectures.

"Aben Ezra supposes that it was a form of oath prevalent in patriarchal times, but only taken by inferiors, &c."

[1] See Appendix D.

"Nevertheless," adds Bishop Colenso, "'the form of adjuration' is perfectly well understood by scholars,"

as Bishop Browne might have satisfied, and probably had satisfied, himself by referring to the *Dictionary of the Bible* (ii. p. 588, 2). It is something to adduce the sanction of Buffon, that the alleged *longevity* of the patriarchs is not impossible; but there seems to be some method in his silence as to the gigantic *size* of the first men, of which many ancient traditions speak. The men who fought and fell with Cassius at Philippi were the contemporaries of Virgil; but Virgil anticipates the astonishment with which the ploughmen of a later age will gaze on their gigantic bones.

"Supposing, however, that physiology should ultimately decide that the extreme longevity of the Patriarchs was not possible without continued miracle, we should only be driven to the principle already conceded, that numbers and dates in genealogical tables are liable in the course of transcription to become obscure and exaggerated."

The principle here said to be conceded is rather a principle assumed. In any case it will not carry him far. He would fall back on it, if he could, in dealing with the 600,000 warriors who crossed the Red Sea; but that attempt he has to give up as hopeless, since two independent tribal numerations are made to yield the same totals.[1] The result causes Bishop Browne, it would seem, no anxiety.

Of the commentary on Exodus, the Bishop found himself obliged to say that, like the contribution of Bishop Browne, it was

"a laboured attempt throughout to maintain the foregone conclusions of traditionary theologians with scarcely a sign of desire to weigh seriously the arguments of the most distinguished modern critics, and hardly even a notion of some of their most important conclusions."

[1] See Vol. I. p. 421.

To this verdict the Bishop makes one exception, and this relates to the Decalogue. On this subject Mr. Clark says:—

"It has been generally assumed that the whole of one or other of these copies was written on the Tables. . . . If either copy, as a whole, represents what was written on the Tables, it is obvious that the other cannot do so."

Mr. Clark then falls back on the conjecture of Ewald that the original Commandments were all in the terse form in which the first, sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth now appear. The admission may seem slight. It really removes the key-stone from the arch of the traditional theories of the genuineness and authority of the Pentateuch. It is an admission

"that *neither* version of the Ten Commandments, as they appear in the Bible, gives the genuine ten words uttered by the Almighty on Sinai, although in Exodus xx. we read 'God spake *all* these words,' and in Deuteronomy v. 'These words Jehovah spake . . . . and he added no more, and he wrote them on two tables of stone and delivered them unto me.' And it further supposes, that in the Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, and Tenth Commandments, large interpolations must subsequently have been made apparently by Moses 'when the books were written, which were thus added to the words really spoken by Jehovah unto all the assembly in the mount.' . . . Yet even now, the abridged Fourth Commandment, though consisting only of a few words, differs in Exodus and Deuteronomy; being in the one, 'Remember the Sabbath day to sanctify it,' and in the other, 'Keep the Sabbath day to sanctify it.' But this variation, says the *Commentary*, 'may perhaps be ascribed to *copyists*,' who could not even copy correctly these few most sacred words supposed to have been uttered by Jehovah Himself on Sinai."[1]

[1] *New Bible Commentary Examined*, Part II. p. 69.

Still, this is beyond doubt a

"straightforward recognition of one indisputable result of the *Critical Examination of the Pentateuch*,"

and beyond doubt also, it strikes at the root of the whole Pentateuch story as an historical narrative.

"If the Ten Commandments in the Pentateuch are not genuine and historically true, what is? Doubtless, before such an admission can have been allowed to be published in this *Commentary*, the Committee appointed to advise with the editor . . . . will have been consulted. But I venture to think that it is far more dangerous, far more fatal to the cultivation of an intelligent and reverent faith in the Bible, to assert that Moses wrote the Decalogue, but wrote twice over, each time in different words, what he knew to be untrue, than to say that the Decalogue . . . . is in each of its forms the work of the Deuteronomist in a far later age."

With this exception (and this is distinctly a concession, not an answer or a refutation) the commentary on the Book of Exodus, the first part by Canon Cook, the latter by Mr. Clark, exhibits much the same characteristics with the treatise of Bishop Browne on Genesis. For the evidence of the genuineness of the Pentateuch, Bishop Browne appealed to the Pentateuch; for the principal arguments for the Mosaic authorship of Exodus, Mr. Cook appealed to Bishop Browne, and the value of these arguments we have just tested. In Mr. Cook's eyes the proof is clinched by the fact that,

"to posterity, to the Israelites of his own time, Moses was simply the greatest of men."

But, as we have seen, the subsequent history and the pre-Captivity prophets know practically nothing about him; and his character as drawn in the original story is due simply to

"the imagination of the writer, just as we have at least two Abrahams in Genesis—one dignified, brave, and noble-minded, the other timorous, cowardly, and contemptible."[1]

Mr. Cook is indeed put to hard shifts in every part of his task. The peninsula of Sinai is spoken of in the Pentateuch as "a waste howling wilderness," with fiery serpents, scorpions, and drought; but Mr. Cook struggles hard to make out that its fertility was greater and its streams more numerous and abundant than they are now, quite forgetting that, even though he had demonstrated its power of sustaining then a good-sized caravan for a few weeks or months, this would not establish the practicability of three or four millions of people living there for forty years. It is worse than idle, it is ludicrous, to go off into disquisitions on the possibility or the likelihood that Moses wrote the Pentateuch, until the general credibility of the narrative has been established beyond reach of debate. This narrative has been hopelessly discredited; and the truth of its alleged incidents must be clearly exhibited before arguments for its genuineness can be entitled even to consideration.

It is not, indeed, easy to know what Mr. Cook himself believes.

"Not only the names of many of the materials and implements," but "the furniture and accessories of the tabernacle, the dress and ornaments of the priests, are," he tells us, "shown to have been Egyptian."

On the other hand, Mr. Clark shows us that

"it should always be kept in view that such resemblances to foreign patterns are extremely superficial."

If we give credit to the narrative, as both profess to do, the theory of any connexion is excluded.

[1] *New Bible Commentary Examined*, Part II. p. 8. See Vol. I. p. 598.

"The Book of Exodus represents them as specially revealed by Jehovah Himself to Moses, who was to be careful to make them after the pattern which was shown them in the Mount. 'According to all that I show thee, the pattern of the tabernacle, and the pattern of all the instruments thereof, even so shall ye make it.'[1] How can it be believed," the Bishop asks, "that the Divine wisdom would have revealed to Moses a whole series of 'patterns,' in order merely to *remind* him of objects with which he was already familiar as used in the idolatrous worship of Egypt, and to help him to repeat and perpetuate them?"[2]

Some years had now passed since the so-called trial of the Bishop of Natal at Capetown; but the glaring absurdity of the special pleading then employed by the accusing clergy did not deter Mr. Cook from hinting (he no longer asserts) that the Mosaic authorship of Exodus is affirmed in the New Testament, and that the fact should be borne in mind by readers of the Pentateuch. There is, indeed, one reference to the "book of Moses"; but if the reference had been to the Book of Ruth, or the book of Job, or the Book of Judges, would that, the Bishop asks, prove that the book in question was written by Ruth, or Job, or the Judges?[3] Nor, again, did the pitiable difficulties in which Bishop Browne had involved himself hinder Mr. Cook from interpreting the story of the burning bush as showing only that the *full import* of the name Jehovah had not before been revealed. The story might be true, or it might be false; but it declares that the name had not been revealed or known at all. Mr. Cook, at least, was bound to believe it. When it is said that by the name Jehovah Elohim was not known to the Patriarchs, it is putting a non-natural sense on the words to make them mean only that He had not been made fully known. This might be pardonable, if we were dealing only with the words of Moses, and also if we

[1] *New Bible Commentary Examined*, Part II. p. 23.
[2] *Ib.* p. 24. [3] *Ib.* p. 32.

admitted candidly that we started without either theories or prejudice; but there is something inexpressibly shocking when one who speaks as a rigid traditionalist puts such non-natural meanings on words which are said to come directly from Jehovah Himself. The impartial critic puts no such forced interpretations; but the fact that in one chapter of Exodus the name Jehovah is said to be revealed for the first time, while yet it is found in familiar use in the Book of Genesis, at once impels him to analyse the books in order to see whether the materials furnish evidence of composite authorship. Such evidence being found, all difficulty vanishes, without any need of the evasions and prevarications to which traditionalists seem to submit themselves as among the unavoidable trials of life. But it is something worse than an evasion, when we find Mr. Cook, confronted by the 600,000 warriors of the Exodus, insisting that the total number of the Israelites should be calculated, not from the men above twenty years old, but from the males above twelve or fourteen, and would therefore amount to somewhat more than two millions, "not an excessive population for Goshen." Possibly; but would it not be excessive for a sojourn of forty years in a waste, howling wilderness? But here, too, Mr. Cook bids defiance to the book whose authority he is seeking to impose on others, and which says distinctly that the number of males "above twenty," "all that were able to go forth to war in Israel," was 603,550.

In his analysis the Bishop had laid stress on the unlikelihood that the Israelites would have left Egypt with weapons enough to arm more than half a million of warriors. Mr. Cook ventured to treat the objection as unreasonable. He could see no indication of their having been disarmed; and, "as occupying a frontier district frequently assailed by the nomads of the desert, they would, of necessity, be accustomed to the use of arms." But it is unreasonable, the Bishop rejoins,

to suppose that when Pharaoh "hoped to subdue their spirit," and "made their lives bitter with hard bondage," and ordered all their male children to be drowned, lest they might at any time join the invaders and fight against Egypt, he yet allowed them to be armed—nay, to get accustomed to the use of arms.[1]

Mr. Cook could even say that

> "the promptitude with which so vast a multitude was marshalled and led forth justifies admiration, but is *not marvellous*, nor without parallels in ancient and modern history."

In proof of this astounding proposition, he refers the reader to his Introduction: but his Introduction mentions no such parallels; and, indeed, they were not to be found, for not only in this instance was a population of nearly three millions to be moved, but it was moved with some millions of cattle in some four or five hours in the middle of the night. The armament of Xerxes is said to have been some days in crossing the bridge over the Hellespont, although they were not escaping from enemies, and although everything was made as easy for them as was then possible. The Bishop was, indeed, wonderfully lenient to a great offender when he merely expressed surprise that Mr. Cook could so write

> "with the details of the Franco-Prussian war fresh in his memory, and full knowledge of the difficulties attending the movement even of a disciplined army of two or three hundred thousand full-grown men, without women and children."[2]

The movements of 1870 strained to the uttermost the powers and resources of two great empires, aided by all modern appliances for transport and commissariat by highways and railroads. Moses, according to the story, had to move nearly ten times the number of the French army or of

[1] *New Bible Commentary Examined*, Part II. p. 51. [2] *Ib.*

the German army; and of these numbers some two-thirds consisted of women, children, and old men, hurrying away from a vigilant enemy under cover of night, with some millions of cattle!

But although Mr. Cook saw no difficulty in a task before which the might of England would sink powerless, he seems to have been staggered by the story of the passage of the Red Sea. He, therefore, betakes himself to explaining it away. When the tale speaks of the waters being a wall, this only means that a broad expanse of shallow water *served* as a wall, the Israelites being on one side, the Egyptians on the other. It is enough to say that no words could be more distinct than those of the narrative, and that these words flatly contradict Mr. Cook's explanation. Mr. Clark, in his portion of the *Commentary*, is, on the whole, more guarded in his language, and more careful in choosing his position; but he could not, of course, keep clear of pitfalls when the whole ground was riddled with them. Thus of the settlement of Palestine he says:—

> "It has been too absolutely taken for granted that it was the Divine will that the inhabitants of Canaan should be utterly exterminated."

It *was* the Divine will, if we put any faith in the narrative. Mr. Clark was bound to do so; and before him lay the words of Deuteronomy, the *alleged utterance of Jehovah* Himself: "Of the cities of these people, which the Lord thy God doth give thee for thine inheritance, thou shalt save alive nothing that breatheth." There the command is. If Mr. Clark regards it as blasphemy (and it is blasphemy of the most horrible kind) to ascribe such commands to God, then he has really abandoned the camp of the traditionalists, and should put away the grave-clothes of their system. Certainly he should not affect the ignorance by which Bishop Browne thought to slur over

perplexing points, as he does when dealing with the precept ordering the destruction of the Asheras.

"While Astarte," he says, "was the name of the goddess, the Asherah was a symbol of her, probably in some one of her characters, wrought in some conventional form."

It is intolerable to have plain things thus mystified. The Bishop of Natal simply remarks that it was a cone or phallos set up beside the altar of the sun-god Jahve,

"such as is even now very commonly found, in some modified form, in villages in India."

It is, in short, the May-pole which is now disappearing from English village greens, and the stauros which was once general in our churchyards.[1]

But if here he affects a convenient ignorance, he displays a real and very strange ignorance elsewhere. On taking up the Book of Leviticus, he affirms that its Mosaic authorship is conceded even by those who most dispute the Mosaic origin of the other books. The consensus is really on the other side; and Mr. Clark himself thinks it

"by no means unlikely that [in Leviticus] there are insertions of a later date, which were written, or sanctioned, by the prophets and holy men who, after the Captivity, arranged and edited the Scriptures of the Old Testament"—

a tremendous admission, Bishop Colenso remarks, for it asserts

"that the prophets and holy men may have actually inserted passages *which they themselves had written*, as being portions of the original revelation made by Jehovah to Moses.

"On our view," the Bishop adds, "these prophets and holy

[1] See Appendix D. The temptation of Eve.

men have only gone a step further, and have inserted the whole of Leviticus." [1]

These insertions would necessarily mislead their contemporaries, as they have misled Mr. Clark. The ordinances for the various kinds of offerings point to a time of settled habitation in Canaan; but Mr. Clark perplexes himself with the dovecots and pigeon-houses which were needed in the waste, howling wilderness of Sinai. These birds would, as we have seen, be offered at the rate of some 90,000 annually.[2]

"What favour was it," the Bishop asks, "to a poor man, to be allowed to bring this offering in the *wilderness*, instead of a quadruped?"

when no sustenance was to be found for either. With no greater success, Mr. Clark attempts to grapple with the difficulties involved in the assembling of hundreds of thousands before the door of a tabernacle a few feet broad, and in the description of the hare as a ruminating animal. He allows that the animal does not ruminate; but he insists that the word denotes simply the moving of the hare's jaws, which gives to it the appearance of ruminating. On this the Bishop trenchantly remarks:—

"Mr. Clark says this, when he knows very well that there is not a shadow of doubt upon the question,—that the Hebrew phrase means distinctly, 'bringing up the *gerah*,' and has not the slightest reference to moving the jaws." [3]

But this method of special pleading brings with it often a moral mischief. The ordinances about leprosy are highly revolting. Mr. Clark tries to palliate them by speaking of what he calls "the fact," that the leper

"was for the most part in no need of those attentions, which relieve and solace ordinary invalids;"

[1] *New Bible Commentary Examined*, Part III. p. 4.
[2] See Vol. I. pp. 516, 517.
[3] *New Bible Commentary Examined*, Part III. p. 23.

and therefore

"that he might have found his burden greater and more galling in the common intercourse of life than in the position marked out for him by the Law."

The Bishop is indeed justified in doubting

"if any considerable number of lepers will be found to appreciate the advantages which (according to Mr. Clark) they enjoy, in being banished from all converse with their kind, and secluded from those attentions 'which relieve and solace ordinary invalids.'"

A writer speaking of the treatment of lepers in India dwells on

"the cruelties perpetrated on those labouring under, or suspected of having, this terrible disease,"

as affording

"a striking example of the evils resulting from error—the erroneous belief usually entertained that leprosy is contagious. Even if there should be cases pointing to the conclusion that leprosy may be propagated by contact, the disease would still be not infectious; and if it were proved to be both contagious and infectious, this would not touch the question of humanity or inhumanity in the treatment of the patient. The alarm thus created has too frequently mastered all regard to humanity."

Having cited this passage, the Bishop adds:—

"This last remark is strikingly evidenced in the commands of Leviticus xiii. 45, 46. And who can say how much of the inhumanity which for so many centuries has prevailed in the treatment of lepers is due to the superstitious belief in the Divine infallibility of those Mosaic laws? Yet Mr. Clark has done his best to foster this superstition, even to the extent of suggesting, in order to maintain the wisdom of their provisions, that lepers had better be left uncared for since 'intercourse' with their fellow-men would only

aggravate their burden, while these kind 'attentions' would not be needed."[1]

In its general method of dealing with points in debate, the commentary on Numbers rises little, if at all, above the level of the commentaries on the preceding books. There are the same groundless assertions that the resources of the Sinaitic peninsula

"were in ancient times vastly greater than they now are,"

and that the language of Deuteronomy respecting the hardships then undergone

"belongs more particularly to the latest marches in the fortieth year, rather than to the whole period of the wanderings."

The writer forgets that the period of forty years has been shown to be unhistorical, and that the fact must be proved before it can be adduced as evidence. He further *forgets* that the Deuteronomist speaks of them as having during these forty years no change of shoes or clothing, and no supplies of bread or wine, "through all that great and terrible wilderness."[2] He further holds that a miraculous supply of water was one of God's frequent blessings to them, while, being familiar with artificial irrigation, they were well able to husband and turn to account all available supplies of water, whether ordinary or extraordinary. What may be meant by a miraculous supply it is impossible to determine; but the narrative certainly says nothing about the frequency of such a supply, while it does say that the wilderness had "no water."

"It is a strange notion," the Bishop remarks, "that the Israelites would have been able to turn to account, amidst the crags and ravines of the wilderness, the Egyptian method of artificial irrigation, adapted to an overflow of the Nile in a perfectly flat country."

[1] *New Bible Commentary Examined*, Part II. p. 28.
[2] *Ib.* Part IV. p. 57.

From efforts to get rid of difficulties in reference to the sojourn in the desert, we pass to like efforts in reference to the episode of the ass in the story of Balaam. Whatever happened, we are told, was

"apparently perceived by him alone amongst human witnesses."

This is a venturesome inference from a narrative which is simply silent on this point. Certainly we are not told that the marvel attracted the attention of his servants, or of the envoys of Balak, or that it excited the smallest feelings of dismay or astonishment in Balaam himself. That it should have failed to do so is to the commentator scarcely conceivable; but it is one of the common characteristics of narratives of prodigies that the wonders related either attract no attention, or make no impression, or are almost immediately forgotten. The conclusion therefore is that

"the cries of the ass were significant to Balaam's mind only."

The contention of the commentator here is the same as that of Mr. Maurice, of whose method something has been said already,[1] and we are told plainly that

"the opinion that the ass actually uttered with the mouth articulate words of human speech (though still defended by Wordsworth, &c.) . . . seems irreconcilable with Balaam's behaviour."

This plea will not serve unless it be frankly acknowledged that a New Testament writer may commit a blunder; in other words, may be downright wrong. The author of the Second Epistle of St. Peter says emphatically that the ass spoke with the articulate speech of man.[2] But whence came the story? Balaam went to the camp of Balak; and with

[1] See Vol. I. p. 430.

[2] ἐν ἀνθρώπου φωνῇ φθεγξάμενον, 2 Peter ii. 16.

the Israelites he had no relations until he fell into their hands and was "slain by the sword among those that were slain by them" (Joshua xiii. 22); that is, in open fight or in massacre following the fight. But the commentator thinks that he has found a loophole for escape in the supposition that Balaam was taken prisoner and kept for a time before he was executed. The assertion goes in the teeth of the narrative; but, granting it to be true, what likelihood is there that in the agony of those last hours he should inform his captors of the episode of the ass, and, moreover, leave in their hands a copy of his prophecies? The whole notion is ludicrous; and vast mischief has been done by piecing together fragments from independent and unconnected narratives, and then drawing inferences from them. The charge brought against him of seducing the Israelites to the worship of Baal-peor comes from the later legislator of the post-exilic age. It is thus, as the Bishop points out,

"built upon a false foundation, and is purely imaginary;"[1]

and not less imaginary therefore is the portrait drawn by Bishop Butler in his sermon on the "Character of Balaam." Mr. Espin has further the astonishing assurance to justify the slaughter of the Midianitish people, although in the Balaam story he has contradicted point-blank the author of the Second Epistle of St. Peter. It was not, he says, a general licence to slay at pleasure. It was a direct commission.

> "They had no discretion to kill or to spare, they were bidden to exterminate without mercy, and brought back to their task when they showed signs of flinching from it."

The absurdities and impossibilities of this disgusting story we have already had occasion to notice.[2] With great calmness the Bishop here remarks that

[1] *New Bible Commentary Examined*, Part IV. p. 57.

[2] See Vol. I. pp. 519, 520.

"happily the knowledge that this chapter belongs to the later legislation relieves us from all necessity of inventing a mass of special pleading . . . . to justify this atrocious story (transcending infinitely in horror that of the well at Cawnpore), as an act of Divine 'retribution.'"[1]

Mr. Espin's comments on the Book of Deuteronomy were subjected by the Bishop to a scrutiny far more patient and close than they can well be thought to deserve. They may here be dismissed briefly; but the reader who will take the trouble to go through them will probably reach the Bishop's conclusion that Mr. Espin's commentary

"from beginning to end is merely a laboured attempt to build up traditionary notions, with scarcely a single noteworthy recognition of the results which have followed from the close examination of the Pentateuch in modern times by the most distinguished scholars of Europe."[2]

His statements are seldom frank or ingenuous, and point often to very hasty and insufficient thought. Thus he is obliged to confess that there is

"a remarkable similarity of general style and treatment between Deuteronomy and Jeremiah,"

and this likeness he explains by ascribing to Jeremiah a close study of Deuteronomy.

"The priest of Anathoth," he urges, "would have made the Law his study from his childhood, and his modes of thought and expression would naturally be greatly influenced by the Law. Of all parts of the Pentateuch, Deuteronomy in the calamitous days of Jeremiah comes home to the prophet's mind with most frequency and force."

But of what could Mr. Espin be thinking when he penned these words? He here asserts that the whole of the Penta-

[1] *New Bible Commentary Examined*, Part IV. p. 80.
[2] *Ib.* Part V. p. 6.

teuch, as it is now before us, was also before Jeremiah; that from his earliest years he was a devout and earnest student of all the five books, but that he was attracted most of all by the Book of Deuteronomy. But that which was accessible to himself would be accessible to Hilkiah, to Huldah, to the king to his counsellors, to the people generally. They might honour the books or disregard them, but, unless they were insane, they could not express ignorance of their existence. We are told, however, that the Book of the Law was discovered in the Temple—a book of which the high priest who found it, and the king in whose ears its words were read, had no knowledge whatever—a book so impressive and so powerful as to awaken the deepest feelings of dismay, penitence, and shame—a book, in short, utterly different from any with which they had been previously acquainted. What was this book? It could not be any one of the five books of the Pentateuch, because with all the five Jeremiah had, according to Mr. Espin, been familiar from the days of his childhood onwards; but, if it was not the Pentateuch nor any part of it, has the book found by Hilkiah, and by him sent to the young king, been so lost that not a trace of it remains? If it was not the Pentateuch, if it was not Deuteronomy, then it was a book distinct from these. What then has become of it? Whatever it was, it was a book, which, Mr. Espin assures us, was

> "brought again to the knowledge of the king and people, after having been banished from public sight and use for nearly sixty years, during the two preceding reigns."

But the narrative assures us not less positively, and far more solemnly, that the book was wholly unknown to them all. Has the book been lost, or did it ever exist? Does Mr. Espin think that the story of its discovery is from beginning to end a lie? If so, this is a strange outcome indeed of traditional notions and criticism. But is there any dark meaning

latent under his phrase that the book had been *banished from public sight and use?* We have already gone over an ocean of absurdities and impossibilities connected with this fatal rock of traditional belief. We have dealt with guesses that it had been hidden away by priests, built into a hole in the wall to save the manuscript from the destructive hands of the frenzied idolater Manasseh. But according to the Chronicler, whom Mr. Espin is bound to believe, we have also seen that Manasseh came back from his exile a sincere and humble penitent; and it is monstrous to suppose that the priests, who hid it in the wall, should not have hastened then to bring it out again, unless indeed they had forgotten all about it, and forgotten also all about the other royal manuscripts of the Law, which must have been lying about somewhere, unless they had all been wilfully destroyed. Only for sixty years, according to Mr. Espin, had these books been "banished from public sight and use." Why, Hilkiah himself had probably lived through the whole of this time, and if he was seventy years old at the time of the discovery, he must have remembered perfectly well the fact of its disappearance. Why was he absolutely silent about it? How was it that no one else had the faintest remembrance of such a book having disappeared? But Mr. Espin's words involve a dark suggestion that the book had never been lost, and that, in the modern phrase of the so-called literary world, it had only been withdrawn from general circulation, while in private it was the subject of the constant study of the faithful. It is useless to say more. Anything more monstrous and shameful it would be scarcely possible to imagine. The unknown book turns out to be a well-known book: the book which was said to have been lost, turns out not to have been lost at all. The whole thing was a mere pretence; and all the actors in the drama were conscious of the cheat. We have dwelt long on this strange incident and on the "explanations" offered in

reference to it; but on a subject so momentous scarcely any examination could be thought too long, and on this point, more perhaps than all others, it was necessary to vindicate the Bishop's conclusion. The vindication is complete. The book found was the Book of Deuteronomy; and the author of that book was Jeremiah.

With regard to the Decalogue, Mr. Espin makes the same important admission with Mr. Clark; and this admission, as the Bishop rightly insisted, involved logically the abandonment of the whole historical position. But this frank acceptance of logical consequences is not a common characteristic; and it is found only in small measure in Mr. Espin, who at once goes on to speak of the Ten Words as being uttered with a great voice to the assembly, from the awful summit of the mount itself, whilst the other precepts were communicated to the people through the agency of Moses.[1] But what is Mr. Espin's position? and what is the meaning of all his language on the subject? By voice we mean articulate utterance conveying a definite understood meaning to all who hear it. Were the sounds heard from the great mount articulate utterances in Hebrew? It is really useless to fall back upon thunderings and lightnings. It is not denied that the glare and din of lightning and thunder may convey to those who see and hear the sense of an overwhelming majesty and force, but will it awaken the sense of a moral force? And if the sounds are not articulate, how can the idea of distinct obligations be awakened in the mind? In this case, we are told, ten words or precepts were given. How was the impression of each distinct precept conveyed? If we were to hear ten distinct peals of thunder, how, on the supposition that each peal was intended to impart a special meaning, are we to distinguish between them? In the Theban story the thunder is the voice of the Sphinx; but her utterances are

[1] *New Bible Commentary Examined*, Part V p. 53.

enigmas or riddles which ordinary mortals cannot comprehend. One being alone can solve them; and to him alone are intelligible the sounds which are mere noises to others. If Mr. Espin will make Moses another Œdipus, we begin to catch his meaning; but, as far as regards the people, it becomes difficult to see how the delivery of the Ten Words differs from the mode by which any other precepts are conveyed to them. All, without exception, become impressions made on the heart and spirit of the lawgiver. But both the versions of the Decalogue come from the Deuteronomist; and the Deuteronomist lived in the time of Josiah, hundreds and hundreds of years after the reputed age of the wanderings in the desert. The psychological inquiry becomes, therefore, in this case, superfluous.

The writers in the *Speaker's Commentary* seldom lose an opportunity of urging the differences of opinion amongst anti-traditional critics as a reason for rejecting all their conclusions in a mass. The differences among themselves are not always insignificant. Mr. Espin contends that in the wilderness the Israelites were placed

> "where the ordinary means of providing for their bodily life and safety were insufficient, and where their own exertions could have availed but little,"

and they had been preserved by the special providence of God. On the other hand, Mr. Cook and Mr. Clark speak of their physical condition as more than tolerable, with a vegetation more luxuriant and streams vastly more copious than any now found in the Sinaitic peninsula, with no lack of pasture for their flocks and herds, and as aided further by an important traffic with the trading caravans that traversed the wilderness. The narrative, to be sure, tells us nothing of all this; but that is of no moment. The question concerns not the difference between the present and past conditions of the

desert region, but the difference between Mr. Espin and his brother commentators. If the circumstances of the Israelites were such as Mr. Cook and Mr. Clark have described, then certainly Mr. Espin's assertion that they lacked "the ordinary means of earthly sustenance" falls utterly to the ground; and therefore, by their own argument, we are justified in setting aside as worthless all that they may say on any subject.

Mr. Espin has the courage to tell us that neither of the two versions of the Decalogue is correct. He has not the courage to treat with equal freedom the laws relating to the execution of an incorrigible son. He not only accepts as fact the existence of a Mosaic precept enjoining that such a son, denounced by the elders, should be stoned to death, but assures us emphatically that the formal accusation of parents against a child was to be received, without inquiry, as being its own proof.[1] But what if the accusation were false? Under these conditions, a father, wishing to be rid of his child, had nothing to do but to charge him with obstinacy. The supposition is not less ridiculous than monstrous. The fictitious nature of the law is proved by the fact that it is applicable only to sons. The parents cannot thus rid themselves of obstinate and dissolute daughters. But in truth these precepts, like the story of the expedition against the Midianites, are symbolical. They belong to the age not of the Exodus, but of King Josiah; and they express the burning indignation of Jeremiah against the foul and murderous idolatry with which Jerusalem and the Temple itself were defiled. By such precepts and narratives he sought to show what punishments these iniquities and abominations deserved.[2] On the historical difficulties to which these ideal injunctions give rise he did not, and he could not, bestow a thought.

[1] *New Bible Commentary Examined*, Part V. p. 101.
[2] *Ib.* Part VI. p. 18.

Mr. Espin's anxieties can scarcely be said to have been much greater than those of the Deuteronomist. So long as difficulties can be dealt with separately, he is content; and if one objection be removed it does not occur to him that nothing is gained so long as its removal only makes room for another. The Book of the Law, he tells us, was to be laid up in the Holy of Holies, close by the ark, and probably in a chest; and there, in fact, it is said to have been found. This may account for the production of this one copy; but Mr. Espin forgets that the Law enjoined with equal strictness that a copy should be made by every king,[1] and therefore that the disappearance of all these copies (with the many other difficulties involved in the disappearance) has to be accounted for. Lastly, when he comes to the closing scenes of the life of Moses, he cannot even allow the story to speak for itself. The sight afforded to him from the mountain-top "was no doubt supernatural," but was yet a real, not an imaginary, view, obtained

> "through an extraordinary enhancement of the dying lawgiver's powers of vision."

The story neither says nor implies this, and the Bishop asks:—

> "If a miracle was needed, why was Moses ordered to climb to the summit of Mount Nebo at all? The same power which enabled him to see—not merely places afar off, but—places that must have been hidden from his sight by intervening mountains and the earth's spherical form, might have enabled him to see the same without making the painful ascent from the plains of Moab to the top of Pisgah."[2]

[1] The solemn command thus given, Deuteronomy. xvii. 18–20, has been referred to more than once. It cannot be referred to too often. Each king is to make his own autograph copy, that "he may learn to keep all the words of this law and these statutes to do them."

[2] *New Bible Commentary Examined*, Part V. p. 131.

We have seen that, according to Bishop Browne, the ascent was scarcely needed, as Moses, by repeated explorations, had made himself generally familiar with the appearances and the resources of the promised land.[1]

In his comments on the Book of Joshua, Mr. Espin starts with some words of censure against a certain class of critics who, as he says,

> "all assume, either expressly and confessedly, or by implication, that miracles are always and everywhere to be rejected."

Such critics must be very foolish if they do not first define what the things are which are to be thus rejected; and Mr. Espin has certainly not defined these things for them. It cannot be that in their judgement all things are to be rejected which do not come within the bounds of our present experience, for in that case Cicero might have rejected as miraculous, and therefore impossible, the notion of steam-engines, or balloons, or the electric telegraph. But, whatever miracles may be, there is certainly no doubt that we have no right to introduce them into narratives from which they are absent, or to multiply them because the one mentioned seems to make the other necessary. We have no right to speak of the sight of Moses from Pisgah as anything but that which the story represents it to have been: we have no right to say that, because Moses once brought forth water from the stony rock which he smote, therefore he did so a hundred times. If we do so, we transport ourselves at once into the world of the *Arabian Nights*. But it is beyond all things necessary to impress upon traditional critics that such language betrays often a complete *ignoratio elenchi*. It may be even a mere shift to divert the question to a false issue. When the genuineness and the historical character of a book are assailed

[1] See Vol. I. pp. 425, 426.

because it contradicts itself in matters of the most ordinary sort, nothing can be gained by pretending that the objection is urged on the score of narratives of wonders, portents, or prodigies which may happen to be contained in it. The early history of Rome as related by Livy is discredited, not on account of the stories of wonderful and extraordinary incidents related in it, but because one part of the narrative is inconsistent with, or contradicts, or excludes another, in matters which come within the range of every-day experience. It would be ludicrous to represent Sir G. C. Lewis as rejecting the history of Romulus because he is said to have been taken up into heaven like Elijah. He lays immeasurably more stress on the inconsistent accounts given of the Ramnes, Titienses, and Luceres. The attempt to ascribe to a disbelief in prodigies, or to a dislike of them, objections bearing on the internal evidence or on other points in debate is as dishonest as any shiftiness of which any may well be guilty. It is scarcely a whit less dishonest to attempt to shut up his readers to the great dilemma [1] of complete acceptance or total rejection. According to Mr. Espin, the narrative of the Book of Joshua must be taken as it stands or rejected *in toto*, for, if the bed of Jordan was not laid bare by the piling of waters in flood-time into a mountain, if the walls of Jericho did not fall at the trumpet-blast and the shouting of the people, the writer who could give the narrative of these incidents as it is given in the Book of Joshua is "utterly untrustworthy." He may be so, but this must be proved; and Mr. Espin knows perfectly well that this does not follow merely because his narrative contains many stories of marvels and prodigies. Had he taken the trouble, he must have remembered that the attempt to treat the histories of Herodotos in this fashion would be received only with derision and contempt. The materials which make up the Herodotean history are of very diverse

[1] See Vol. I. pp. 302, 303.

kinds; but the rules of evidence will guide us with abundant safety through what may often seem an inextricable tangle. If the credit of the Book of Joshua be rated lower than that of the history of Herodotos, this will be only because a thorough examination reveals less that may be trusted in the one than in the other. With neither is the task an easy one; but in both we must insist on applying the same canons of criticism, and it is impossible to allow that the writers in the Book of Joshua are to be treated with more indulgence than the great historian of the Persian War.

The Bishop of Natal was indeed too lenient in his judgements on writings like those of Bishop Browne and Mr. Espin. He had regarded it as "unfortunate" that the former in his *Introduction to the Pentateuch* could find no place to discuss the genuineness and antiquity of the Book of Joshua. No doubt it was convenient for Bishop Browne or for Mr. Espin to separate the two; but the question of the genuineness of Joshua is determined by that of the Pentateuch, while that of the Pentateuch is determined by the age of the Book of Deuteronomy. On this point, therefore, the contentions of Mr. Espin deserved no consideration. But it may be well to see what violence he does to truth and the plain sense of right and wrong by his efforts to uphold the traditional notions at all hazards. He is necessarily confronted at the outset by the wholesale slaughter of the Canaanites; but instead of applying tests to ascertain how far the slaughter was carried out, or whether it was carried out at all, he is anxious only to justify it. The Canaanites were wicked, apostate, and idolatrous; and "what," the Bishop of Natal asks, "were the Hebrews," by the unanimous testimony of all their prophets? Even Mr. Maurice, as we have seen,[1] found himself obliged to resort to the same evasions; and more valuable, therefore, than his purely historical criticisms were the true prophetical utterances in which

[1] See Vol. I. p. 437.

the Bishop of Natal denounced these monstrous blasphemies against the righteous impartiality of God. He expresses (and perhaps too leniently) the bare truth, when he says that

"the Hebrews fell away again and again, as the Book of Judges tells us, into all kinds of gross idolatry, immediately after they had been put in possession of the Holy Land; they practised the vilest abominations, and 'shed innocent blood, even the blood of their sons and of their daughters, and the land was polluted with blood.' Yet, *they* were only chastised, not exterminated. Is God unrighteous, who taketh vengeance in this way? Is not the *Commentary* doing its best to perpetuate a gross and pernicious superstition, such that one mistake of this kind will poison all the wells of truth, and affect with fatal error the whole circle of our thoughts? Happily the idea of the Canaanites having been ruthlessly exterminated by express Divine command is a mere fiction of the tender-hearted Deuteronomist, by which he desired to express his abhorrence of the sins of Israel."[1]

It is, indeed, happy that it should be thus; but symbolical exterminations may serve as two-edged weapons. They may have served to point a moral lesson in the days of Jeremiah; they have suggested some dreadful perversions of moral principle to Mr. Espin.[2] The slaughter of the Canaanites served, in his judgement,

"various important purposes besides the mere removal of

[1] *New Bible Commentary Examined*, Part VI. p. 18.

[2] The Minute of Sir B. Frere forwarded to the Colonial Office, November 16, 1878, has been already noticed, Vol. I. p. 519, *note*. Had Sir B. Frere merely mentioned the fact that the Boers regarded themselves as having by the precepts of the Pentateuch a higher title to the Zulu lands than that of the Zulus themselves, the remark might have been allowed to pass with an expression of surprise that Sir B. Frere should not have a word of censure for this wretched superstition. But Sir B. Frere does more than mention the fact. He draws an inference from it. "*They had*," he says, "at least, a sincere belief in the Divine authority for what they did, and, *therefore*, *a far higher title* than the Zulus could claim *for all they acquired*." The italics are mine.

them from the face of the earth. No more effectual means could be adopted for inspiring God's people with an abhorrence of Canaanitish sins, to which they were not a little prone, than to make them ministers of Divine vengeance against those sins."

But according to the whole Hebrew history the means thus adopted were a total failure. The Canaanites were not exterminated, and the Hebrews were not in the least cured of their proneness to run into their sins; and are we really to infer that God's people—in other words, all good men—can be inspired effectually with an abhorrence of vices only by slaughtering those who are guilty of them? that Wilberforce, Clarkson, and their fellow-labourers would have more thoroughly felt the heinousness of slavery, if they had set to work to cut the throats of the slave-owners? But, not content with this, Mr. Espin goes on to say that

"had the sword of Joshua done his work more sparingly, the heathen would have been left in larger numbers mixed up in the land with God's people; there would have been intermarriage, and in no long time a melting down of the whole into one nation. Looking at the strong tendency which the Jews manifested all through their history to imitate those round about them, it is clear that in such a case the pure and high idea of God, which is the very heart and soul of revealed religion, would have been lost; the worship of Israel would soon have become as debased as was that of the Phœnicians and Moabites."

The sophistry which could lead us to believe that the history of Israel was the reverse of what is here pictured, is sufficiently bold. If the mere *tendency* of the Jews to imitate their neighbours produced the abominations for which Jeremiah wished that he could weep an ocean of tears, we can only suppose that, if they had had their way, they would have achieved triumphs of brutality compared with which the

exploits of Phœnicians and Canaanites would have been tame indeed.

But, if we give the smallest credit to the prophets, the history of the Jews was precisely that which Mr. Espin says that it was not. There *was* intermarriage, in which Solomon, in David's life-time, it would seem, and with his sanction, led the van. As to the pure idea of God, they did not lose it, for the simple reason that they never had it, and their worship was fully "as debased as was that of the Phœnicians and Moabites." They "were mingled among the heathen and learned their works," and if we are to give the least credit to the words of Jeremiah and other prophets, they became such apt scholars in this accursed school that we must betake ourselves to Mexico in the days of Montezuma, if we would find more loathsome developements of devil-worship. In order, therefore, to bolster up the historical credit of the narrative in Joshua, Mr. Espin directly contradicts Jeremiah and his fellow-prophets; and in the same way he speaks of the

> "fact that the whole host crossed the Jordan at the [flood] season, as no small proof of the miracle"

of the parted waters. In the Bishop's words,

> "he assumes the truth of one part of the story in order to prove the truth of the other,"

just as he appealed to Deuteronomy to prove the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch.[1] But, adds the Bishop,

> "If the whole host did not cross the Jordan at this season what then becomes of this stupendous miracle?"

Having insisted on the historical character of the narrative

[1] *New Bible Commentary Examined*, Part VI. p. 25. See also *supra*, pp. 292, 293.

Mr. Espin proceeds to minimise the wonder. The waters were

"held back and accumulated by the hand of God."

But

"they would need to be so but for a brief space."

"The waters were cut off," the Bishop remarks, "as soon as the ark reached the brink of the stream, when the people were yet a mile off. And so during all the time which it took three millions of people—men, women, and children, following in a column many miles long behind the priests bearing the ark—to travel over this mile of ground and cross the river-bed, the river, flowing on bank-full, in full turbid stream, was rising up by Zarthan into a 'heap' of water, towering up continually higher and higher every moment above the neighbouring lands, without flowing over them, as it had previously flowed over all its banks. And this would only need to be so but for a 'brief space.' And then Mr. Espin says, 'The typical significance of this wonderful narrative will be found drawn very fully in Bishop Wordsworth's commentary *in loc.*' And among these, I presume, is included theological rubbish such as the following, which is tossed, instead of the bread of life, to the hungry soul athirst for the Living God:—'Nor must in this point of view the name 'Adam,' the place whence flowed to the people the stream which cut them off from the promises, and the failure for the time being under the rule of Joshua of the full and rapid stream which supplies the Dead Sea, be overlooked.'"[1]

It is needless to say that Mr. Espin's "short space" would be protracted into days; and both of his utterances and of those of Bishop Wordsworth, so far as we can attach any meaning to them at all, it may be said that to find their like we shall in vain search the whole Hindu literature of the Puranas. We may be forgiven if, having persevered thus far,

[1] *New Bible Commentary Examined*, Part VI. p. 27.

we begin to be surfeited. But one or two more instances must yet be noticed, if we would estimate accurately Mr. Espin's regard for facts.

"Never, perhaps," he says, "was a miracle more needed than that which gave Jericho to Joshua. Its lofty walls and well-fenced gates made it simply impregnable to the Israelites—a nomad people, reared in the desert, destitute alike of the engines of war for assaulting a fortified town, and of skill and experience in the use of them, if it had them. Nothing but a direct interference of the Almighty could in a week's time give a city like Jericho, thoroughly on its guard and prepared, to besiegers situated as were Joshua and the Jews."

To these words the Bishop quietly replies:—

"According to the story the Israelites numbered 600,000 warriors, and they had captured in about a fortnight Sihon and his host, and 'three score cities, all the region of Argob, the kingdom of Og in Bashan, all these cities fenced with high walls, gates, and bars, besides unwalled towns a great many,'—not to speak of the conquest of Midian, when, without any miracle, 12,000 Israelites killed in fighting 88,000 men, and butchered 88,000 women and 32,000 boys without the loss of a single man. But what if none of these things really happened, and Jericho also was not given in a week's time into Joshua's hands, as described in the story?"[1]

But according to the story the whole Hebrew army was to march round the city once a day for six days, and seven times on the seventh day, while the priests were to blow their ram's horn trumpets, and then when the whole people shouted on Joshua's giving the signal the walls were to fall. It is, of course, quite clear that during these seven days the commandment to keep holy the Sabbath day must have been

[1] *New Bible Commentary Examined*, Part VI. p. 32.

wholly set at naught; but, putting this aside, we may ask whether it would have been less an act of "direct interference of the Almighty" if the destruction of Jericho had been brought about by an earthquake, which might have thrown down the walls in a second of time without all this ceremonial of priestly processions, trumpetings, and shoutings? Mr. Espin can scarcely contend that an earthquake would not be the work of God. If it be not His work, will he say whose work it is? and will he deny that the destruction of towns is a common consequence of these acts or interferences? The fact is that we are here plunged into an ocean of fiction. In the case of Jericho we have a fictitious success; in that of Ai a fictitious defeat. The repulse of the detachment sent against Ai is followed by a command to send against it "all the people of war," *i.e.* the 600,000 fighting men. Such is the tale which Mr. Espin accepts, and on which the Bishop remarks:—

> "Though they had smitten Sihon and Og, and taken sixty cities fenced with high walls, gates, and bars, and 12,000 had killed 88,000 fighting men of Midian, and had just . . taken Jericho, and had received the express promise of Jehovah, 'I have given into thy hands the king of Ai,' yet the people are so 'discouraged' that Jehovah saw it to be expedient to send 'all the men of war,' 600,000 warriors, to attack a little town whose population all told, men, women, and children, numbered only 12,000 altogether, and against which Joshua had thought it enough to send about 3000 men."[1]

The story of pitiless slaughter is interrupted by the alleged sparing of the Gibeonites, and of Rahab.

> "Others, doubtless," Mr. Espin believes, "might have been spared likewise, had they sought for mercy in the right way."

[1] *New Bible Commentary Examined*, Part VI. p. 34.

But what was the right way? Rahab, the Bishop remarks, sought it by treason against her own king and people, and the Gibeonites by fraud and lying.[1] Fear alone, according to Mr. Espin, prompted the action of the Gibeonites.

"Rahab's motives were higher. She did not wait for the coming of Joshua, but believed in the word of God before its promises began to be accomplished. Hence she was adopted into Israel: the Gibeonites remained for ever bondmen to Israel."

But Rahab and her people, we are told, had heard "how Jehovah had dried up the water of the Red Sea for Israel," and "what Israel had done to Sihon and Og, whom they utterly destroyed," and "as soon as they had heard, their hearts melted, and there remained no more courage in any man."

To one of the prodigies recorded in the Book of Joshua Mr. Espin refused to give credit; but his rejection was determined, not by scientific considerations, but solely by the fact that there is no corroborative evidence for it in the records of other countries. The stopping of the diurnal rotation of the earth, and the consequences which might be supposed to follow it, involved for him no difficulty.

"The Agent here concerned is omnipotent and omniscient, and could, of course, as well arrest the consequences of such a suspension of nature's working as He could suspend the working itself."

It is strange, indeed, that any can see reverence in such remarks as these. At this rate we might imagine "omnipotence" as sending the whole galaxy revolving in different directions, and arresting the regular consequences of this irregular dance. As to the idea of a Kosmos, as to the

[1] *New Bible Commentary Examined*, Part VI. p. 39.

notion of order, this is put aside altogether. Any upsetting of His own work is, it seems, imaginable in Him "who cannot deny Himself," and in whom is "no shadow of turning." But although in itself the story seems to him perfectly credible, he felt

> "that any such stupendous phenomenon would affect the chronological calculations of all races of men over the whole earth, and do so in a similarly striking and very intelligible manner."

Yet of such disturbance there is elsewhere no record. We must therefore, he concludes, look upon the narrative as poetical, and on the prodigy as a metaphor.[1] Accordingly he tells us that

> "this explanation is adopted by Maurer, Ewald, Von Lengerke, and, what is more important, commended itself also to such men as Hengstenberg, Keil, and Kurtz—theologians whose orthodoxy upon the plenary inspiration and authority of the Holy Scriptures is well known and undoubted;"

> "a statement which," in the Bishop's words, "lets us incautiously behind the curtain, and betrays to us the secret purpose and principles of the contrivers, editors, and writers of this *Commentary*. For them, it appears, not mere learning and love of truth are the things of most importance, but 'a well-known and undoubted' reputation for 'orthodoxy upon the plenary inspiration and authority of Holy Scripture.'" [2]

But though Mr. Espin may have the countenance of these critics in explaining away the matter, there remains a difficulty with the writer of Joshua x. 13,

[1] But if so, why may not the whole story of the Exodus be a poem, and all its prodigies metaphors?

[2] *New Bible Commentary Examined*, Part VI. p. ix.

"who evidently believed that the miracle was real and not imaginary. Mr. Espin, however, having taken one downward step, boldly throws the text in question out of the 'inspired' record."

It breaks the continuity of the narrative. It is, therefore, a gloss which later copyists have interpolated into the text. The argument may be urged with equal, if not greater, force for the rejection from St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians of the two passages, xv. 3–11, and xi. 23–32. But after all these pretensions of belief, and all this exercise of critical freedom, the prodigy seems to be superfluous. The day may have been prolonged to enable the Israelites to slaughter on; but it seems that

"they were more which died with hailstones than they whom the children of Israel slew with the sword,"

so that, the Bishop adds,

"one hardly sees why such a miracle, or indeed a miracle of any kind, was needed at all, or what purpose it served."[1]

We have thus seen how the Bishop was compelled to deal with a *Commentary* published with a profession, not of talking about, but of really meeting, difficulties and answering objections. We have seen that not one difficulty has been met, not one objection really and fairly answered. The task is impossible; but the question is one of unspeakable moment. The struggle, in the Bishop's words, is "an internecine conflict."

"Upon the success or failure of this *Commentary*—upon its being allowed to impose on the great majority of English readers a mass of fallacies, assertions, and assumptions, in

[1] *New Bible Commentary Examined*, Part VI. p. 42.

the place of solid reasoning and sound criticism—on its being exposed from the first in its proper character, and neutralised in its effects by the juxtaposition of the truth,—it depends very much, as I conceive, whether the reign of traditionary falsehood shall or shall not be brought to an end within the Church of England in the present generation—whether educational efforts shall or shall not be any longer cramped and inthralled under the slavish yoke of ignorance and superstition—whether missionaries in heathen lands shall or shall not for the time to come continue to give them stones instead of bread, and to pour down their eager throats the poisonous doses with which hitherto they have been commonly drugged, and which must assuredly result in the next generation in numberless cases, here as elsewhere, in incurable, hereditary scepticism and unbelief." [1]

It is the battle between sacred books and the direct eternal guidance of the Living God.[2] In every country the tyranny of sacred books, as such, has become a curse. It is our duty to fight with it until it be utterly put down; and when it has been destroyed it will be seen that no combatant in this

[1] *New Bible Commentary Examined*, Part VI. p. vii.

[2] The Hebrew Scriptures, it is unnecessary to say, are one of the sacred books of the East. They belong, therefore, to a class; and it is a matter for regret that they have not been published and commented on, as such, in the series undertaken and edited by Professor Max Müller. The intention to include them in that series has been frustrated; and it is, perhaps, easy to guess at the influences which have served to bar the way. These efforts, successful for the present, may defeat the purposes of those who have made them. A very wide interval, no doubt, separates the Hebrew Books from those of the Veda or Avesta; but, if the interval be as wide as may be conceived, the differences can only be thrown out in stronger relief by the comparison from which these persons unreasonably shrink. It is only by full and diligent comparison that the true relations of the Hebrew Scriptures to all other sacred books can be determined. The truth is that all these books have in greater or less degree done good—have made men wiser, better, and happier; and among them the Hebrew Scriptures stand pre-eminent.

"internecine conflict" has fought with more devotion and love of truth than the Bishop of Natal.[1]

[1] It may be remarked that, in dealing with the momentous questions relating to the Book of Deuteronomy, great stress has been laid on the command that each king should make an autograph copy of the Book of the Law for his own constant perusal. See p. 298, *note* 1. Nothing more was needed; but perhaps the most important argument has been left unnoticed. Not only is each king to spend his time in constant study of his own copy; but once in every seven years, in the solemnity of the year of release, in the feast of tabernacles, when all Israel is come to appear before Jehovah Elohim, "thou shalt read this law before all Israel in their hearing." Men, women, children, the stranger in their gates, all are to be brought together that "they may hear and learn and observe to do all the words of this law." Deuteronomy xxxi. 9–13. And this was the book which Moses wrote at the Divine bidding, and was for the first time discovered about a millennium later, in the eighteenth year of the reign of King Josiah.

CHAPTER VI.

THE GOVERNMENT OF NATAL AND THE HLUBI TRIBE.

1873.

WHEN the Bishop of Natal returned to his diocese in 1865, he went back as a man branded by the anathemas of the parties which professed to form the "religious" public of England. He went back to fight a hard battle with those who wished to set up an independent ecclesiastical system under an irresponsible head; and on his side he had not merely the matured judgement of a few in the colony who had really thought upon the question, but the general feeling of the colonists. When he visited England for the last time nine years later, he returned to Natal an object of grievous suspicion and undisguised dislike to all who see the worst form of evil in what they stigmatize as political philanthropy. A certain part of the self-styled religious public had not forgiven him, and he had added to the number of his enemies by taking up what was called the cause of black savages. Some of the colonists who had approved his resistance to the Metropolitan of Southern Africa now maintained that he was betraying their best interests, and declared that in his eyes the rights and welfare of white men went for nothing in comparison with the foolish fondling of inferior races, impotent for good and powerful only for mischief. These critics, if by any stretching

of the term they may be so called, had discovered that the Bishop was a man born to give trouble; and troublesome men are for them men guilty of an unpardonable sin. Who was he that he should venture to judge the action and pass sentence on the policy of temporal Governments? Why, if the colony wished to be rid of some heathen chieftain, and if the course of events hurried this chieftain into captivity, should he presume to subject the motives, the words, and deeds of those who had brought about this issue to a stringent and searching scrutiny? Why should he insist that justice must be done to black and white alike? The plea might be true; but it was disagreeable to have it brought prominently forward, and to do so implied the grossest bad taste in a clergyman. Yet more, if he chose to take this course, why should he so obstinately persist in it? Why should he not make his protest, if he thought himself bound to make one, and then leave the matter for wiser heads and more long-sighted politicians to settle? Why should he dissect and condemn the policy of Government after Government? Why should he offend every English prejudice by speaking well of those who in English eyes could be only vile? Why should he say that English treatment of the native races of Southern Africa was little better than a tissue of mistakes, blunders, and crimes? Even now, when the Bishop's voice has been for four years silent, expressions of resentment may sometimes be heard when his strictures on the Zulu War are mentioned, and plain intimations are given that the patience of English readers may be too heavily taxed if the story is not cut short. It shall be cut short, so far as it may be practicable to do so. So long as justice was done and wrong redressed, the Bishop was the last man to desire that any stress should be laid upon his own share in the business. He would unquestionably have wished that his motives should be vindicated: he would have been untrue to his deepest convictions if he had not wished it;

and those who remain behind him are in their turn resolved that justice shall be done to him as fully as he strove that it should be done to Zulu chiefs and the meanest of their people.

Englishmen must listen to plain speaking not less than other men ; and they must bear to be told that to blame one man for utterances which they condone or applaud in others is unfair. The Bishop of Natal is not the only man who has severely condemned the action of the British Government in Southern Africa. The language of Mr. Froude is not a whit less scathing, and Mr. Froude speaks with the authority of one who knows something of the country, and who has acted there as an agent of the Imperial Government. His convictions have been laid repeatedly before the public. They have been stated from time to time in the pages of *Fraser's Magazine ;* they have been put forth again, as the final expression of his latest thought, in his volume on *Oceana.*

The Bishop of Natal has been charged with indiscreet zeal, at one time in palliating the misdeeds of the Boers, at another in exaggerating the good qualities of the native tribes, or in depreciating the dangers involved in their alleged or real turbulence, and still more in holding up to the reprobation of the world the underhand action of accredited English agents, the faithlessness of British Governments to their plighted engagements, and the deliberate falsehoods of English Governors. On each and all of these points it would be difficult for any one to use language more emphatic and more severe than that of Mr. Froude. His accusation against the working of British rule in Southern Africa resolves itself into little more than one long indictment for breach of faith caused by truckling to sections of public opinion in England.

In 1874, Mr. Froude himself travelled through Natal, the Free States, the diamond-fields, and the north of the Cape Colony. It was the year of the Bishop of Natal's last visit to

England, a visit arising out of a branch of the same series of evil-doings which had provoked Mr. Froude's indignation. It would have been well if, on this occasion, they could have met. It would have been well, also, if Mr. Froude had mentioned the Bishop's name as that of a fellow-worker in the righteous cause which both had at heart. Mr. Froude has, it seems, not thought it his duty to pay this tribute to his work, or to his memory; but he has at least set the seal of his approbation to the Bishop's motives and judgement.

The Bishop of Natal is further charged with something like factious opposition to many Governors. He is regarded as especially severe and especially unjust to Sir Bartle Frere. But to this officer Mr. Froude is at least as severe, and his condemnation is, of necessity perhaps, even more sweeping.

Mr. Froude's narrative traces the course of events to a time later by many months than the Bishop's death; but this circumstance serves only the more conclusively to show that he judges British policy and the conduct of British Governors in Southern Africa not less severely than the Bishop. If the judgement of Mr. Froude is in harmony with the best interests of Englishmen, then so also is that of the Bishop. An obvious difference between them is that Mr. Froude's verdict was based on the experience only of months, while the efforts of the Bishop were prompted by convictions acquired by the personal work and intercourse of half a life-time with both the white and the coloured population of the country.

Above all, there would be the further difference that the Bishop worked from the pure love of justice and truth, the justice and truth of the Living God—a motive to which Mr. Froude seems to attach but little importance, and almost to disclaim for himself personally.

In the whole series of the Bishop's letters relating to matters affecting the natives generally, and in particular to the cases

of Langalibalele and Cetshwayo, the characteristic which will probably most of all strike the reader is his absolute veracity. His good will to the natives none have questioned, and none can question ; but this very good will may be regarded as involving very subtle temptations to the exaggeration, if not to the falsification, of facts. On this point the Bishop's utterances may fearlessly be subjected to the most rigid scrutiny. If at any time or in any way he may have been tempted to over-colour his picture in favour of those who, on any showing, were undergoing the most unjust treatment at British hands, it is the more credit to him that he has so thoroughly resisted the inducement. It would be true to say that he never felt it. His letters display everywhere an equal readiness to do justice to all ; and, in examining the case of Langalibalele before and after the starting of the expedition for the Bushman's River Pass, he is careful to bring forward against Langalibalele all that he notices himself, or had heard from others, sifting of course the value of these reports to the best of his power, as he was bound to do. It is indeed a woeful tale ; and as we think of the horrors of the tragedy, and connect it with the iniquities of the diamond-fields, it is impossible to forget that the danger of which Sir B. Pine and his adherents affected to be afraid might have been met by the simplest of expedients. It was notorious that Langalibalele's men had done their work steadily and well in the diamond-fields, and they were intitled to their wages. The white diggers chose to offer them payment in rifles and ammunition, and the offer was accepted. All who were acquainted with the natives well knew that throughout the colony their young men of all tribes used fire-arms with boyish delight, and prized them accordingly. It might be prudent to check the general acquisition of guns, although there was every likelihood that the attempt to use them in warfare in place of the assegai would only prove an embarrass-

ment to the natives, quite apart from the inevitable difficulty of obtaining suitable, or any, ammunition. But the danger was hypothetical merely, and any theory of ulterior design on the part of the natives was not only uncalled for, but wholly discredited by subsequent events. There was no general law in the British colonies forbidding either the offer, or its acceptance. The real wrong lay elsewhere. These men, like others throughout the colony, had not gone to the fields of their own will, nor had they been sent by their chief. They had been taken up in parties by Natalians who wished to profit by the new enterprise; and, as late as November 1873, the Government of Griqualand West said that such of them as apply for passports to return seldom take arms with them unless returning under the protection of their masters. In Natal

> "no native can legally own a gun or other fire-arm until he has obtained the written permission of the Lieutenant-Governor, and the weapon has been duly registered."

The protection spoken of implied a pledge to aid them in getting this permission. They relied on receiving this aid, and they had good reason for so doing. According to the report of the Griqualand Government, 565 Zulus from Natal had been registered as servants at Kimberley from May 1 to October 31, 1873; and 615 between July 5 and November 18 at Du Toit's Pan. Most, or many, of these had been paid in guns; and the fact that some of their employers were Government officials seemed to sanction the supposition that the Government approved of this method of paying them; although, it is true, the Messrs. Shepstone stated publicly afterwards that they had striven to dissuade their men from buying the arms. Seeing that the guns so obtained could scarcely be confiscated wholesale, the Natal Government, in February 1872, and before the arrival of Sir B. Pine in the

colony, sent a circular to the magistrates, informing them that permission to hold the guns could be granted only "if the holders were favourably reported upon"; but in some instances guns produced or reported to the magistrate were not registered, and were not returned to the natives, who were thus robbed of their wages. It might be right in the Natal Government to insist on their surrender, but in this case they should have been bought at their fair value. Beyond this value the Government needed not to expend a shilling; and for this value, if they had no desire to keep them in Natal, they might sell them out of the colony, and recoup themselves for the outlay. To such a course the natives could have offered no objection; and if they had, they would have been in the wrong. But for a fair price the arms would, beyond doubt, have been surrendered, and all the misery and horror which ensued would have been avoided.

From this time to the end of his life a marked change is seen in the direction of the Bishop's energy. Thus far he had been fighting for freedom of thought in the search for facts on behalf of his fellow-countrymen; henceforth he was to be a champion striving to secure bare justice, if not mercy and forbearance, for the native tribes within and without the borders of Natal. In a letter to Mr. Froude, from which some extracts will hereafter be given, the Bishop says that he had with set purpose refrained for many years from anything which might be even considered as interference with the course of the civil Government. It was no longer possible for him to do so. He had hitherto received with implicit trust the accounts of native affairs given to him by Mr. Shepstone; he now found himself compelled to compare them with hints or utterances of the natives themselves, and to ascertain what measure of credence might be due to them. The year 1873 is thus, indeed, one of the most memorable years in his life; and in this year also he made an acquaint-

ance with Major Durnford, R.E., which rapidly ripened into the most intimate friendship of his later life.

The extracts which will be given from the Bishop's letters will tell in more full detail the story of the chief of the Ama-Hlubi, Langalibalele,[1] whose tribe, having crossed over into Natal[2] in 1848, had been placed in a "location" under the Drakensberg Mountains, with the charge of defending the colony from the raids of Bushmen—a charge which it is officially admitted they had always faithfully fulfilled. Like the other tribes, they were subject to the law forbidding them to have unregistered arms. We have seen the circumstances under which men from Langa's[3] and other neighbouring tribes had worked at the diamond-fields, and had been for many months returning home with their wages in arms instead of money. Langa's tribe was, however, singled out for failure in the registration of weapons, and the chief was summoned to Maritzburg to explain the fact. Such a summons had been issued twice only during the last twenty years; and in each case it had been followed by the outlawry of the chief and the eating up of his tribe. It turned out, however, that there was a further reason for the terror which led Langalibalele

[1] See Vol. I. p. 62.

[2] This was not the first settlement of the tribe in Natal. They had occupied the territory, along with other aboriginal tribes, until they were disturbed by Tshaka's (Chaka's) wars, which began to affect them about 1812. In his *Elementary Grammar of the Zulu Language*, third edition, p. 2, the Bishop says:—"At the present time (1882) the district of Natal is largely occupied by a very mixed population of native tribes. The majority of them are sprung from the aboriginal inhabitants, who either took refuge in the fastnesses of the country when the desolating wars of Tshaka's invasions rolled over the land, and have since emerged into the light of day; or had fled beyond his reach into the neighbouring districts, and returned to settle in their own abodes as soon as the Dutch Boers took possession of the land, before the proclamation of British supremacy." Mr. Froude was mistaken in thinking that the Zulus were invaders not known in Southern Africa before the last century.

[3] This will often be found in these pages as a shortened form of the name Langalibalele.

first into equivocation and then into disobedience, and that this reason was known to two at least of the Government authorities, although they had no idea that the secret would ever come out. The summons was repeated in more peremptory terms, and the chief, disheartened by this secret fear, became still more convinced that his life would be forfeited if he trusted himself to the hands of the English. He offered to pay a fine: the offer was refused. He then sent some mounted men to Maritzburg, with "a little bag of money all in gold, about as big as a man's hand," as an earnest of a larger sum to be paid hereafter.[1] The messengers returned to tell him that this offer also had been rejected, and that the Government force, with the Supreme Chief at its head, and accompanied by the Secretary for Native Affairs, was on their track. The scare was, in truth, mutual, if the Government feared, as they affected to fear, that Langa aimed at their destruction; but in spite of the alarm, real or feigned, at Maritzburg, one of Langa's most persistent opponents admitted that

> "throughout this affair perfect quiet and order have prevailed. Farmers living within a few miles of Langa's location have remained calmly at their homesteads." [2]

Langa's mind was made up; but it was made up to fly, not to rebel. The Bishop had been led to believe at first that there had been a plan for armed resistance; and this will throw light on some expressions in his letters.

Hurrying off in haste, Langa, on November 3, 1873, crossed the borders of the Natal colony, and was therefore according to Kafir law no longer under obedience to the Supreme Chief—

[1] Afterwards actually collected to fall a prey to the Basuto chief Molappo.

[2] *The Mail*, January 5, 1874. See the letter to Mr. Shaen, of December 14, 1873, below, p. 326.

i.e. to the Lieutenant-Governor. But a force of Natal volunteers and Basutos, under the command of Major Durnford, reached the Bushman's River Pass in time to come into collision, not with the main body of Langa's tribe, which had passed into Basutoland the day before, but with the men who followed with his cattle. These carbineers had never before seen active service, and many of them were mere lads. Ill-officered as they were, they were seized with panic, and began a movement in retreat, which tempted the Hlubi men to fire. Major Durnford, having vainly attempted to rally them, was brought off the field, severely wounded and fainting from loss of blood, by the Basutos who accompanied his force; and three out of the four volunteers who stood by Major Durnford when the others insisted on retiring, fell by the bullets of the Hlubis.

The death of these three young men called forth a general cry for vengeance; and an attempt was made to screen the carbineers by blaming Major Durnford for not allowing them to fire before they had lost their nerve. In fact, Major Durnford had strict orders "not to fire the first shot," and the three days' truce which had been announced had not yet expired.

"I do not see the papers," Major Durnford wrote to the Bishop, "but I am told that I am generally abused."

In his reply, November 17, the Bishop says,

"You have been and are abused in some of the journals, but not in all. I send you a copy of the *Colonist*,[1] which will show what some think of you; and I need hardly say that we and a great many others perfectly well understand what was the real cause of the failure at the Pass, and we do not conceal our thoughts when occasion offers."

[1] The *Natal Colonist* of November 14, 1873, speaking of "the foul and ungenerous aspersions cast upon Major Durnford," asserts emphatically "that for cool daring and manly endurance, for humanity and every quality which can adorn an Englishman and a gentleman on the field of battle, he is one of whom his countrymen may well feel proud."

In the letter which called forth these words Major Durnford had shown how deeply he felt the death of the three young volunteers. The state of the weather and of the land made it impossible to get at Langa's tribe, and he spoke of the delay as terrible.

"'I have my comrades to avenge, but in this weather I am helpless;" and again, "It is useless now to talk; all that remains is to bury the dead and avenge them."[1]

We need not say that Major Durnford had in his mind only a fair encounter with an enemy in an open field, and for the feeling so expressed the Bishop could make allowance. Not a few have thought and said that he would have made a first-rate lawyer; and his manifest military qualities led Major Durnford more than once to tell him that he was a born commander. But the very warmth of the friendship which the Bishop felt for this excellent and most conscientious officer impelled him to reply at once,

"There were one or two expressions in your letter which pained me, and I should not be a true friend if I did not say so. I mean those where you speak of taking vengeance for the dead. I am not a milk-and-water philanthropist who would have no blood whatever shed under *present* circumstances, though I should have rejoiced if, as on two former occasions, the chief and his tribe had been reduced and punished without it. But, where resistance is made to lawful authority, of course the consequences must follow. Still, I must confess it jarred upon my mind to find you, a brave soldier and an accomplished gentleman, talking like those whom I tried to teach on Sunday evening, November 9,[2] when I spoke of the three gallant youths who

[1] *A Soldier's Life and Work in South Africa:* A Memoir of the late Colonel A. W. Durnford, pp. 51, 52.

[2] The Bishop had said in this sermon:—"It must be a comfort to the parents and friends of those who have fallen . . . that they died as brave youths should die, in the discharge of duty. . . . And a bright ray of light

fell, that the memory of their example should silence the cry for vengeance, which the blessed dead would never desire. . . . As for Langalibalele's men, it is impossible to help admiring the bravery they have shown; and I should have thought that *you* above all men would have admired it also, and only been saddened at the thought that so many fine fellows must be killed, not for vengeance, but because they will fight on till they are dead. . . . I, we *all*, look to you to check, where it can be reasonably checked, the effusion of blood. God help us if men such as you will not interfere to stop the brutal acts of such men as ——, who wanted to kill nine prisoners in cold blood. Don't be angry with me because I have written as above. If I did not care for you and value your friendship, you may be sure I should not have done so."

The Bishop's next letter shows how thoroughly the two friends understood each other.

"I return you many thanks for your kind letter, and you may be sure that we have all here absolved you from the first from any desire to wage war on women and children and hunted men. Only your language—forced from you, it is plain, by the great agony through which you had to pass in seeing three brave fellows shot at your side—would have helped to swell the cry for 'vengeance,' which seems to me utterly out of place under present circumstances."

must be thrown upon the gloom which has settled down upon each household where the dearly loved face will be seen no more, by the fact that to the last they were good as they were true, and by their latest acts have left tender memories behind; . . . that one, when it was proposed to find for him a substitute, refused to be relieved from the duties he had undertaken; . . . that another on that terrible night went gallantly down the dangerous path which had been climbed with so much difficulty, to minister to the needs of his suffering chief, while the third discharged the same friendly office again and again, . . . and brought at last the friendly natives who bore him fainting and helpless to the summit. . . . Such examples as these are good for us all to think of. . . . Good above all to check the cry for vengeance, which the blessed dead would never desire. It is one thing to put down with a strong hand the rebellious chief and his main supporters, and another to massacre his helpless tribe."

It will be seen that both in his letters and in his sermon the Bishop was speaking under the impression that there was a purposed resistance to legal authority, that there was deliberate defiance, deliberate rebellion. Of the real grounds and motives which determined the action of the Hlubi chief, and which will be made clear in the sequel, he was wholly unaware. When at length he got an inkling of the facts, it was, and he saw it to be, nothing less than his duty to unearth them and bring them to light. But although at the moment he had no reason for condemning the expedition itself, he did condemn emphatically the brutal way in which it was carried out; and so did Major Durnford.

"There have been," the latter wrote, "sad sights—women and children butchered by *our* black allies [too often, unhappily, by the permission and encouragement of the white leaders, one of whom is reported to have told his men that he did not wish to see the faces of any prisoners], old men too. It was too bad. But when one employs savage against savage, what can one be astonished at? The burnt villages—dead women—it was all horrible. And the destitution of the women and children left is fearful. The women are all made slaves! What will England say? Thank God, no woman or child was killed by [the force under] my command, no old man either; but others have committed these atrocities, for which there is no defence to my mind."

Oppressed by the tidings of all these horrors and this deep distress, the Bishop felt that they must cause no less pain to the friend whom during the whole time which he had spent in Natal he had delighted to think of as his colleague. Immediately on Mr. Shepstone's return from this scene he hastened to offer him in person his sympathy in this great sorrow; but he was simply "confounded" on finding that it was not required or wished for. Mr. Shepstone justified the expedition. The Bishop felt that his confidence in his friend had undergone

a severe blow; it was to be submitted shortly to an ordeal still more severe. Still the trust of so many years was not to be easily shattered. Nor was he, as his letters will show, obliged to believe Mr. Shepstone primarily responsible for what had happened. Writing, December 2, 1873, to his young friend, Mr. Alfred Hughes,[1] and after giving a narrative of the events which have been already related, the Bishop adds:—

"I will now proceed to make some comments on the above, from my own point of view, which you and your friends will take as coming from a strong adherent of Mr. Shepstone, and one who believes that very serious consequences would follow from any rash interference with his policy, which has preserved peace and prosperity within our border for so many years, *in* a population of 17,000 whites and 300,000 natives, of whom the latter contribute in taxes, direct and indirect, upwards of £50,000 a year.[2] Still you know that I have always advocated, and so does Mr. Shepstone himself, the gradual transfer of his *personal* authority into the hands of other Government officers; and you know also that I have been long strongly of opinion that this could best be done by appointing him Lieutenant-Governor of the colony, when the transference could be made under his own authority without any loss of prestige."

To W. Shaen, Esq.

"Bishopstowe, *December* 14, 1873.

"It has just occurred to me that you are the Secretary of the Aborigines Protection Society, and, if so, you are the very

[1] See p. 243.

[2] It is scarcely necessary to say that this policy, as the Bishop conceived it, was to raise the natives gradually in civilisation, not suddenly imposing upon them laws and customs which they could not appreciate, nor harshly interfering with their own laws and institutions, but preserving and using what was good in them, and modifying or abolishing others by degrees. To this policy the Bishop adhered to the last.

person to see that a thorough Parliamentary inquiry is made into the recent proceedings in this colony with respect to the chief Langalibalele. . . . Our information is more or less liable to error, as it has to be drawn from letters published in the colonial papers, and private conversation with some who have taken part in the transactions. But I do hope that someone will be willing to *devote* himself to the work of getting the facts properly before the English public. If so, the first thing he will have to do will be to study carefully the issues of our four colonial journals—*Witness*, *Times*, *Mercury*, *Colonist*—since the beginning of the affair; and as we have not yet come to the end of it, the chief not having been yet caught, or even found, as far as we know, it may be that for some weeks to come they will have to be consulted. I assume, then, that I need not repeat here what will be found sufficiently detailed in those journals. What I wish to do is to enable you and your friends to read 'between the lines' of published letters and Government proclamations, and I shall do this from my own point of view, as one who has the strongest confidence in the good sense, judgement, statesmanship, and benevolence of Mr. Shepstone. . . .

"When Mr. Pine was here in 1850-54, he was very hostile to Mr. Shepstone, and the latter was comparatively young, and had to give way to his superior. But now Mr. Shepstone has the advantage of twenty years' more experience, and when Sir B. Pine landed I had hoped that he had learnt wisdom. . . . Gradually, however, he has fallen back into his old habits. . . . Mr. Shepstone is far too wise to contradict Sir B. Pine's measures when announced, and I suspect has had to *assent* to much which he would not himself have counselled, and it is certain that Sir B. Pine wrote a private letter to John Macfarlane lately, in respect of the conflict with the natives, to this effect, 'Go in and win; I'll take care that you shall *not* be interfered with again,' *i.e.* by Mr. Shepstone. It is this underhand work which I fear is going on, and I hope that the faults in the treatment of Langalibalele will be put upon the right

shoulders, however ingeniously Sir B. Pine may write his despatches, for which he has a special reputation. . . ."

After describing the Bushman's River Pass affair, the Bishop proceeds :—

"Then came the 'cry for vengeance,' 'because,' as Sir B. Pine said in his proclamation, 'of the three men basely murdered.' It was the same with the Boers and the Basutos. Every Boer killed was basely murdered ; but Basuto men and women might be killed and their homes ravaged, and they were only 'punished.' Sir B. Pine now let slip his dogs of war upon the defenceless remnant of the tribe. There was a regular system of bush-whacking and cave-smoking, of which you will see some accounts in the journals ; but doubtless not a fraction of the horrors committed will ever be published. Hundreds of men were killed—shot or assegaied—and hundreds of women and children were taken prisoners, and a proclamation announced that these were all to be distributed over the colony to white people who would apply for them as servants. I saw a number of them a day or two ago—mostly young women with little children ; some, babies born since the catastrophe. But something checked Sir B. Pine's movements in this respect—perhaps an indignant letter in one of our papers. At this moment they have been torn from their homes, and are held as prisoners, but are not yet assigned, and it is said that Sir B. Pine does not know what to do with them. They found the huts full of Kafir corn, so that a large body of natives and volunteers' horses ate as much as they liked and left heaps behind—so little was the tribe prepared for active *rebellion.* Sir B. Pine indeed calls it rebellion ; but what had the *tribe*, as a tribe, really done ? It was a very powerful tribe, and for weeks past had all the neighbouring farmers at its mercy, and some of the farmers fled away in panic with their wives and families, while others stayed quietly at home and were never molested. Not a single outrage was committed, either before or after the expedition started, on any farm ; not a horse or an ox was

stolen—so far as I know; and we surely should have heard if anything of the kind had been done. At the time the expedition left Maritzburg, I believe (on very good authority) that no overt act was known to have been committed by the chief which would have warranted such a movement against him. On the way, however, I believe they heard that the native messengers last sent by Mr. Shepstone with a final summons to him to come and report himself were ill-treated; but they were not *injured* or *killed*. What took place, I believe, was merely this. The chief had long dallied with them, pretending sickness, &c.; and when at last they insisted on seeing him, he ordered them to be searched outside his hut, lest they should have revolvers about them. For this purpose they were stripped, and some of the young men behaved rudely to them, touched them with their assegais, and *talked* about stabbing them,[1] but were checked and reproved by an induna; and all this, I believe (but I may be wrong), was done without the knowledge or approval of the chief. But suppose again the worst, and that by this act the chief deserved to be deprived, and, if caught, to be sent to Robben Island. I ask again what had the tribe done to be so frightfully treated? They have made no armed resistance whatever in their location —except individuals here and there in the bush or in a cave, who, like hunted rats, have turned to bay. They have not (as far as I know) in any single instance attacked us, except at the Pass, and there the temptation of seeing thirty-five Englishmen—well armed, each with breechloader, revolver, and (what the natives did not know) forty rounds of ammunition—turn their backs to them and run away must have been almost irresistible. But, as I have said, if they had rallied and gone back and decimated them, or shot down most of them, that would have been intelligible; but to hunt these poor wretches, and drag them out, and kill them! An officer of volunteers told me that he brought in one evening seven prisoners, having killed three, and Sir B. Pine wanted to have these shot in cold blood. They would be tried by

[1] These charges were all proved, as we shall see, to be mere lying.

himself and Mr. Shepstone; but better thoughts or better counsel prevailed. Putini's tribe was implicated by sheltering some of these unfortunates and some of Langalibalele's cattle; and so they have taken Putini's cattle (though the chief . . . is but a lad) to a very large amount, and some 5,000 are to be sold at auction next week. Two forces have been sent to hunt Langa beyond the colony, where he is supposed to be hiding among the mountains, in a savage district which scarcely a foot of civilised man has trodden, or even of savages, except Bushmen, and where multitudes of men, women, and children must perish from want, disease, and misery; but they have not yet found him. . . An Act of Indemnity is now being passed to cover all acts committed in putting down this 'rebellion' which Sir B. Pine may approve. Much was said at first about his having laid strict orders on Major Durnford 'not to fire first.' No doubt such an order was given, not (as his subsequent conduct showed) from any tender regard for the natives, but, I suspect, from fear of Exeter Hall. It seems to me to show that he had a misgiving that he had no right to fire upon the *natives leaving the colony*. . . The Zulus to the north-east possess any number of guns, and the Basutos to the north-west, and Adam Kok's people to the south-west. . . As a matter of prudence I believe that it would have been far better to let Langa and his tribe go, as many as chose to follow him, though probably many would have remained. He could not have settled down *close* upon our border, for there the region is wild and inhospitable; and he must have gone away to some considerable distance before he could have found a place to settle in, and even there he might have had to fight with other tribes. In order to make an inroad into this colony, he must have had to cross again this desolate country, far away from his supports and supplies, and leaving his women and children behind him; whereas now, by making prisoners of the latter, we have given him every incitement to revenge at any cost, if he is not caught or killed. In any case we must have a belt of faithful natives settled under the Drakensberg range of mountains, to serve

as a buffer between the white farmers and the Bushmen tribes, who have occasionally swept down upon that part of the colony and carried off herds and horses, and against whom hitherto Langalibalele's tribe was our barrier. But no! It was resolved that there must be a great military display. . . Sir B. Pine must win fresh glory, and Mr. Shepstone must be humbled, and responsible government inaugurated. And accordingly you will see what a cry was immediately raised against the 'Shepstonian policy,' as the cause of all this trouble; whereas never was a more striking proof given of the excellence of that policy than the fact that all our tribes have been perfectly quiet, and the Zulus and Basutos have refused help to the fugitive chief. It is really a triumph for Mr. Shepstone in spite of all his detractors."

It was thus that the Bishop wrote on December 14. Although at that time he did not see what was fully revealed to him afterwards, he perceived already some connexion between the destroying of the Hlubi tribe and the cry for responsible government, considered as a preliminary to confederation, though he did not then (and how could any Christian man?) foresee that this cruel "eating up" of Langa's people was but the prelude to the "eatings up" on a more terrific scale, now known conventionally as Kafir, Basuto, and Zulu Wars —all, as Mr. Froude says, "crimes and follies committed for the same shadow, confederation, which was no nearer than before."

"What right has Sir B. Pine to chase Langa and his people, as he is now doing, far outside the colonial frontier, in a wild district which no Europeans have ever trod, much less inhabited? Of course, he demands 'vengeance.' But has he not taken vengeance enough already in butchering hundreds, and making hundreds prisoners who were left behind in the colony? Had not Langa a right to say, 'The Zulus have guns, the Basutos, &c.; and, if you won't let me keep

them in Natal, I will go and live elsewhere?' Had we any right to prevent his leaving the colony? Where is the British boundary?—at the top of the Pass (suppose)?—but they were already at the top when the firing took place. . . . The question is an important one. Has not the whole idea of seizing Langa, . . . and inflicting condign vengeance on the tribe '*pour encourager les autres*,' been an utter mistake in point of justice as well as of policy? If he had been allowed to go off with as many as liked to follow him, there would have been an end of him and his insubordination; and if we had shown that we meant to deal kindly with those left behind, they would have come out from their hiding-places, and all this butchery would have been avoided, and no *bitterness* would have remained in the hearts of the tribe, to lead to future acts of retaliation."

On December 31, 1873, Langa was brought into Maritzburg, having been taken prisoner, without a shadow of resistance, with eight of his sons and some seventy-eight followers, by treachery arranged between the British Agent in Basutoland and one of the Basuto chiefs. He was at once placed in gaol, and kept there in solitary confinement until his trial ("to prevent his concocting a story"); the Lieutenant-Governor refusing to allow him to be defended by anyone, white or black, or even to be visited in gaol by anyone for the purpose of preparing his defence.

The colony had indeed, as the Bishop said, been "set on fire," and varied passions and interests combined to fan the flame, and presently to turn the full blast of it on the Bishop himself. He had defended Major Durnford, who was precluded by his position (as being both Colonial and Royal Engineer) from speaking out for himself; and this could not be done without bringing to light some unpalatable facts. He had publicly expressed his disapproval of the treatment of the two tribes, and his indignation at certain specially horrible incidents of slaughter, as described by colonists in the colonial

journals during what was officially called "the campaign," but was by one of these journals described as "hunting down the Kafirs like rabbits out of a warren." He had spoken thus in Natal, and had written thus in his letters to England. People there, and especially the Peace Society, not less shocked by the same horrible incidents, expressed their feelings in less measured terms, and laid the blame for the "atrocities" on the colonists in general. The inference was naturally drawn from the language of three out of the four Natal papers, which on their side adroitly declared the Bishop responsible for stirring up the excitement in England in favour of "a slippery, mischievous, and dangerous customer, disloyal to a very extreme degree," "who did his best to sink, burn, and destroy the country which had sheltered him," while at a public meeting in Durban the Bishop was said to have held up "the colonists" to the reprobation of the whole world and of Christendom.[1] At the time of this meeting the Bishop stood alone indeed; and even the editor of the *Natal Colonist*, honest and courageous as he was in supporting the truth when he recognised it, had not yet shaken off the notion that, whatever might be the wrongs of the tribe, the chief himself was "contumacious," and a political offender of no small magnitude.

To W. Shaen, Esq.

"Bishopstowe, *January* 14, 1874.

. . . "I have not a single correspondent in the papers to support me, or, if any have written, their letters have been suppressed. . . . For instance, one of my clergy, of Durban, writes me to-day saying:—'I had expressed sentiments very similar to yours about the "man in the cave" before your letters appeared in the *Witness*, but was so savagely set on for it from every quarter, that I made up my mind

[1] *Colonist*, April 7, 1874.

never to refer to it again. However, I should have written to the *Witness* on the subject after your letters came out, only I knew that the editor would call me a "paid partisan," &c. I have no doubt that your letters will at least have the good result of making the volunteers and others more careful for the future—but at a great sacrifice to yourself.'

"I learned yesterday, to my great surprise, that the Government really insist upon it as a proof of Langalibalele's 'rebellion,' and as a reason for so frightfully punishing his tribe, that they wanted to leave the colony without permission. In my simplicity I had supposed the blacks were free to leave as well as the whites. But it is not so. I find by Kafir law they cannot; that is, in Zululand they cannot. And when I observe that we have received thousands of refugees from Zululand, and still receive them, on condition that they are apprenticed for three years, I am told that we do not deal with the Zulus as a nation independent, and with equal rights, but as a dependent nation, the king being, as it were, a child of our Government, having been crowned by Mr. Shepstone. Therefore we receive *his* 'rebels,' but don't allow him to receive ours. It is true, natives who come here to work from Delagoa Bay and elsewhere, being *foreigners*, may go away as they like; but our own natives *must* stay, unless they get leave from our Government to go, and as a rule I understand they do receive such permission; therefore the people escaping by the Bushman's Pass were 'rebels' merely for running away, and might have been shot down as such. I confess I cannot see the justice of such a principle. But it is of importance to enable the Governor to prove that there was any 'rebellion' at all; and I feel certain that even this cannot be proved in the case of Putini's tribe. My full belief is that they have been most shamefully treated; and that by Sir B. Pine and his advisers, without the consent of Mr. Shepstone; but this is my conjecture from facts before me. . . . The preliminary examination in Langalibalele's case begins to-morrow. It is my firm belief that he cannot be *condemned to death* under native law—

according to the Ordinance No. 3 of 1849, under which the court will be held—though I think he will be sentenced to death, and his doom perhaps commuted to imprisonment and transportation. But these latter are unknown to 'native law.' A Zulu chief fines his subjects or kills them, but he has no gaol; he never imprisons or transports, though he may 'remove' them. I hope that this point will be well considered at the Colonial Office. Under colonial law he has committed no 'rebellion' or 'treason' whatever; but, of course, Cetshwayo[1] would assegai him at once, and all his headmen, and perhaps hundreds of his tribe, and carry off the women. But surely it was never intended that such practices as these should be carried out in a Christian civilised land; and I believe that the clause which I have quoted in the inclosed practically forbids it. Certainly this has been the mildest 'rebellion' that I think has ever been heard of, though *without any trial* it has been most cruelly punished. The fact is that the whole has been immensely exaggerated by the childish fears of some and the crooked policy of others, and *now* 'rebellion' *must* be proved in order to account for all that has been done in the matter."

When we remember that no armed resistance was attempted or offered to the Government of Natal, and that the whole controversy arose from the demand of that Government for the surrender of property acquired by honest and hard work in the diamond-fields, without proposing to pay one farthing to the poor people who were thus to be robbed, we may almost wonder at the moderation of the Bishop's comments. Some excuse may be pleaded for those who act under the overmastering passion of fear; but there is only too much reason to suspect that in some instances at least the passion was feigned in order to indulge feelings which seem to have for some Englishmen in new countries a strange fascination.

[1] This was the Cetshwayo of the official imagination. The Bishop did not yet know what the man really was.

The following is the inclosure referred to in the preceding letter:—

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "NATAL COLONIST."

"BISHOPSTOWE, *January* 12, 1874.

"'We have no pity to spare for the rebel chief, or his advisers, who well deserve the doom, whether of steel, lead, or cord, which they must undergo, but we tremble at the smallest act of injustice done to the innocent.'

"SIR,

"The above occurs in the *Times* leader of Wednesday, January 7; and, whoever wrote it, I do not hesitate to say that it is a sentence utterly unworthy of an Englishman, notwithstanding the mawkish sentiment expressed in the last clause. Here is a prisoner awaiting his trial, and about to be dealt with righteously and justly, as we trust, in a court of justice. And this writer takes upon himself beforehand the office of jury and judge, without any trial or even examination, and pronounces that the offender—not 'may have to undergo,' but—'must undergo' the doom of death, either by steel, lead, or cord. And the matter is of a much worse complexion if the writer is a member of the Government, and therefore a prosecutor in the case, who does not seem to care the least to hear what the prisoner may have to urge in extenuation of his offence; though most would consider it of importance to know what acts of 'rebellion,' properly so called—that is, of armed resistance to the Government—can be proved against him, and whether the degree of his 'rebellion,' if proved, has deserved that the extreme sentence of the law should be passed upon him. A hasty partisan may be ready to assume all this from mere rumour or private information; but the lover of justice will say, 'Doth our law judge any man before it hear him, and know what he doeth?'

"Suppose, for instance, it should appear . . . that Langalibalele was not near the Bushman's River Pass on the day of the affair there—that he was not two *hours* off, as two deserters are understood to have insinuated, but two *days*

off, as he and his body-guard assert? . . . In this case it would be certain that he did *not* communicate with his people at the Pass, nor order them to fire upon that occasion, as stated, and almost equally certain that he never gave such an order at all; for, if any such had been issued beforehand, it is difficult to see why the young men waited so long before they fired, or why their headmen were so zealous in restraining them. . . . But suppose it should further be proved that he had given his people strict orders beforehand *not* to fire on the white men, . . . that when the induna and native doctor, who were in command at the Pass, came up with him, he held a council to consider whether they should not be put to death for disobeying his orders, and that they pleaded that they had done all they could, and for a long while did restrain the young men, until, at the sight of the retreat, they could be held in no longer? All this may not be true; but it is, I understand, what the prisoner and his immediate followers assert; and it must obviously affect very materially the view which a just and righteous judge would take of his crime, whether the one account is true, or the other.

"It may suit the writer's temper of mind, or the native policy which he represents, to make short work of the case. . . . But Englishmen who are lovers of justice will take the above facts, if they can be proved on his behalf, into consideration, as well as those other facts—that he nowhere himself made any resistance; that none of his people did so in any force, but only in small numbers, when hunted or driven, or hiding themselves in bushes or caves; . . . and that for some weeks before the expeditionary force set out from Maritzburg . . . neither he nor his people, though armed with 'Enfields' and assegais, and having at his mercy the adjoining farms lying wholly unprotected, did the slightest injury to man, woman, or child—horse, ox, or sheep—homestead, stable, or barn. . . . And the character of the chief's 'rebellion' must affect materially the judgement to be formed as to the 'rebellious' conduct of the whole tribe (about 9,000 persons) which, however, has been

already most severely punished without any trial. . . . And the writer of the *Times* leader is one who trembles at the smallest act of injustice done to the innocent.

"No doubt Langalibalele has deserved punishment of some kind, very probably severe punishment—*e.g.* for his conduct towards the two native messengers last sent by the Government—and it is possible that he may be found to have entered also into some treasonable conspiracy with other chiefs. But all this will have to be proved.[1] Mere blustering words, without acts, . . . are hardly to be called 'rebellion,' and punished with death, except under the savage rule of Zululand.

"I assume that Langalibalele will be tried . . . under 'native law,' by which the facts could be more easily ascertained than in the ordinary course. But it is well known that some doubt has been felt as to the procedure to be adopted under Ordinance No. 3 of 1849, in cases of serious crime like the present. . . . This ordinance refers only to crimes committed by one native on another, except that, as regards offences against the Government, the fourth clause provides that the Lieutenant-Governor 'shall hold and enjoy, over all the chiefs and natives in this district, all the power and authority which, according to the laws, customs, and usages of the natives, are held and enjoyed by any supreme or paramount native chief, with full power to appoint or remove the subordinate chiefs or other authorities among them;' and the fact that nothing is said about any 'power to put them to death,' as a Zulu king might do in such cases, seems to exclude that power being exercised in this colony; so that a chief found guilty of 'rebellion' or 'treason' can be fined to any extent, or, as the phrase is, 'eaten up' or 'removed' by the Supreme Chief under native law, but can only be put to death in the ordinary course of justice.

"Yours, &c.,
"J. W. NATAL."

[1] What was proved in the end was the very reverse; but the Bishop had not, as we shall see, when he wrote this letter, the evidence which was brought out afterwards.

To this the Bishop adds, addressing Mr. Shaen :—

"It may, of course, be that facts may be proved at the trial which will more distinctly convict Langalibalele and his people of treasonable practices; but I have heard nothing as yet which leads me to think that any satisfactory evidence of the kind will be forthcoming. I have heard it said that he had made preparations for quitting the colony by leaving his women mostly behind with a few men to defend them! As if a few natives left to take care of a lot of helpless women and children could have been expected to resist the Government forces. I had here to-day a family of Langalibalele's people. . . . They came to beg me to try to get them *assigned* to myself, that they may live here, which, of course, I could not promise to do. . . . And alas! there are perhaps 150 more on my land in the same piteous condition. . . . Hundreds of Putini's men have been swept up as prisoners, who were staying quietly at home or even working under English masters. . . . It is horrible to find the colonists generally, at the lead of the three editors, yelling on the Governor to imagine that he has proved himself a great man, and done a splendid work in suppressing this 'rebellion.'"

CHAPTER VII.

TRIAL AND DEFENCE OF LANGALIBALELE.

1874.

WHEN right was to be done and wrong was to be redressed, it might with truth be said that toil and trouble were by the Bishop counted as nothing. He had spoken and written fearlessly when he had to deal with the Hebrew Scriptures; he was not less outspoken when he had to deal with injustice in the treatment of natives by the Government or the colonists of Natal. He was literally never weary in well-doing. There are many who will denounce ill-doing and enter vehement protests against it; but there are not many who will give up time and care and rest in their resolution to see that the poor and needy have right. Nothing could be so fatal to the welfare of the colony as the spreading of suspicion and mistrust among the natives; and the Bishop thought that he saw only too plainly the signs of this plague, and determined to do what he could to arrest it. It was only with reluctance and under great pressure that the Lieutenant-Governor, as Supreme Chief, made up his mind to allow counsel to speak for Langalibalele; but no sooner had he announced his intention than the Bishop began to prepare a defence for the prisoner, "wishing," as he says, "to lend what help I could to such an advocate, as I saw that he would be allowed very little time for preparation"—in other words, that fresh wrong would be committed.

When a few days before the trial the Bishop expressed his intention of being present at it, Mr. Shepstone had dissuaded him on the ground that the proceedings at the preliminary examination would have little interest or importance. This examination was held on Wednesday, January 15, 1874; but on opening the newspaper on Saturday the Bishop saw to his consternation a full account of "the first day of *the trial*," held the day before, which therefore he had no chance of attending. The second day, too, was half over. Mr. Shepstone, it would almost seem, had not intended that he should be present.

> "I was shocked," the Bishop says, "as an Englishman, by the monstrously unfair way in which the prisoner was being tried; but I had no suspicion as yet of anything worse than this."

The court of first instance during these two days consisted of the Lieutenant-Governor and the seven members of the Executive Council, who, as the Bishop said to Mr. Shepstone on his usual Sunday visit at his house, would form the Court of Appeal provided for in such cases. The Bishop again protested against the prisoner's being left undefended; and Sir B. Pine on this point gave way, "much," he said, "against his better judgement." This declaration was made on the third day of the trial; and three days were allowed to pass before the fourth session on January 23.

One advocate, Mr. Escombe,[1] declined to undertake the office of counsel for the prisoner, on the plea that the restrictions laid on him would make the proper discharge of his duty impossible; and Mr. Moodie, a brother-in-law of Dean Green, whose help Langalibalele wished to have, was not allowed

[1] Lord Carnarvon wrote to Sir B. Pine, "I am aware that you refused to permit the employment of Mr. Escombe as counsel because he declined to confine himself to cross-examination and the statement of points of law." C. 1121, p. 89.

access to him, although a resident magistrate, brother of the Secretary for Native Affairs, had been employed for many days in getting up the case for the prosecution; and because Mr. Escombe had declined, Sir B. Pine announced that he "had made up his mind that it would not be desirable to allow or ask any one else to say anything or act for the prisoner."

In fact, the pretence of assigning counsel for the prisoner was a transparent sham. The Bishop says:—

> "Under these circumstances, I have felt it to be a duty which I owe to the unfortunate prisoner, whom I believe to have been unfairly treated in this 'Trial,' to complete this defence, with some additions bringing down the history of the case to the latest date, in the hope that he may obtain that justice from Her Majesty in England, which, as it appears to me, has been refused to him in Natal."

There is something very impressive in this picture of the Bishop, working incessantly through the three days' interval, in the preparation of this defence, struggling all the while against an attack of jaundice which showed how strongly the horror which he felt at the wrong being done under his very eyes was reacting on his bodily powers. But this defence was never used as such, and was never addressed to any court in Natal, though it was laid before Lord Carnarvon by his brother-in-law, Mr. Bunyon, and by Lord Carnarvon returned for Sir B. Pine's and Mr. Shepstone's comments.

It was the contention of the Lieutenant-Governor that, as Supreme Chief, he might not only have refused Langalibalele all aid of counsel, but might have regarded his acts as proved without further trial, and have put him to death accordingly. The Bishop denied that Kafir law would, as it was pretended, justify such a course.

> "On the prisoner's behalf I protest against," he said, "and utterly repudiate, as inhuman and unjust, the notion that

he could have been condemned without a trial, or that he must accept the present trial as a favour from the Government."

It was a mistake to suppose that Kafir law left the prisoner generally without defence. His tribesmen, as a body, were his counsel, and all gathered round him with full right of speech. It was true that a Zulu chief might override law or custom; but Englishmen and Christians could scarcely with decency claim the same licence for themselves, and there was something utterly un-English and un-Christian in the mode adopted for dealing with the present case, a mode which was in accordance with neither English nor Kafir law. Not a few insisted that the only question before the court was, not the ascertaining of his innocence or his guilt, but, the determining the measure of the punishment to be still inflicted upon him. The Bishop retorted that his guilt had not been satisfactorily proved, and that, whatever his offence may have been, he had been more than amply punished already.

"The chief," he indignantly asserts, "has been deposed by proclamation, his tribe ravaged, hundreds of men killed and many hundreds more imprisoned, many women and children killed, and thousands taken captive, and announced in the *Gazette* as doomed to three years of forced servitude, his kraals all burnt, his family dispersed, his goats and oxen and horses, as many as could be seized, confiscated and sold by the Government—and all by the simple word of the Supreme Chief, without any trial, without any inquiry whether the facts had been correctly reported. . . . If this court is merely summoned to consider whether he has been already *justly* punished, and, in case the evidence is deemed sufficient, decides to confirm the judgement already pronounced and executed by the single fiat of the Supreme Chief, I have nothing more to say on this point. But he cannot be fined to a greater extent when he has lost all,

and been deprived of his land, his power, his people, and his property, and he stands a desolate, ruined, sorrow-stricken man, stripped to the very rags he wears, and by much hardship (dragged as he has been, mostly on horse-back, handcuffed all the way, 250 miles, from Basutoland to Natal, and here imprisoned in a solitary cell) reduced to utter wretchedness. If, under these circumstances, the court overrules my objection, and decides to consider what further punishment should be inflicted on him, I protest on his behalf against such a proceeding, and appeal to Her Gracious Majesty the Queen against the acts of her representative in Natal."

But the constitution of the court was such as would never be allowed in England. Two of its principal members had lost a near relative in the affair of the Bushman's River Pass. The whole body of the executive, who, with the Governor, sat as members of the court, were committed to a foregone issue; the natives were mere helpless tools, of course.[1] They must pronounce the prisoner guilty of open rebellion, if they would justify the measures already carried out against the people of his tribe and the adjoining and kindred tribe of Putini. The same charge of prejudice might be urged against the six natives included in the court. In short, under such circumstances, justice for a prisoner could not be looked for[2]; and certainly thus far he had been treated with scant pity. For weeks and

[1] Later on, it became clear to the Bishop that Mr. Shepstone had been practically the judge in this trial.

[2] On the fifth day of the "Trial" (February 4), when the lies of the principal witness for the prosecution had, by the exertions of the Bishop, been fully exposed in the office of the Secretary for Native Affairs, to himself and his body of chiefs and indunas, the following is reported to have taken place in court:—"The Supreme Chief mentioned that evidence had been taken elsewhere which would throw some doubt on the statement of Mawiza with regard to the stripping. The other members of the court, however, thought it was clearly proved that the messenger of the Supreme Chief had been insulted, and that it was unnecessary [*sic*] to reopen the question."—*Natal Witness.*

weeks he had, for all the purposes of his defence, been kept in solitary confinement, which in England is regarded as one of the most trying punishments to which any prisoner can be subjected after conviction, and this had been done (so Mr. Shepstone stated) on the ground that if he could speak with any one, the result might be the concoction of a false tale,[1]

> "as if, supposing that one of his sons had been allowed to share his cell, any false tale contrived between them would not have been at once exposed by its contradicting the statements of the rest. Incredible as it may appear, it is literally true, that in a civilized and Christian land, under English government, in this nineteenth century, a prisoner was tried and judged on a capital charge without having had the slightest chance afforded him of finding witnesses for his defence."

But nevertheless, that which he could not do for himself another had succeeded in doing for him.

> I am glad to say that by a mere accident—if I should not rather call it providence—I am able to produce such evidence, of which the prisoner himself knows nothing, and which will probably take the members of the court by surprise as much as himself."

Langalibalele was charged with rebellion aggravated by gross insolence and contumacy. The insult was shown, it was said, by his stripping naked the Government officials sent to arrest him. The evidence of Mawiza's companions proved that he had done nothing of the sort. He had made them take off their outer garments for the sole purpose of ascertaining whether they had any arms hidden about them; and his reason for doing this turned out to be fear of a stratagem like that by which Mr. J. Shepstone had attempted to effect

[1] One result of these regulations was that Mr. Advocate J. B. Moodie, an old acquaintance, and one thoroughly familiar with the Zulu language, applied formally for leave to see him, and was refused permission.

the arrest of Matshana. When and how that incident took place, and how fruitful it had been of deeply-rooted suspicion and wide-spread distrust, we shall see in the sequel. The effects produced by this secret apprehension on the conduct of Langalibalele we have seen already.[1] The fact was that he had no definite knowledge of the charge on which he was summoned. If it had reference to the guns brought from the diamond-fields, it was not in his tribe only that arms of precision were to be found. It was a venial offence under the circumstances; but it was contrary to the law, nevertheless, and the resident magistrate would have been justified in calling on Langalibalele to send in these arms for registration, *provided that he did the same with all the other tribes under his*

[1] See p. 321. In a volume entitled *Langalibalele and the Ama-Hlubi tribe*, to be noticed more fully later on, published eventually by Lord Carnarvon's orders as an Imperial Blue-book, C. 1141, as the justification of the Colonial Secretary for recalling Sir B. Pine, and *professedly* upsetting his acts, the Bishop admits (p. 51) that the chief sent a false message in answer to the summons to Maritzburg. He declared that he had set out and advanced twenty miles on his journey when pains in a wounded limb obliged him to return. But the Bishop adds that on his behalf it should be remembered that he lived in an extreme corner of the colony, and had little personal knowledge of the Secretary for Native Affairs; that his brother had been summoned to Zululand and immediately killed (by the Zulu chiefs, in early days) and that he feared he himself would be treated in the same way; and, finally, that he knew such summons to chiefs to be extremely rare (see p. 320). Mawiza's tale was, however, not confined to the falsehood about his being "stripped." He said that he had been prodded with assegais. He dropped, in court, this more sensational part of the story. But the alleged insult was reported to Downing Street by Mr. Shepstone (p. 73); and the Bishop remarks—"If there is one thing more than another which excited (very justly) the indignation of the colonists—of myself, at one time, among the rest—it was just this supposed outrage;" and "from the moment it was believed that he had treated the messengers with such indignity, the cry was raised very naturally that he must be dealt with very sharply and summarily" (p. 75). The story was proved and confessed to be false; and it was abundantly established that, with the one exception of the two messengers being required "as a matter of precaution caused by fear," to take off their outer garments before entering the chief's hut, they were treated, during a week or ten days of good living, with all due respect.

control as magistrate. This was not done, while at the same time language was used which filled the chief with vague and wild alarm. He was told that "if he persisted in refusing to come down, the tribe would cease to exist." It is not wonderful that he should give expression only to his perplexity and dismay. "I am afraid." "I cannot go." "What is really the charge against me?" "I am afraid to go, and you can tell the Governor I won't come." Both he and his people were, in truth, panic-stricken. Fear on both sides was producing its deadly crop; but "so far was he," says his advocate, "from bidding defiance," that, while the Government messengers were waiting to be summoned to his presence, "he had sent indunas expressing his willingness to pay any amount of fine that might be laid upon him; and if only this submission had been accepted, and such a fine inflicted as the case, when calmly considered, seemed to deserve—*e.g.* enough to cover all expenses incurred by the Government up to that time—how much misery and bloodshed, with all their train of future vengeances, might have been spared." The terrified exodus of his people began on November 2, 1873, the fourth day after that on which the chief received the message through Mawiza; and to this woeful plight his tribe was now reduced after a quarter of a century spent on the soil where they had been permitted to live on condition of repelling the inroads of Bushmen. The duty had been faithfully done so long as there were any such inroads; but all fear of them had now long since passed away, and it was a refinement of cruelty to charge it to the tribe as an offence that they had treacherously "abandoned that position and those duties."

The truth seems to be that no allowance whatever was made for the position and the difficulties of Langalibalele. According to Kafir law, the leaving of a location was no act of rebellion, and even the *sentence* declared:—

> "It cannot be too clearly understood that any tribe in this colony is at liberty to remove itself and its cattle out of our jurisdiction, if it does so peaceably and with the cognisance and previous consent of the authorities."

This was, in truth, a mere evasion of the question. Langalibalele went without this consent, but he did not know that, if asked for, it would be given. His conviction was that it would not.

> "If only he had been told," the Bishop remarks, "that he was at perfect liberty to remove himself and his cattle, he would, no doubt, have gladly hailed the announcement as the solution of all his difficulties."

Even thus he would have been making an enormous sacrifice. A non-official record of the trial of the sons of the chief and of 221 members of his tribe was published in the form of a Blue-book, but without the Royal arms, and bearing the names of Messrs. Keith and Co. as publishers. To this work (published manifestly under the same authority as the Blue-book record of the trial of Langalibalele, though not openly avowed) was prefixed an introduction, bearing the signature "Keith and Co." This paper the Bishop considered an extraordinary document to be prefixed to an official record.

> "It is thought," he said, "to exhibit in many places strong signs of an official pen. . . . It does certainly seem somewhat strange that 'Messrs. Keith and Co.' should have taken such a deep interest in Langalibalele's affairs, and should be acquainted with so many facts which have not been mentioned at all in the evidence, and some of which, one might imagine, could only have been known to official persons."

So put forth, the narrative could not fail to be regarded generally as both authoritative and trustworthy. The Bishop examined the whole document most completely in his Blue-

book. But even this document allows how much Langalibalele had to give up, when he made up his mind to leave the colony. He had some 200,000 acres of the

> "finest arable land; his lowlands are described as very fertile; the grazing land was also superior, and cattle thrived remarkably well. The slopes of the Drakensberg, which bounded the location, were habitable to the very base of the mountains."

The incidents at the Bushman's River Pass have been described in the letters already given;[1] and these all make it abundantly clear that Langalibalele never so much as dreamt of offering any resistance. For weeks before his flight "the neighbouring farms were entirely at the mercy of himself and his people," and yet not a single outrage of any kind was committed.

From the above may be gathered, in substance, the defence offered for this unfortunate and most hardly-treated chief, to whom an appeal from the sentence[2] of the court was, in the first instance, denied, in spite of the Ordinance, No. 3, 1849. On March 1, 1874, the Bishop began an appeal, of which he had warned Mr. Shepstone, by presenting a petition in the name of two old men of the Hlubi tribe, praying that such a re-hearing might be allowed to their chief. The old men were thereupon summoned by the Secretary for Native Affairs, and came back in a state of great alarm, saying that he had severely questioned them as to their presumption in venturing to ask that the case of their chief should be heard over again; and that the indunas of the Native Affairs Office had told them that what they had done was equivalent to going to law with the Supreme Chief and with Mr. Shepstone, and that they would be put in prison. They were then "under surveillance," "awaiting trial," and the more aged of the two was,

[1] See pp. 322-31.

[2] Death, commuted—to native eyes, aggravated—into transportation for life.

on March 31, sentenced to two years' imprisonment with hard labour (!!) for

"removing, or assisting to remove, the cattle of the tribe, without the sanction and in defiance of the authority of the Supreme Chief."[1]

On March 13, no answer had been received; and the Bishop wrote to ask the purpose of the Governor in the matter. The answer received through Mr. Shepstone was that when the petitioners were asked to state the grounds of their request, they repudiated any intention of urging the request which they had signed. The Bishop replied that this was explained by the fact that they had been intimidated by some indunas, who told them that, having gone to law with the Supreme Chief, they would certainly be put in prison; and he requested that, if this explanation was not received, a copy of the petition and of the correspondence which had taken place in connexion with it should be forwarded immediately to the

[1] He and one other, through the Bishop's exertions, were released on May 24, and told to go (six miles) to Bishopstowe. They were both aged and infirm, and through their imprisonment—one, Mhlaba, for two, the other, Umnyengeza, for three months—still more enfeebled for walking. A waggon would, therefore, have been sent to fetch them if the day and hour of their release had been notified beforehand. "The one," writes Miss Colenso, "soon broke down, to be picked up and brought out stiff with exposure on a bitterly cold evening, in the Bishop's little carriage; the other poor old petitioner, half-blind, had wandered out of the way, and was not seen again, though we hunted for days far and near (Mr. La Touche helped), till, on June 25, his remains were found charred by a grass fire, three or four miles from Bishopstowe, but only a short distance from the place where his old wife was 'under surveillance.'" He may have been trying to make his way to her; but it seems more likely that he took a wrong path, and went on till he fell and perished of hunger, cold, and fatigue. So died this poor old man, a headman of some note in his tribe, but surely innocent of any "crime" against the Government. "At this moment," writes the Bishop on June 30, "there are a number of other aged 'rebels' who have been detained as prisoners for the last six months, and who would probably, if their cases were carefully inquired into, be found to be as innocent of any real crime as Umnyengeza."

Secretary of State. The Governor at first affected to feel great indignation "at the very grave imputations" which the Bishop had cast upon the honour of the Secretary for Native Affairs and other officers "of having by intimidation attempted to impede the course of justice." The Bishop was not to be thus influenced or put down. He denied that he had brought any charge against any European officers of Government, and maintained that he felt bound to mention the fact of intimidation by the indunas, inasmuch as failure to do so would involve an imputation on his own honour that he had forwarded a frivolous and fictitious petition, signed by persons who either did not understand, or did not really mean, what they were doing. His firmness drew forth a request that he would place a plain and concise written statement before the Executive Council, containing the grounds on which he considered the sentence objectionable. In order to do this, he replied that it would be needful for him to have access to the prisoner.

Nor was this the end of the unseemly procedure of the Government. On the 2nd of May, it was announced in the *Natal Times* that Langalibalele had been sent down to Durban heavily manacled; and on the same day the Bishop wrote again to press his request for access to the prisoner. Mr. Shepstone replied by saying that it had been found absolutely necessary to remove both Langalibalele and his son Malambule to Durban, but that as the Bishop had mentioned that he should shortly be himself obliged to go to Durban, it was supposed that no inconvenience would be caused to him by this removal. Some inconvenience and difficulty it could not fail to cause him; but, passing this by, the Bishop merely asked that the extra expense to which he might thus be put should receive the consideration of the Governor, who had expressed himself as "perfectly confident that the Bishop's sole object in this matter was to further the ends of justice."

The following letter from the Bishop to the Secretary for

Native Affairs exhibits the spirit in which his patient efforts for the barest justice were met.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *June* 12, 1874.

"SIR,

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of June 10, with a list inclosed of guns registered for members of the Hlubi tribe, for which I am much obliged.

"You ask when I shall be prepared to go on with the appeal on behalf of Langalibalele, as the delay is causing inconvenience. The delay in question is, of course, to be regretted on all accounts; but it is one for which I am not myself responsible.

"The first petition in the matter was presented on March 1, and more than five weeks elapsed before permission to appeal was granted (April 9); and then my request to be allowed to see the prisoner with a view to preparing the appeal, first made on April 16, was not granted till a month afterwards (May 16), at which time the prisoner had been removed to Durban (May 1), which involved a delay of ten days more. Moreover, the permission to inspect Mr. Perrin's register, asked for at the same date (April 16), reached me only yesterday, and I purpose to avail myself of it to-day. Also you inform me that you are unable to supply me with the date of Mr. Macfarlane's first reporting to yourself the prisoner's conduct in respect of the guns, which is a point of considerable importance in judging of the extent of the contumacy originally charged against him by Mr. Macfarlane.

"Under these circumstances I have been much hindered and inconvenienced in the work of preparing the appeal, having had to expend much time in endeavouring, by a laborious comparison of the evidence, to arrive with some degree of confidence at the facts, which an interview with the prisoner himself, the inspection of Mr. Perrin's register, or the supply of certain dates from the records in your office, would have enabled me to ascertain at once.

"I trust, however, to be prepared to lay the written appeal, as

desired, before his Excellency and the Executive Council, about the end of next week or the beginning of the week following

"I have, &c.,
"J. W. NATAL."

Again, when on June 24 the Government received the written appeal, and consented for the first time to allow counsel to appear, they required that he should do so on the 26th, in two days' time, and the Bishop had another inch-by-inch struggle, before, on July 4, he secured to Mr. Goodricke the very moderate extension of time, for preparation, to July 8 and "a fee of 120 guineas and expenses." But *no other* expenses were paid, and besides the inconvenience and difficulty to the Bishop there was the positive and inevitable injury to the appeal, as meanwhile the Bishop had to do the best he could with the information obtained during his four or five days in Durban, where he had to preach twice on the Sunday, ordain a clergyman, and consecrate a little outlying church.

"Perhaps," writes his eldest daughter, "the chief good of the appeal lay in the drop of comfort given and received at these interviews in the Durban Gaol, from which, it being cold weather, the Bishop came home without his greatcoat, which was shown as a most valuable possession by the poor old chief, to a visitor at the Cape, a year or two afterwards, with the remark, 'It was his own; he actually stripped himself for me.'"

On July 13, the judgement of the Executive Council was delivered, in which important points raised in the arguments of Messrs. Goodricke and Moodie were entirely ignored, and the Bishop's written appeal was taken piece by piece and set aside :—

"The court, in short," writes the Bishop, "took advantage of

the fact that no answer was vouchsafed to the request, in my letter of May 5, for some small aid from the confiscated property of the chief towards obtaining legal assistance in preparing the appeal; and confining itself to this document—which was in consequence drawn up by myself upon the narrow basis afforded by the record of *ex parte* evidence at the trial, produced by the Crown, examined for the Crown, and not cross-examined for the prisoner—it excluded the able arguments of the two gentlemen hurriedly employed at the last, whose presence under the circumstances might however have been dispensed with, and whose advocacy was so much wasted breath."

The Bishop's examination of this judgement may be read in the Imperial Blue-book already referred to [C. 1141]. In the arguments used against him will be found, by anyone who will take the trouble to peruse that document, evidence of unfitness to discharge judicial functions in the name of the Queen of England as glaring as any that is to be discovered in history.

The opinions expressed in some quarters in England in reference to these incidents were not likely to be acceptable to some among the colonists in Natal. A meeting convened in Durban

"reprobated in the strongest manner possible the action of Dr. Colenso, Bishop of Natal, in interposing as he has done between the Colonial Government and the natives, by mischievously maligning the colonists, distorting facts, and misrepresenting the trial of Langalibalele as unfair and illegal—conduct unworthy of his lordship's high position and calling, and calculated in an eminent degree to rouse bad feeling, to foster rebellion, and to endanger the future peace and well-being of the colony."

In this temper they recorded a vehement protest against some utterances of the Peace Society in England, and in this temper they sent a memorial to the Secretary of State.

The conduct of the Christian ministers of Natal at this time cannot be passed over without notice. Upon Bishop Colenso's "interference" in political matters affecting the people of Natal and Zululand, his country will hereafter look back with unreserved pride and thankfulness. Had he, however, felt his mouth closed, and his hand restrained, by some imperative rule demanding that, in the interests of orderly government, there should be in no case any interference by a clergyman with the "responsible authorities" in the colony, he might still have exercised, though less prominently, an influence for good. But, in determining to raise his voice in public, he could not, without treason to his deepest convictions of duty, have ranged himself on the side of a powerful Government, with the whole colony at its back, against a most helpless and miserable captive. Yet this is what "nearly all the clergy of Natal" did. Their names are to be found enrolled in Blue-book C. 1119, in which they affirm, "as a counter-statement" to that of the Peace Society,

> "that, being well acquainted with the rebellion of Langalibalele and the campaign which followed, we feel and affirm that the action of the Natal Government was throughout humane, lenient, just, and urgently necessary."

This manifesto was composed for publication in the London *Times*, in which it duly appeared. It was signed by seventy-four gentlemen, who styled themselves "ministers of the Gospel." Of these, only two were clergy of the Church of England, one of these being an aged clergyman hardly responsible for his acts, who added after his name the words, "as far as I know." The eager zeal with which many among them approved the memorial is very striking. One writes, "I long to append my name to it"; several that the Government had, in their view, been "too lenient"; and one that it had been "much too lenient"; while another said that he had

read the account of the trial, and had been "satisfied that it was *complete, just*, and *right*."

It is due to the Church of England in Natal that the following letter, transmitting the ministers' memorial to the Government, should be given here. Writing to the Colonial Secretary of Natal, the Rev. W. H. Mann said :—

"I have the honour to forward to you, for the perusal of His Excellency in Council, the accompanying memorial from seventy-four Christian ministers in Natal. . . . His Excellency will observe that this document, in expressing warm approval of the policy lately pursued with reference to the rebel chief Langalibalele, at least indirectly protests against the attempt that is being made to set aside the sentence of the rebel. I wish also to direct His Excellency's attention to the very large proportion of the Christian ministers in this colony who have signed this protest, and also to point out that (with the exception of two or three whose positions have made them diffident about signing) the few who have not done so nearly all comprise the clergy of the Bishop of Natal."

The appeal made by the Bishop produced, it is clear, a deep impression. The tide of popular opinion was again turning in his favour. The *Natal Colonist* had begun to speak of

"the illegality and arbitrary character of the whole proceedings."

The *Witness* declared that

"the rebel chief had been tried before a new court created for the purpose and by a law and under a form of procedure wholly new to Natal."

The Cape *Standard and Mail* held it "monstrous"

"to accuse a man like Dr. Colenso of maliciously maligning the colonists of Natal. . . . No one who knows anything of his character will believe in such an accusation. . . .

When they charge him with *misrepresenting* the trial of Langalibalele as unfair and illegal, we are entirely at issue with them, and thoroughly agree with the Bishop's view."

Later on the same paper, having come to understand the matter more clearly, spoke of the Natal authorities as having thrown discredit on a righteous cause by the blunder they committed in trying this rebel chief not even by Kafir law, and certainly not by English law, but by a mongrel mixture of the two. The true conclusion was not yet reached. The cause of the prosecution was not a righteous one, and the prisoner was a guiltless man. The offence which he had given arose from a well-grounded fear of treachery, which explained his conduct at every step. At the trial all reference to the cause of this fear was smothered as an aggravation of the offence, and the key to the whole problem was kept resolutely out of sight. Five months later Mr. Goodricke applied formally to the Court of Appeal[1]

"that additional evidence might be taken which would explain the ground of the fear that led to Mawiza's being made to take off his coat. The Lieutenant-Governor admitted that the court had power to hear such additional evidence, and the room was cleared to consider the application. On the doors being re-opened, the Lieutenant-Governor informed the advocate that the court had decided unanimously to reject the application. It will scarcely be believed that in the final judgement this matter is disposed of by saying, 'there is no evidence before the court upon the point in question.'"

In disregard of the advice of the Secretary of State, and in spite of an application to the Supreme Court for an interdict to prevent the Lieutenant-Governor transporting the prisoner to Robben Island, the measure was carried out. When on

[1] *i.e.* the Executive Council.

his way to England, the Bishop applied at Capetown for leave to visit him. This application was refused on the ground that the Bishop should have obtained leave first from the Governor of Natal. Protesting against the impediment thus placed

"in the way of a prisoner approaching the Crown with an appeal for justice and mercy at the hands of his Sovereign, which, as he believes, has been denied to him by her representatives in South Africa,"

the Bishop requested that a copy of the correspondence which had passed on the subject should be forwarded to the Secretary of State. This request also was refused, and the Bishop was left to do as best he could by his own personal representations after reaching England.

TO TH. SHEPSTONE, ESQ.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *January* 24, 1874.

"I have read the report in the *Times* to-day of yesterday's proceedings, and it is my conviction that Mawiza is a scoundrel, and has deliberately lied to the court, and is utterly unworthy of credit in his description of the treatment he has received from Langalibalele and his people. He has *viciously coloured* the whole of his story, for what reason and with what object in view I know not; but I well remember Offy[1] telling me that he was one of the greatest scoundrels in the colony, and I now fully believe it. I will bring to-morrow the written evidence of four witnesses, including two of Mawiza's men, which will, I think, satisfy you of this."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *January* 28, 1874.

"... I have slept, or rather I have been awake, over yesterday's proceedings, and I retain deliberately the conviction which I expressed to you of the dishonesty of

[1] Mr. Shepstone's son Theophilus.

Mawiza's evidence, which seems to me to make him utterly unworthy of the confidence of the Government. . . ."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *February* 15, 1874.

"Colonel Durnford has asked me to luncheon to-day. So please not to expect me after church.[1] But indeed I could not have gone up while this affair is going on. The more I read of the evidence, the more deeply I feel that there is no justification for the course taken with Langalibalele. Of course you think otherwise; but it does not lessen my grief that such a difference on such a point should exist between us, and I cannot at present see my way out of the difficulty.

"Ever yours affectionately,

"J. W. NATAL."

TO THE REV. J. REYNOLDS, BEREA.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *April* 4, 1874.

"MY DEAR MR. REYNOLDS,

"I know nothing whatever about the 'Peace Society,' its Secretary, or its Manifesto—except what I have seen in the Natal journals. But as you have undertaken to write to me on the subject, knowing well, as you do, from the long conversation which I had with you in Maritzburg, the view which I take, with a deeper conviction every day of its correctness, as to the treatment which these two unfortunate tribes—15,000 human beings—have received, I feel bound to write a few words in reply to your letter.

"Since receiving it, I have read carefully the remarks of the 'Peace Society,' as quoted in the memorial to the Secretary of State adopted by the meeting at Durban. And I can only say that there is too much truth in what is there stated, except in the last clause, where the colonists

[1] The Bishop had generally lunched at Mr. Shepstone's before the five miles' drive home.

of Natal are suspected of practices, said to be common elsewhere under similar circumstances, but which, I am thankful to say, have no existence here. I should have willingly signed a protest, correcting this erroneous impression; though it is certain that if these women and girls had been 'allotted' to 'farmers and others' in different parts of the colony, 'remote from that which they have heretofore occupied,' as announced in the *Gazette*, being without any 'natural protectors' or friends, they would have been exposed to very great evils among the native labourers of other tribes, with whom they would have been necessarily brought into close contact.

"But the rest of the statement is substantially true, as everyone acquainted with the facts must know; and it appears to me that the writer has derived his information from the columns of the *Natal Mercury*. Thus it is quite true that —not 1,500, as he says, probably having before him the *Mercury* of November 27, in which I see it stated:— 'There will be 1,500 women and children altogether for distribution; applications from persons willing to employ 5,000 of them have been received,'—but 2,000 or more, I imagine, of 'helpless Kafir women and children, the wives, sisters, and children of the fugitives and others,' were 'torn away by wholesale' from the location, and were to have been 'distributed' and apprenticed out 'for three years' at a distance from their former homes, as announced in the Government *Gazette*, which the writer has evidently seen, or, perhaps, a copy of it printed in the *Mercury*.

"No doubt the intended 'allotment' did not take place. But why? Because a layman—J. W. Winter, Esq., M.L.C., I am glad to say a member of my own congregation—wrote an indignant letter to the *Natal Witness*, protesting against 'such semi-barbarous treatment of the weak and helpless,' saying that 'we should disgrace ourselves if we did not return these women and children,' and adding, 'The time for this sort of thing is passed: let us hear no more of offering these helpless creatures as apprentices and labourers. We shall gain neither credit nor profit by such

conduct." He was well abused, of course, for writing such a letter; but it took effect, and we have heard no more of the 'apprenticeship' system. But how could the writer in England suppose that the Government plan, announced formally in the *Gazette*, would not be carried out? And, mark, he only says, 'It is stated in the last despatches that they *are to be* distributed.' How can any honest man, or Christian minister, deny the truth of this? . . .

"I need hardly say that the resolutions passed at the public meeting at Durban do not in the least trouble me; nor will they deter me from doing my duty as a man, an Englishman, and a minister of Christ, in standing for the defence of any whom I believe to have been down-trodden and oppressed. I should be ashamed to appear in the pulpit again, face to face with a Christian congregation, if I had shut my eyes to facts, and shrunk from the work to which my God has called me. What rubbish is the statement, in the third clause of the memorial, that the women and children had been 'basely deserted, and left to their fate by their natural protectors!'—when they only wished to be left alone, and would have easily found their way to their friends in other tribes or out of the colony. Does anyone suppose that such a flimsy pretext will deceive any sensible person in England? Do we not know that one of the reasons assigned for 'eating up' the adjoining tribe of Putini was that they had harboured some of Langalibalele's women? And were not the women and children of Putini's tribe deprived of their 'natural protectors' by the Government, as far as possible, when all the men of that tribe who could be caught were made prisoners, some of them living quietly on white men's farms—numbers of whom have been already put to 'hard labour' for the Government or private individuals, *without any trial?* It remains to be seen what crime this tribe has really committed, for which they (5,000 people) have deserved to be summarily 'eaten up.' Only last week twenty-four of Langalibalele's old men, some of them quite aged, were torn from their wives and families, and doomed to 'imprisonment for two years, with hard

labour'—for what? For merely 'withdrawing into fastnesses,' to be some litttle help as 'natural protectors' to the women and children who had taken refuge there, with supplies of food, till the dreadful storm should be overpast, hiding themselves from the approach of the murderous Government *impi*, who stabbed and shot numbers of women and children as well as men—a fact of which the Natal journals have told us little or nothing, and the Secretary of the Peace Society makes no allusion to it, though there are many volunteers, I expect, among those present at the front, who would know something about it. How many did Mawiza's people, when they were ordered home for cowardice, kill in the bush? At all events, one volunteer wrote down for me as follows:—'I saw a long line of Kafir women—prisoners—and most of them had children on their backs, besides a good number of children whom they led by the hand as well. Several of the women had been wounded. Among them I noticed one in particular, who had been shot, the ball having passed through her shoulders from one side to the other; she was still carrying her child, who was tied on behind. Some of the children that were with these women were wounded, but I do not know what became of them.' But how many had been left behind, dying or dead? And then what humbug it is to speak in Resolution 2 of the prisoners' 'own unqualified admission of guilt,' after the manner in which they were tried, with all the world against them, and no one allowed to advise or defend them! Did those twenty-four old men, sentenced to 'two years' imprisonment with hard labour' for 'withdrawing into fastnesses,' make 'an unqualified admission of their guilt,' or, as the memorial says, 'of the justice and lenience (!) of their sentence'?

"And what ignorance of the real facts of the case is displayed in speaking of 'the concurrent testimony of the *principal native chiefs in the colony* to the justice of the sentences respectively passed upon them'! Out of the six natives who were summoned to form the court for the 'trial' of Langalibalele, only two were chiefs at all, and one of them,

Tetelegu, with his people, had been very actively engaged in the field against the prisoner; the four others were merely indunas, two of them being described as 'head induna to the Government,' and 'induna to the S.N.A.,'[1] the latter being a tenant of mine, with a magnificent chieftainship over one kraal of three huts, and a third being the petty induna of the magistrate's office at Durban. The former two, as well as Tetelegu, had formed part of the Government force, and, perhaps, expected their share of the human spoils—provided the prisoner should be condemned —these three having first been employed as executioners of the Supreme Chief's judgement upon the tribe, and then summoned to say whether that judgement was just—and all four indunas depending for promotion on the will of the Supreme Chief!

"But Resolution 3, which is specially directed against myself, contains at least two deliberate falsehoods. I leave the question as to whether I have '*mis*represented the trial of Langalibalele as unfair and illegal' to the judgement of thinking and unprejudiced men, and to the decision of the legal advisers of the Government here and at home; though I may remark that I have nowhere publicly stated that it was 'illegal,' whatever doubts I may have had upon that point. But I defy anyone to show that I have published anything about Langalibalele's trial, which 'maligned the colonists' or 'distorted facts.' In my *first* letter I said that I agreed with Mr. Advocate J. B. Moodie, that the prisoner 'had not had a fair trial,' because he was allowed no counsel, white or black, who would have exposed Mawiza's lying, and would have drawn out other facts which 'would have modified considerably public opinion as to the conduct of the prisoner and his tribe.' . . . . In my *second* letter, I gave the reasons why I considered Mawiza to be a 'lying scoundrel,' when my witnesses had been confronted with him before the S.N.A. and his whole body of chiefs and indunas. This was not done at my request or importunity, as some of the Natal journals have thought proper to repre-

[1] *Sic* throughout for "Secretary for Native Affairs."

sent it, but because the S.N.A. (very properly) insisted on it, but threatened that, if they were found to have calumniated a Government messenger, they must be severely punished. To this I at once assented, without asking their consent, and accordingly I took them in, as it were, with ropes around their necks, but with the result which you know of. In my *third* letter I explained that the *Witness* was mistaken in supposing that it was a proof of the prisoner's rebellious intentions, that a certain ceremony of 'sprinkling' was performed at his two chief kraals at a certain time last year, such 'sprinkling' having been represented in the published reports as the 'usual preparation for war.' When used for war purposes, the *warriors only* are sprinkled, and always on the day when the *impi* goes forth, or on the day before. Whereas in this case the sprinkling took place about April, six months before there was any disturbance; and *all the people* were sprinkled, men, women, and children, in order to 'strengthen their knees,' partly because no regular 'sprinkling' had taken place at the Umkosi, or 'feast of first-fruits,' which was not properly kept that year, but especially with reference to the somewhat sudden and unexpected death of the chief's elder brother (Uncwane) about a month or so previously. . . .

"This is all that I have written about Langalibalele's trial in the Natal journals, and what is there in this 'mischievously maligning the colonists, and distorting facts"? And yet two ministers of the Gospel, the Rev. W. H. Mann (Congregationalist) and the Rev. Z. Robinson (Wesleyan), sat quietly by, and heard these falsehoods, and allowed them to be adopted at a public meeting, without, so far as appears, uttering a word of protest against them. Well! if the Secretary for the Peace Society sees the Natal journals in England, and compares the contents of my letters with the terms of this resolution, he will form his own idea, I expect, as to the Christian character of the majority of the meeting and the ministers present—that is, if a *love of truth* be one of the graces which should adorn a Christian. And it is possible that he may measure by the same line the

veracity of other statements in those resolutions, as well as in those adopted at a 'meeting of ministers,' convened by the Rev. W. H. Mann, as you inform me, which were drawn up by the Rev. Z. Robinson, who has only very recently arrived in the colony, and can hardly, I should think, be qualified to speak with much confidence about colonial or native affairs.

"Only this remains to be said. I am not so much surprised at other ministers signing the document in question, who know nothing of the facts which have been freely communicated by me to yourself. But you are responsible to the Master whom we serve for what you know 'more than others'; and, 'to whom much has been given, of them will the more be required.'

"Yours very truly,
"J. W. NATAL."

TO W. SHAEN, ESQ.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *April* 14, 1874.

"I was delighted to get yours of March 4 to-day, and to find that something is being done on behalf of our two unfortunate tribes. Now that the 'trials' of Langalibalele's people are all over, which are mere burlesques of justice, and I can look over all the evidence produced, I am entirely confirmed in the view which I have taken already of this affair: viz. that it began with the impetuosity of Mr. Macfarlane, the magistrate, reporting the chief to Mr. Shepstone when there was no sufficient ground for it; . . . that the chief, being thereupon summoned to Maritzburg, . . . feared that some secret heavy charges had been brought against him, under the weight of which he would be crushed as his brother had been when summoned to the Supreme Chief in Zululand; that as message after message came he and his people got terrified; . . . and so, when Sir B. Pine came up in his glory with all his force of military, volunteers, and blacks, they fled in great fright; that then came the unfortunate affair of the Pass, and now Mr. Shepstone himself 'lost his head,' and all since then has been one

tissue of frightful injustice. . . . I suppose that Sir B. Pine had heard from the Secretary of State when a few days ago he at last allowed the appeal, after nearly six weeks' delay. I shall accept his proposal, as you will see by my letter. And I shall do my best to put in a terse, compact form my arguments, in order that in this way they may reach the eyes of the Secretary of State. I shall try to print the appeal, and I shall append to it the first thirty-two pages of the 'statement' of Nofihlela, &c., as also those about Matshana's affair. This last is really the *key* of the whole affair. You will see what a number of statements I have obtained, all substantially the same. But the last two are from an eye-witness, and I hope in a week or so to obtain two more from eye-witnesses; and if these, far separated from each other, give substantially the same account, there can be no doubt of the truth of the story; and if so, it has blackened the English character among the natives in such a way as must for many years to come affect our prestige among them, more especially as Mr. J. W. Shepstone has not only been appointed, since the act in question, to be a resident magistrate, . . . but was actually put forward as Government prosecutor in this affair of Langalibalele in the presence of a crowd of natives, who all know the story.[1] . . . I have told you in former letters that Mr. Shepstone, when I first mentioned the story to him, on January 13 I think, said that he had never heard of it; and when I told him further particulars on January 27, in presence of the Attorney-General, said that he did not believe it; also that one of the magistrates, Mr. Hawkins, told me afterwards that John Shepstone had assured him 'on his honour' that it was not true. I am constrained by the weight of evidence to believe that *it is true;* and I hope that before the appeal comes on I shall have the testimony of three eye-witnesses. . . . On Good Friday two messengers from the Zulu king Ceshwayo (the *third* set of messengers whom he has sent to our Governor to beg that Langalibalele may be allowed to go to him,

[1] This story, with the evidence establishing it, is reserved, necessarily, for the following chapter (VIII.).

and he has since sent a fourth set, all of whom have been sent back with a refusal) came to say farewell to me, as Ceshwayo had expressly charged them to call on me as one of his '*fathers*' to ask me to intercede for Langalibalele, expecting that I was as intimate as in days gone by with Mr. Shepstone. . . . So I gave these messengers a word of mine for Ceshwayo, that he should send for Matshana, and get the story taken down for me; and in this way, at all events, I fully hope to receive it.

"But, whether I get these two additional proofs or not, I cannot doubt that the story as told in my papers is true. I expect that Mr. Shepstone has been deceived by his brother all along, and has perhaps not cared to inquire too curiously into the affair, which now rises up in a ghastly form, and *must* be examined into. . . . At this moment I imagine that Sir B. Pine has not heard of the story, or has been led to disbelieve it utterly. But, of course, it must appear in my appeal; unless, indeed, he should refuse to grant the very reasonable request which I have made in my final letter—in which case I shall have to consider whether I will prosecute the appeal or refer the matter to the Secretary of State; . . . or unless the Governor should render the appeal unnecessary by letting Langa and his sons go to Ceshwayo, who I expect will send another set of messengers before long to ask for them. . . .

"About ten days ago they held an 'indignation' meeting in Durban, in which, as you will see by the newspapers, I have been somewhat roughly handled. Of course, I care nothing about it, and, in fact, if I am not much mistaken, the violent speeches and rowdy character of the meeting will do more to condemn their cause than to injure my reputation. Also the 'ministers of all denominations' have signed a protest against the 'Peace Society,' and you will see my reply[1] to Mr. Reynolds, one of my clergy, who wrote expressing a hope that I did not approve of it. Most probably Sir B. Pine is at the bottom of all this. . . . Remember that the planters along the coast are all 'bribed' by his ordering

[1] See above, p. 359.

out, as Supreme Chief, 2,000 natives to work this season at the sugar and coffee plantations, which were very much in want of labour. I *know* that this has caused great dissatisfaction among the coast natives, and that one chief, of whom 160 men were demanded, called his men together for the purpose, and they refused to obey the order; whereupon he reported the fact to the magistrate, and he told him to separate his property from that of his people, and the Supreme Chief would do what he thought proper. . . . How long this will last remains to be seen. Why should not the farmers now call out for labour? And why should not this 'servitude' for private purposes be inforced whenever it is found convenient?

"P.S. *April* 15.—I have just had a visit from the brother of a coast chief, who confirms the fact that there is great dissatisfaction among them. . . . I told Mr. Shepstone, when I first heard of the order, that it was the work of a madman. Of course, every chief in the colony will be sharp enough to see that his turn may come next. I believe, as I have said before, that this is contrary to the whole spirit of the instructions from the Secretary of State, who has allowed (and even then with hesitation, and subject to Mr. Shepstone's judgement) that they may be called out from time to time, when necessity requires, for *public* works; and I do not think that there would be any serious objection to this. But of course this is the Governor for the colonists. Accordingly, an address has been signed by 'every accessible resident in Alexander county,' supporting Sir B. Pine's action and condemning the action of 'two individuals' (viz. Bishop of Natal and Mr. Sanderson), and no wonder, if . . . . their magistrate has turned out for them, under the order in question, 760 labourers for the plantations, having greatly exceeded even the demand made upon him by the Governor. But this is the same half-madman who a year or two ago, because he could not find out who had stabbed certain oxen, flogged every man living within a certain distance, to the number of seventy—of which fact the Secretary of State is well aware, as it was reported to him by Mr.

Ridley, M.L.C. . . . The last batch of Langalibalele's prisoners was marched off a few days ago, and among the last twenty-four old men, some quite aged, were doomed to two years' 'imprisonment with hard labour,' for hiding themselves from the 'Government devils,' as a white man, whose *protégé* they had injured, calls them. . . . Would not Lord Carnarvon order these old men, at any rate, to be let out? They will hardly live out, some of them, two years in prison. How could this punishment possibly help to check 'rebellion,' if there had been any in Langa's case? It is simply a brutal exercise of power to crush the head of these helpless wretches into the dust. But Putini's people have not been tried at all. . . . Yet they have been already treated as convicts, and sent out to labour as such.

"I send a Government *Gazette*, just published. The object of Government Notice 116 is to give away to Europeans the lands lately occupied by Langa and Putini. . . . But No. 117 is most important, for that provides for the forced servitude of the female children, above ten years, till marriage, and of male children, from twelve years to thirteen, of these 'convicts,' as well as for the services of these convicts themselves. Who ever heard of the children of a prisoner being involved in this way in the father's offence in a civilised country? But the object is plainly to provide domestic servants and farm servants for the farmers and others, *i.e.* the planters on the coast especially. Why should these public convicts be assigned at all to private individuals? Before this reaches you, I fear the law will have been sanctioned at home; or it may be left without remark—in which case the Secretary of State can veto it within a certain time. . . .

"I send you a Blue-book with the *authorised* report of the trial of Langa. I have compared it carefully with that in the *Witness*, from which I have hitherto quoted. . . . Let me draw your attention to Mr. Shepstone's statement, about the middle of p. 23, that even so late as October 29, the day before Sir B. Pine left with the force from Maritzburg, he told two men of Langa's to tell the chief 'that, if he would

only meet his Excellency and explain his conduct, *no harm whatever would happen!*' Up to that moment, therefore, he and his tribe were guiltless of any *serious* offence. Then, on November 1, Mawiza told his lies to Mr. Shepstone, and on November 4 came the Pass affair; and after that there was a cry of rage and vengeance from the colonists, totally ignorant of Langa's real proceedings; and the bloody work began. . . ."

The Bishop at this point refers to the course pursued by some of the colonists, who had said that

"for a long time we up here had been feeling that things were in a very unsafe state,"

and he adds,

"Yes, and it was the frantic fears of these whites which frightened Langa's women into the caves, &c. If Langa was 'a drunken coward,' he was hardly likely to break out 'in rebellion.' But it was the magistrate, Mr. Macfarlane, who supplied him with bottles of rum—as also, it seems, did Mr. Mellersh himself. . . ."

To C. J. Bunyon, Esq.

"Bishopstowe, *May* 23, 1874.

"I am hard at work, preparing to go to Durban next week, with my native printer, Magema, to see Langalibalele. I send by this mail a copy of the *Witness*, . . . and I commend to your notice the sub-leader, which bears directly on myself, and threatens me with the indignation of the colonists if I go and see Langa in his prison, in order to learn distinctly about some facts which are left obscure in the evidence, for the purpose of preparing the appeal which the law allows him. In the same paper you will see that what any man of common sense might have predicted is really coming to pass. A guerrilla warfare is

beginning in the abandoned location, and the lives of men and women are not safe, especially those who have been prominently concerned in bringing these miseries upon the two tribes. The attack on Mr. Mellersh, however, seems to have been made by two of Putini's men, who have had everything taken from them. . . . Naturally the young fellows are savage and desperate ; and I fear that we shall have a troubled winter season. . . . I forward by this mail . . . copies of the notes of the (Langa's) defence ; but there is quite as much matter—no, about half as much, I think—ready in the rough for Part 2, the case of the sons. It is such slow work, however, with my native printer, who is quite alone, to print all this, that I think I shall have this second part printed in town. And perhaps some friends of the natives, through Mr. Shaen, would be willing to advance £20 for printing expenses, any surplus to be laid out for blankets, &c., for these poor wretches, stripped of everything, during our cold winter season, which has just begun. . , . Of course, I shall have to spend this money (if I decide to print in town) before any promise of help can reach me: but I will take my chance. I think there are those in England who will lend a little help for such a work.[1] I do most earnestly hope that a Commission may be already on its way to Natal. We are in a most deplorable state, without any Government worthy of the name ; and I am very much afraid that, unless something is done from England to help us, we shall very soon slip from bad to worse. I send by this mail the Blue-book report of the *three* trials—the chief's, the sons', and the men's. Manifestly, these form in reality but *one* trial, for, throughout, the evidence bears upon the chief. But the result is, I suppose, that I shall be precluded from using in the appeal anything proved in the second and third trials. I . . . am satisfied that on the whole there is absolutely no sign whatever of a 'rebellion' in the chief's conduct or in that of his tribe. . . ."

[1] Mr. Bunyon responded to this with a bale of 100 blankets, a most welcome gift, as the women had in many cases been stripped even of their skin petticoats.

The Bishop goes on to notice, *seriatim*, a number of assertions made in the introduction to the Report, and adds:—

"All these signs of 'rebellion' vanish into smoke, when examined; and it shows the extreme weakness of the Government cause that they should be obliged to rake up such rubbish for want of more tangible evidence. But now I must call your attention to the extraordinary character of the constitution of this second court. . . . Mr. Shepstone . . . . is president, whose conduct in the whole affair is really the subject of inquiry quite as much as Langa's. If there has been no 'rebellion,' the S.C. and the S.N.A. have committed a frightful blunder. But then the other members of the court are the 'administrators of native law' (*i.e.* magistrates), and the 'native chiefs and indunas of the colony who may be able to attend.' As to the magistrates, the same two attended the nine sittings of the court as had attended in the case of Langa. As to the chiefs and indunas of the colony, one would suppose that through a generous impulse the door had been thrown open wide, and all the chiefs and indunas of the colony had had notice that they *might* sit in the court, if they pleased. Not a bit of it. No such notice at all was given; but the same seven, viz. three chiefs and four indunas, sat on the second trial as on the first, and besides these three others. Now the oddity is that [of these other three] two sat only one day of the nine. Among those who signed the sentence are Hemuhemu, who only attended four times out of the nine, and Hlangabeza, who never attended any one of them! Imagine a court or jury constituted thus in England for the trial of a capital crime. . . .

"It appears to be a monstrous and most contemptible thing for the Government thus to bind up this paper, signed Keith and Co.,[1] for which they will not take the responsibility, with the official record of the trial in the Blue-book, and so evade the charge of dishonesty by leaving all the burden to be borne by 'Keith and Co.' I never before heard

[1] See p. 348.

of such a proceeding as for the Government to publish an official document in such connexion with a private story. I need hardly say that the story about the white and black ox (on p. xxix.), is declared by the old men of the tribe to be an unmitigated lie." [1]

TO J. N. WHEELER, ESQ.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *June* 22, 1874.

"Nothing can be kinder than your letter, and I thank you sincerely for sending it. I only wish that others would speak to me as freely as you have done, and then perhaps they would come to understand me better, and the grounds of my action in the case of Langalibalele. I am very sure that you would not be the man to wish me to preach, Sunday after Sunday, what I do not practise—to tell my people to take up, when the occasion comes, heavy burdens of duty on behalf of their fellow-men, when I myself shrink from touching such work with my own hands, though here

[1] The Bishop refers to the following statement made in the quasi-authoritative Report published in Blue-book form by Messrs. Keith and Co.:—"It must have been at this time that some attempt was made by augury to pry into secrets of the future. . . In Coomassie recently a white and a black goat were encouraged to engage in deadly conflict; and also here it is said, though it has been found impossible to obtain any evidence confirmatory of the report, that a white and black ox were skinned alive, to see which of them would survive this torture longest. The animals were regarded as representing the whites and blacks." This wonderful statement comes from a writer who has declared at the outset that he will "take especial care only to include well-authenticated facts." Yet he knew, the Bishop remarks, that just such a statement as this "would be likely to produce a feeling of disgust and abhorrence in English minds." Langalibalele said, "Those words are just words of Umtyityizelwa to increase Langalibalele's fault with the authorities. He utterly denies it; he knows not a particle of it. For he himself was present when each of those three oxen was killed to appease the spirit of Uncwane. There never was an ox of his so treated. It is false!" But, in fact, the writer admits that it was a mere *rumour*, and that it had been found "impossible to obtain *any* evidence confirmatory" of it; and yet he has the assurance and the malignity to say that "it *must* have been at this time that some attempt *was made*." Comment in such a case is superfluous.

it has been laid in the providence of God at my very doors. Year after year since I returned to Natal from England I have been *saying* this and that from the pulpit; but my life has been on the whole a very quiet, calm, and happy one. I have not been called to do anything which required resolution and painful effort since in 1862 I published the First Part of my work on the Pentateuch; and I little expected when this year began that the middle would find me involved in this most distressing conflict, in which I know I am at variance with very many whom I respect, and whose good opinion I would not willingly throw away. I *seem* to be attacking some to whom I have been—and still am—most strongly attached. But there is no help for it. I should belie my whole past life, and be false to all my teaching, and should be ashamed in fact to face you all in the pulpit again, if I was not true to my own convictions in this matter. I believe that a fellow-man has been most unfairly tried, and he and his tribe unjustly and cruelly treated. And since the Government by professing to give him a fair and impartial trial has challenged the whole community (myself among the rest) to look on and by our silence at all events indorse their action in this matter, and say that we in our consciences believe that the prisoners have had fair play and *justice* has been done—not that flimsy thing called 'substantial justice,' such as the Bishops in Convocation said was done to me in Capetown, but *real* justice according to English notions of it—I for one will not be a party to any such falsehood, and I cannot and will not rest until, as far as possible, the truth shall be brought to light. . . .

You see that, although the *Witness*, *Times*, and *Mercury* all shouted applause when Putini's tribe was 'eaten up,' yet the introduction to the Blue-book containing the official record of the trials admits (p. xxxvii.) that the treatment of this tribe was . . . . a 'State blunder which could only have been committed during a time of panic,' and which ought to be 'remedied' by 'restitution.' I have a strong confidence that when we hear the judgement of the Secretary of State on all

these proceedings it will be found that he takes a somewhat similar view as to the case of Langalibalele. . . . He will, no doubt, judge for himself when he has all the facts before him; and I suspect also that when those facts are published a very considerable change will pass over the minds of the colonists also with respect to the part I have taken in the matter. . . . "

TO HIS SON FRANCIS.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *July* 7, 1874.

"The printed papers, which I post, will show you how, . . . step by step, I have pushed on a most unwilling Government to allow me to visit Langalibalele in gaol . . . and to employ counsel to support the appeal. . . . With regard to the 'Introduction' to the Blue-book, it is to my mind certain that Mr. Shepstone has written it.[1] . . . I understand that Keith admits that it has been *revised* by Mr. Shepstone. I have no doubt that it has been composed by him; and it is curious that at the top of p. xxxviii., where he describes the court, he has omitted himself!—which no other writer but himself could have done. . . . I have thoroughly reviewed it, and hope to send you by this mail my MS.; . . . and I do hope that there will be liberality enough among some of our friends to contribute . . . towards *printing* it—not necessarily for publication, but to lay it in a printed form before the Secretary of State and influential members of both Houses. . . . I feel that Lord Carnarvon can never be expected to read it in MS.; and it is of the utmost importance that he should read it, because by this mail Mr. Shepstone himself is going to England . . . in order to cram the ears of the Secretary of State with the same sort of official lies which abound from beginning to end of this 'Introduction.' What I *wish* is (and I do hope that it may be carried out) that my review shall be printed as far as Spottiswoode can manage it, an intimation being given meanwhile, directly or indirectly, to the Colonial Office, as an antidote for the poison

[1] See p. 348.

which I have no doubt will be distilled into the ears of the Secretary of State against Langa. They are afraid that the effect of their written explanation, which goes home by this mail, will not be sufficient. So Mr. Shepstone is sent home to supplement by his personal presence the want of power in his written statement. And just consider what a terrible crisis we have passed through, when first Lucas and Macfarlane can get leave of absence to go to England, then Sir B. Pine runs off for five or six weeks to the Cape, and now Mr. Shepstone is sent off to England. Truly there cannot be much *real* apprehension of a Kafir outbreak. . . ."

The following account of the position of things, both ecclesiastical and political, at this time, is given by the Rev. J. D. La Touche, vicar of Stokesay, who, with the consent of his diocesan, left England for twelve months to help the Bishop in his work. He took this step, as he himself confesses, at no small inconvenience to himself; but there can be no doubt that, if a few more such men as Mr. La Touche could have made acts of the like self-sacrifice, the position of the Bishop and the prospects of his work would have been materially altered for the better.

MR. LA TOUCHE'S REMINISCENCES.

"In the latter part of the year 1873 I received from the Bishop of Natal a very earnest request that, if possible, I would take duty for a year in the colony. It was with some hesitation that I thought of exchanging the quiet of an English country parish for the anxiety involved in such a step; but, as the difficulties which at first presented themselves to my going were one by one overcome, it became a clear duty to obey the call, and, in the beginning of February of 1874, I was on my way to South Africa.

'Upon arriving in Natal, I found the colony in a state of ferment, consequent on the recent expedition against the chief Langalibalele, and the dispersion of his tribe. Bitter party feeling and recrimination resounded on all sides. The

Bishop's vigorous defence of Langalibalele, and of his friend Colonel Durnford, against the virulent attacks of certain of the volunteers, who, to cover their own disgrace, were heaping every kind of insult and abuse on one of the bravest of officers, had made him intensely unpopular; and to such a degree of exasperation had the minds of the colonists been excited against the natives, that it seemed at one time as if nothing short of their extermination would appease them.

"To a new-comer like myself this state of things appeared inexplicable. The quiet-looking Kafirs were in every household, peacefully following their daily avocations, without any outward sign that they could be the dangerous rebels which they were so constantly represented to be. As for the Bishop himself, though I often heard him converse on the subject, he generally, though not invariably, refrained from using strong expressions, and was satisfied to allow facts to speak for themselves. The opinion which I myself formed, and which was continually strengthened during my sojourn, was that he had been perfectly justified in the line he had taken.

"Some few months after my arrival, the Bishop left for England to prosecute his appeal to the English Government in behalf of the Hlubi chief. It was at this time that Mr. Froude visited the colony in a semi-official capacity, and, as it appeared to those interested on behalf of the natives, became, somewhat unwisely, the guest of Sir B. Pine, the Governor, whose action in crushing the tribe had been so gravely called in question. It was thought that Mr. Froude, by this step, was precluded from taking the dispassionate view of the matter which was desirable. At the request of Miss Colenso, I was the means of bringing about an interview between him and the sons of Langalibalele, who were at the time confined in Maritzburg gaol, their father having been removed to Robben Island, near Capetown. I found it by no means an easy task to arrange this meeting. At first, Mr. Froude was quite anxious that it should take place, but afterwards rather hesitated. Among other things, the Governor wanted to make it a condition that one of Mr. Shepstone's sons

should act as interpreter, and this, it was thought, would frustrate the objects of the meeting, since the young men would not express their true feelings in the presence of one belonging to a family to which they naturally ascribed the ruin of their tribe. The difficulty was solved at last by permission being granted to Mr. Fynney, who was considered a perfectly impartial agent, to act in this capacity, and accordingly we went together to the gaol. Here a highly interesting conversation with the young men ensued. It appeared that one of the reasons which caused Mr. Froude to hesitate to see them was his impression that he could not entirely depend on their truthfulness; but the evident effect on his mind of their look, their noble bearing, and the simplicity of their replies to his numerous questions, was to confirm fully the statements on which the Bishop had relied.

"Returning from that interview we met a long line of the Hlubi prisoners coming from their work in the brick-fields, and Mr. Froude was much impressed by their fine, open, good-natured countenances, and not less so by the sad assemblage of Kafir women and children—their wives and families—who were waiting about to have a sight of their husbands and relations as they disappeared within the walls of their prison. In spite of the efforts which were made by doles of food and other means to alleviate the distress of these poor creatures, they were in a very miserable condition when thus deprived of their usual means of support.

"In relation to Church matters, with which I was more immediately concerned, a meeting of the Church Council which was held shortly after I reached Maritzburg gave me an opportunity of making the acquaintance of those clergy who had remained faithful to their Bishop, and of observing the able and dignified manner in which he conducted the proceedings. The members of the Council assembled each day in the Cathedral. The chief business on hand was the reconstruction of rules; but an anxious subject of discussion was the prospect of help from home.

"The situation was indeed most trying to all concerned. In obedience to what appeared to him a clear call of duty, the Bishop had dared to state in plain and unmistakeable terms the facts which he had ascertained about the history of the Pentateuch. But there were few among his clergy who—though, as such, they continued loyal to him—fully approved his action, or, perhaps, quite understood it. With one exception—that of Mr. Tönnesen, a Norwegian by birth, a man of exceptional ability, and whose heart was entirely with the Bishop—they for the most part held what are called Evangelical views. Archdeacon Lloyd, one of the kindest-hearted of men, was a distinct Evangelical, and was always careful to disavow any concurrence on doctrinal points with the Bishop, justifying his adhesion to him simply on constitutional grounds. One gentleman, although he appeared to believe in his heart that the Bishop was right, admitted that he was unable to assert that conviction in public. Of the other clergymen about Durban I did not hear much. They appeared, as a rule, to take the side they did from dislike of the aggressive and oppressive policy of the High Church party. It can, then, be no matter of surprise that they, as too often happens, were more disposed to take colour from the prevailing sentiments of their congregation than to embark on a perilous voyage to an unknown land. The Bishop was not, moreover, a man to court allegiance by concession, or to employ any of those wiles by which worldly-minded leaders are wont to attach to themselves unwilling followers. Very much the reverse. Although he was most loveable and sympathetic towards any one whose principles and motives appeared to him upright and straightforward, these qualities gave place to sternness, if not severity, where a note of insincerity was heard. His intense devotion to truth, and the great cause to which he had consecrated his life, was such that he would, I verily believe, have literally cut off the right hand sooner than allow any personal feeling to influence him where principle was concerned. To a world, indeed, which is content to take things easily, and to look upon stern truth as a mere accident, a life like his

may appear foolish or even reprehensible. If, however, in matters of high principle, or where the supreme interests and lives of thousands of his fellow-creatures were at stake, a fixed resolve to place his duty to God above every earthly tie be considered a more noble standard, then, I believe, what to many may have appeared, at the time, unnecessary harshness would call forth a very different judgement. No one who was intimate with the Bishop could for a moment suspect that caprice or self-interest swayed his mind. On the contrary, I have the best reason to know that it was with pain approaching to agony that he relinquished his cherished friendships, and felt compelled to adopt the line he did against some who had once been his bosom friends.

"It is not for me to enter here upon the details, or discuss the merits, of that most painful incident in his life—his breach with Mr. (now Sir) Theophilus Shepstone, a man who had stood firmly by him in his early ecclesiastical troubles, and with whom he had previously been bound up in ties of closest affection. But of this I am perfectly certain, that he turned from him only upon what to him, and to others too who have examined the evidence, seemed incontrovertible proof that, in order to shield his brother from blame with regard to an outrage alleged to have been committed by him upon the chief Matshana some years before, Sir Theophilus Shepstone had concealed the truth in the matter, and allowed sentence of death to be passed on an innocent man, himself sanctioning that condemnation of which he knew the injustice.

"Now the Bishop has said to me that he had been appointed to his see especially in the interest of the natives; that his first duty lay in using all his influence to have right and justice done to them, and that to this object he was determined to devote himself as long as he held the post he did; and only from a profound conviction, most reluctantly arrived at by him, that the natives were being treated with injustice, and that their enslavement or extirpation—involving the demoralization of his white flock and the

disgrace of his nation—would certainly be the consequence if such conduct as that of the Natal Government were not exposed, could he ever have been compelled to take the active part he did against his old and valued friend.

"The same remarks apply in some degree to the relations which existed between him and his clergy. It is not surprising, indeed, that some of these should have felt very keenly the difficulties of their position. They had, at a time when much obloquy attended their doing so, shared the fortunes of their lawful Bishop, and now they were compelled to contrast their own scanty means and pecuniary embarrassments with the comparative affluence of their brethren who claimed to be the representatives of orthodoxy. Men so placed are prone, however unjustly, to imagine that they are not treated with the consideration which they are entitled to expect. It is the old cry of the Israelites to their leader in the wilderness. But they were in fact mistaken. Not want of sympathy, but want of the means to assist them, was the true cause. It must be remembered that the funds at the Bishop's disposal for affording them the required help had been almost altogether withdrawn. His own income was that of a very moderate vicarage in England; and the drain upon it from the exigencies of a large and hospitably conducted household, and, after the dispersion of Langalibalele's tribe, the necessities of the natives who settled round Bishopstowe in large numbers, must have been very considerable.

"I don ot mean to say that he was ever unsympathetic with inferior minds or lower motives; but he could not retain faith in men who professed high principle when in practice they proved false and weak and mean. When I once happened to mention that Dean Green and others of Bishop Macrorie's clergy were understood to approve in the main of the course he had taken on the native question, he indignantly exclaimed, 'Then why do they not speak out?' But their mouths were closed at this time for any practical purpose. Such is one of the worst results of religious acrimony. Of this I had many painful experiences during

my short stay. The first excitement of the theological controversy had passed. The scenes of violence by the partisans on both sides had become only historical. Matters had settled down into a steady sectarian animosity which split up the small community into two hostile camps. I was prepared for something of the kind, but not for the relentless and uncompromising opposition of the clergy of the (so-called) South African Church. Intercourse with them was impossible. I met Dean Green on one occasion in the house of a dying man, whither both of us had been accidentally summoned by his relations, who belonged to one of the two rival parties. I was not sorry for the chance which brought us together, since I hoped that possibly a personal interview might help to soften down the prevailing irritation. But I soon found by the Dean's manner, and the very few words which passed between us, that this was out of the question. In the same way, the Bishop told me that, when Bishop Macrorie came out, he used at first to salute him as they passed each other in the street, but that it was soon apparent that any such recognition was unacceptable, and so it ceased. He was told by a mutual friend that, although Dr. Macrorie's feelings as a gentleman inclined him to acknowledge the greeting, his feelings as a Christian forbade his doing so! The fact is that the party in the Church, which in England can only claim to represent a section of her members, taking advantage of the outcry which had been raised against the Bishop and of their own comparatively independent position, had, in the limited sphere of this colony, striven to establish a sacerdotal despotism, but had signally failed. Everything at one time seemed to be in their favour and against the Bishop. But the fatal step of separating themselves both in name and in some important points from the mother Church, thus setting at nought that State control which in this country keeps within bounds the predominance of one party over the other, had thoroughly aroused in a large section of the loyal Church-members a fear that nothing short of their complete subjection to priestly power was the

end aimed at. They had overshot the mark; and not only had the result been damaging and disastrous to the cause for which they had staked so much, but it had succeeded in drawing together many who, although they had otherwise but few points in common, yet combined in looking to Bishop Colenso as the champion of their liberty, and supporting him as such. This last consideration, combined with a perception, which none could resist, of the singular beauty of his character and the sincerity of his life, will, I think, account for the apparently contradictory fact that, although the most violent hostility had been excited among some of the colonists against the Bishop in consequence of his action on the native question, the respect for him personally among all ranks and classes continued throughout to be most marked. Amid all the vituperation of which he was the subject, not one word that I heard was uttered against him of personal disrespect—not an attempt was made by those who would have been only too glad so do so, if they had been able, to throw any aspersion on his motives.

"The truth is, the whole life he led and all its surroundings could not fail to impress even his bitterest enemies with respect, if not veneration. It was a life of self-denial and devotion. Although no ascetic, for his nature was a genial one, he would be the last to repine at being deprived of good cheer and bodily comforts, or at the fare, frugal almost to hardness, which often fell to his lot; and it was a touching sight to see him driving into town in his weather-beaten old spider-gig, arrayed in clothes far from new, in contrast with the comfortable equipage and appointments of his more favoured brethren.

"It was, perhaps, unfortunate for his intercourse with the English population that Bishopstowe was situated at a considerable distance from Pietermaritzburg. But, on the other hand, it was consistent with the original design of the mission; since it was thus the centre of a native settlement, and the Bishop was enabled to carry on his work among his people without interruption or interference.

"The description of the house already given[1] renders it unnecessary for me to enter into further details here. The spot and all around it, the whole life of the family with which that home was so long identified, breathed an air of culture and refinement in striking contrast with its wild surroundings. All that could tend to elevate and make life happy and useful found a welcome here; and from the noble master, whose ever-kindly smile bespoke a mind at peace with God and man, down to the little Kafir child, the plaything of the family, a sweet purity and innocence seemed to pervade the whole.

"Nothing was to me more impressive and affecting than the reverence in which the Bishop was held by the natives. I have been present at some interesting interviews between them. Sometimes it would be a number of Langalibalele's wives who had come to him about their troubles; at others, a deputation of indunas or head-men from the Zulu king. They would come into his presence bending low, and, as is, I believe, the custom with their king, would sometimes kiss the ground all round where he stood. While he was away in England, the poor fellows would go into his room and look round and say, 'Ah! here Sobantu lived;' and, seeing his dressing-gown, which hung behind the door, 'Ah! there are the clothes Sobantu used to wear;' or they would recognise with delight in his photograph his spectacles and well-known smile.

"The sound judgement of the Bishop was, it seems to me, conspicuous in his conduct towards his heathen flock. The conversion of the natives to Christianity is one of those problems which, by those who have little or no practical experience in the matter, are often treated as of extreme simplicity. The conviction that the Christian faith is absolutely true, and that all others are therefore false and immoral, imposes on the average missionary the supposed duty of overthrowing the latter at any cost in order to implant the tenets of the former. But in carrying out this object he is confronted with problems of extreme difficulty,

[1] See Vol. I. p. 76, *et seq.*

especially in relation to polygamy;[1] and in dealing with these he incurs no small danger of creating moral evils which the religious principles he seeks to inculcate are powerless to counteract.

"It seemed to be the Bishop's principle to proceed by more gradual steps; to endeavour to modify, rather than rashly to subvert, the customs of the natives; to trust to the force of living example and the practical exercise of the Christian virtues of purity, truth, and justice, to impress their minds; and, by means of education, to lay the foundation for a higher teaching. Divine service was indeed held at the little chapel I have mentioned above, and at the native church in Pietermaritzburg; but he was not forward to compete with other sects in making proselytes; and I have even heard him deprecate the line commonly taken by those who, in their zeal to emulate the first preachers of Christianity, seem to forget that the condition of the Greek and Roman world, with which the latter had to do, has but little analogy with that of the South African, and that the very comprehension of most of the terms used to convey Christian doctrine presupposes a considerable amount of culture on the part of those to whom they are addressed.

"Yet it would be far from correct to suppose, as many at the time assumed, that his deep sympathy with the natives had warped his judgement, or blinded him to the necessity of a firm and even strict policy in dealing with them. In nothing did the balance of the Bishop's mind appear more conspicuous than in his resisting, on the one hand, the hysterical theories sometimes identified with Exeter Hall; and, on the other, the tendency to magnify slight faults, and punish them with undue harshness. And the practical result of this line of action may be seen in the fact that, probably more than anyone else in his position, he succeeded in winning for these people the consideration which surely they deserve at the hands of those who have appropriated their country; for, although in spite of all his efforts the wrongs committed in the name of Government were indeed

[1] See Vol. I. p. 63 *et seq.*

great, they would assuredly have been very much greater had this uncompromising and able champion not been raised up to expose them and press home the monstrous character of the injustice. I may mention here the admission made to me by a son of the late Bishop Selwyn—viz. that Bishop Colenso had succeeded in doing for the natives in South Africa that which his father had striven for in New Zealand, but striven in vain.

"In the management of the Cathedral and parish work the Bishop rarely interfered; but in all cases of any difficulty (and sometimes extremely painful ones did occur) I could always count on his advice and sympathy. At the same time he was not a man to isolate himself from the world. Like his great Master and Pattern, he was occasionally to be found in company where I fancy Bishops are not very often to be found, or very welcome. And it was, I thought, pleasant to see him sometimes chatting cheerfully with the young officers in the mess-room, and partaking of their hospitality, and I have good reason to know that, on their part, they were always glad to see him there.

"Whenever it was expected that he would preach, there was always a large congregation. There was that about all his sermons which touched one's heart, his noble figure and his striking and thoughtful countenance adding no little to the impression they made. For the most part he abstained from the controversy that had occupied him so much. At least, such was the case when I heard him; but he would occasionally introduce enough to leave his hearers in no uncertainty as to his real opinions upon Christian doctrine. Consequently, I found very many members of the Maritzburg congregation far more thoughtful and liberal-minded than is usually the case. As for the unscrupulous assertion made in England by the Bishop of Oxford (Dr. Wilberforce), that the hearers of the Bishop consisted largely of godless persons, I must, from an intimate personal acquaintance with them, give my most emphatic contradiction to this outrageous libel.

"The Bishop's chief theme was the simple and practical cha-

racter of the Christian religion, the Fatherhood of God, and His sympathy with man, as manifested in Christ. With this his whole soul seemed to be so penetrated that the description I received of him from a fellow-passenger whom I met on my voyage out, and who had been much in contact with the Bishop as churchwarden of St. Peter's, does not appear to be inappropriate or exaggerated: 'He is,' he said, 'a Christ-like man; wherever is sorrow or trial, there he is to be found; while others talk and preach of Christ, he practises His life.'

"To have known and served under such a man has been to me a privilege worth any sacrifice. It has, ever since I left him, been a source of deep regret that other duties, which had a prior claim, should have made it impossible for me to remain at my post. And I am glad to have this opportunity of saying that the more I became acquainted with him, the more I was impressed by the transparent beauty and simplicity of his life, his unswerving devotion to truth, his pure sincerity; and I feel convinced that, had I been permitted to remain with him, years would only have tended to increase the genuine veneration and love which I entertained for him."

CHAPTER VIII.

LAST VISIT TO ENGLAND.—THE MATSHANA INQUIRY. 1874-75.

THE Bishop's last voyage to England was undertaken primarily in the cause of bare justice to the Ama-Hlubi chief; but the members of the Church of England in Natal felt that he had as much at heart as ever the cause of the English Church, with its comprehensiveness and its freedom, against the assumptions of a new association, which proclaimed war against this comprehensiveness and set itself to subvert this freedom. A meeting held at Maritzburg, August 25, 1874, acknowledged with gratitude the labours of the Bishop in upholding the fundamental principles of the Church of England.

> "These principles," they said, "we understand to be the widest recognition of all parties in the Church, consistently with the laws under which the Church is established at home."

Unless these principles are consistently acted upon, the attainment or maintenance of peace is hopeless. Tastes differ, feelings differ, modes of thought differ; and for such differences a very large scope is allowed in England. A scope not less wide must be allowed in Natal. To make profession of width, and then to restrict the freedom of

congregations, is to set up a contradiction in terms. If the members of the Church of South Africa in Natal have adopted practices which obtain in what are called high Ritualistic churches in this country, they must be allowed full freedom in the retention of these practices within the limits prescribed by the constitution of the mother Church. In order to resume their position as members of the Church of England, the members of the Church of South Africa have only to acknowledge their submission to the law of the Church of England, which in all causes secures to the defendant an appeal to the Crown. In short, the comprehensiveness of which the memorialists were justly proud must be a comprehensiveness in reality, not in name only.

TO HIS SON FRANCIS.

"R.M.S. *Basuto*, DURBAN, *August* 24, 1874.

[Having mentioned their detention for a week in the harbour.]

"If all is well, I shall be due in England by the *Syria* about the end of September. Note, however, if I should hear, at Algoa Bay or the Cape, of a Commission being actually on its way, I shall return to Natal, as it is of the utmost importance that I should be here when it arrives. I could not have believed that so much dishonesty could have been practised by a British Government as has occurred in this colony of late. When the *Basuto* came up from the Cape she brought the *Cape Argus* of August 7, which had an extract from the Parliamentary Blue-book on Natal matters laid before the Parliament by Lord Carnarvon. It is singular that neither have I received a copy of this book, though I asked that it might be sent as soon as published, . . . nor has Sir B. Pine—at least he has told the Legislative Council so. . . . From the *Cape Argus* we learn for the first time that Lord Carnarvon wrote to Sir B. Pine on April 13, drawing his attention to the serious difficulties raised as to the question of transporting Langa by the

Imperial Act 31 and 32 Vic. cap. x. Now, Sir B. Pine has transported him in defiance of the Act, and in disregard of Lord Carnarvon's warning. . .. But I want to draw special attention to the manner in which this has been done. My lawyers—Goodricke and Moodie—were totally ignorant of the Act in question, and so was I myself; but I drew their attention to the Act of Geo. IV., . . . and at the end of the appeal Mr. Goodricke quoted that Act as preventing the transportation intended, but said that he was not familiar with it, . . . and asked the Attorney-General to say whether it applied to all colonies or only to the Australian. Mr. Gallwey replied that it referred to Natal as well. Subsequently, in our application to the Supreme Court, Mr. Moodie hammered away for some time upon the same Act of Geo. IV. without learning that it was repealed (the most important portions of it) by the later Act of Victoria. Now did Chief Justice Connor and the Attorney-General know of the existence of this Act of Victoria? Either they did or they did not. If they did not, then (1) they were strangely ignorant of the law so recently passed, and so important to the colonies in its special bearing on this case; and (2) Sir B. Pine must have kept secret from his legal advisers, both members of the Executive Council, the despatch in question, which came up in the mail-bags when he returned from the Cape in the beginning of June. It is incredible that either (1) or (2) can have been the case. But then we find ourselves on the other horn of the dilemma, viz. that they *were* aware of the existence of that law of Victoria; and yet the Chief Justice on the Bench, in a serious criminal case, involving grave constitutional questions, allowed a young inexperienced advocate to go floundering on about an obsolete law, when he (the judge) knew there was a recent law far more to his purpose; and the Attorney-General, when appealed to as legal adviser of the Government by Mr. Goodricke during the appeal before the Executive Council, gave an evasive reply, also suppressing the fact of the existence of that law. In either case, it seems to me, a tremendous charge may be laid

against the Government. John Shepstone has threatened me with an action for damages (£1000) on account of Matshana's affair; but he has taken no steps in the matter at present. . . .

"I send this by your old friend Captain Valler, who lies side by side with us in the *Zulu* bound to Zanzibar, and will go out when we do. It *may* reach England before the letters sent round the Cape do; and I take the chance of it."

Some letters to Mrs. Lyell, written after his arrival in England in 1874, show how entirely his time was engrossed with the special work which had brought him away from his diocese. This work left him, indeed, little or no leisure for intercourse with friends whom he was eager to see once more. Landing at Plymouth, he came up straight to London, and on the very evening of his arrival received a note from the Colonial Office requesting him to call on Lord Carnarvon. In the long conversation which the Bishop had with him on the following day, the Colonial Secretary promised to hold back for a week the despatches which he had already prepared, to give him time for printing the matter to be submitted to him. The same evening brought him the first proofs of the Report which was afterwards printed as a Parliamentary Blue-book, C. 1141. The result was that the despatches of the Colonial Secretary were entirely rewritten, and sent off at Christmas.

TO MRS. LYELL.

"KENSINGTON, *October* 6, 1874.

"I shall be very happy to dine with you on Saturday, the 17th instant, as you kindly propose. I saw Lord Carnarvon yesterday for an hour, and am thoroughly satisfied with the interview. He has promised to wait a week for my MS. to be printed, and I must work hard at it *this week*, and can hardly hope to find time of an evening to run up with F.[1] to

[1] His son.

Regent's Park till this work is off my hands, more especially as Spottiswoode promises to pour in the proofs upon me each evening."

TO THE SAME.

"KENSINGTON, *October* 10, 1874.

"I do not lose sight of your kind invitation. But really the work for Lord Carnarvon has left me no time *to breathe* since I saw you, though I have now pretty nearly got to the end of my printing, and then shall be able to look about me a little. . . . I was very sorry to miss Colonel Lyell when he called. I was at Spottiswoode's, where I have spent a good deal of this week, besides the hours spent at this table."

TO JOHN MERRIFIELD, ESQ.

"37 PHILLIMORE GARDENS, *October* 21, 1874.

"MY DEAR OLD FRIEND,

"I wish that I may have a chance of seeing you and Mrs. Merrifield while I am in England. But my stay is very uncertain, depending on the action which may be taken by Lord Carnarvon in the matter of our natives, and I am obliged to keep within reach of the Colonial Office. Meantime you will see that I am fighting again, and really I am afraid that people will imagine that I *like* fighting for fighting's sake, whereas the truth is that I very much *dislike* it, and would enjoy, if possible, living peaceably and pleasantly with all men. However, I could not sit by and look on quietly while gross acts of wrong were being perpetrated under my own eyes. . . ."

TO MRS. LYELL.

"BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD, *November* 23, 1874.

. . . "I certainly wrote a note to explain what I wished, and I think it must have fallen out when the packet was opened. But at any rate you have divined thoroughly my meaning, even to sending the MS. back by the first post on Monday (this) morning. The copy is beautifully clear, and

will go to Lord Carnarvon. I am really much obliged to Miss Jane Hughes for doing it."

TO MISS JANE HUGHES.

"KENSINGTON, *December* 23, 1874.

"I told your brother, the Professor, that I should ask you to correct the proofs of Part VII. of my work on the Pentateuch. Alfred would run his eye over the Hebrew, and has in fact done so already. But I shall have to send the 'copy' from Natal some time after my return. . . . The Queen has sent privately to express her approval of my doings in Langalibalele's affair. . . ."

During his short sojourn in this country some of the Bishops resorted to the old weapon of inhibition, and among them was the Bishop of London. The peculiar position of the Dean of Westminster put it in his power to administer indirectly a strong rebuke to the prelate who would engage in such unworthy warfare; and of this power Dr. Stanley availed himself in a spirit of righteous indignation. He invited the Bishop of Natal to preach in the Abbey, and he wrote to the Bishop of London to explain the reasons which had led him to do so. He reminded Dr. Jackson that Archbishop Howley had refused to admit Dr. Arnold into the pulpit of Lambeth Chapel on account of the offence which his appearance there would give to the clergy.

"Like the Bishop of Natal," he added, "Dr. Arnold was regarded by the clerical, I might almost say the religious, world of the time, of course with many exceptions, as a dangerous heretic—was denied to be a Churchman, or even a Christian. It is not too much to suppose that the change of feeling, honourable alike to him and to them, which in a few years altered the judgement of the clergy with regard to the head master of Rugby, might also in a few years effect a corresponding transformation of opinion with regard to the Bishop of Natal. Any acts which

may tend to hasten such triumphs of charity and reason, in which, when accomplished, all must acquiesce, are worth attempting, even at the cost of some temporary disturbance."

How little the Bishop of Natal desired that his appearance should cause disturbance anywhere is shown by the following letters :—

TO THE DEAN OF WESTMINSTER.

"*December* 17, 1874.

. . . . "I have come to the conclusion that I had better decline to comply with your kind request. I need hardly say that under other circumstances I should have gladly carried out your wishes. I might, perhaps, have tried to say a few words to comfort the hearts of some who, at this great crisis of religious thought in England, are looking anxiously to their spiritual advisers for help in their uncertainty. I might also have tried to impress upon my fellow-countrymen the duty which we owe, as English Christians, towards the inferior races under our charge; to say that surely the rule of a nation like ours over so many weaker communities means something more than the amount of property, of material wealth, she can squeeze out of the subject peoples; that if England extends her sway over the earth to inforce justice, to practise mercy, to show care and pity for the weak and helpless, to redress the wrongs of the down-trodden and oppressed, and to raise her dependents in the scale of humanity, there is then a reason for the existence of her vast colonial empire; that it is only such acts as these which will show that our religion is a reality and not a mere name; and that the passionate love of justice which God has planted in the bosom of his children is a sign that our Father thinks and feels as we do. But there are others who will teach these things when I am gone. I did not come home to assert my own personal position in the Church of England, if that were doubtful which has been recognised by his Grace the Primate of All England,[1] and,

[1] See p. 228.

above all, by the Crown; and I have no wish whatever to occupy the few remaining days of my stay in England with any such contention as might seem to be implied by my preaching at Westminster after the recent action of the Bishop of London, though, of course, I am aware that you are not under his jurisdiction. I therefore think it best not to avail myself of the invitation which you have given me to preach in the venerable Abbey so dear to the memories of Englishmen; and I shall return to my diocese rejoicing that I have been permitted to bear to England the cry of the oppressed, and thankful that by English hearts that cry has been heard and answered."[1]

TO THE RECTOR OF CARFAX, OXFORD.

"37 PHILLIMORE GARDENS, KENSINGTON, *November* 5, 1874.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I am much obliged by your very kind letter, and I should be very glad to comply with your wish if possible. . . . But would it not be necessary to ask the Bishop's permission for my preaching in a city church? And would the Bishop of Oxford grant such permission? It is true he is not committed to the demonstration made by the other Bishops ten or twelve years ago. But I would not like to do anything which might imply disrespect for his authority.'

TO THE SAME.

"ATHENÆUM CLUB, *November* 11, 1874.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"As I feel sure that the Bishop of Oxford would not be willing to allow me to preach in any of the churches of his diocese, and I should not like to do so without his knowledge, I think it best not to preach in Carfax church, though under other circumstances I should have been very glad to do so. I have promised to preach for the Master of Balliol on the 29th, and shall hope to see you while in Oxford."

[1] The sermon which was to have been preached in Westminster Abbey appeared in the *Contemporary Review*.

TO THE SAME.

"THE LODGE, BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD, *November* 24, 1874.

"The Dean of Westminster sees no reason why I should not preach at Carfax church, if you still desire it—more especially as Bishop Temple has expressly informed a clergyman, who had asked me to preach in his church in Cornwall, that he 'had not inhibited and did not mean to inhibit the Bishop of Natal from preaching in his diocese.' If you therefore are still in the same mind as when you wrote to me, or would like to talk over the matter, will you be so good as to call upon me here any time to-day after 4 P.M., or to-morrow morning?"

It was represented to the Bishop, in fact, that it would be an unprecedented step to ask leave for the preaching of a single sermon. In a subsequent letter to Mr. Fletcher, the Rector of Carfax, the Bishop suggested that it might be well if he were to ask the Archbishop of Canterbury whether the Bishop of Natal could, according to the law of the Church of England, be regarded as a deposed Bishop and excommunicated heretic in any sense of the words. Here, obviously, was the point on which the question turned. Until he had been condemned by that law on some definite charge, the proceedings of self-constituted courts in Africa went for nothing. Hence Dr. Tait had, in personal conversation, told Bishop Colenso that in his view he was as much Bishop as if Dr Gray had never taken any proceedings against him. On this hypothesis the inhibitions put forth by individual Bishops were nothing more and nothing less than a series of deliberate and arbitrary insults.

TO JOHN MERRIFIELD, ESQ.

"BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD, *November* 25, 1874.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I do not despair of being able to run down and see you, as I do not think that I shall be able to leave England before

the 15th or 25th of December, Lord Carnarvon not having yet announced his decision, though I pretty well know of what kind it will be. But do not expect me, and let me say 'Good-bye' in case I should be unable to come. I thank you most heartily for your kind words, and must now go and prepare two sermons for Oxford next Sunday—one in Balliol Chapel and the other in Carfax city church, if the Bishop of Oxford does not interfere to prevent my preaching. And in one of them I shall say almost exactly what you have said in your note about *progress* unto perfection.

"Lord Carnarvon wrote last week to say that in view of the advantages which he had derived from my presence in England, and the information and explanations he had received from me with reference to the affair of Langalibalele, he thought it only reasonable that my expenses (£120) should be reimbursed by the colony; and he gave me an order for the money, which I received in London."

Mr. Shepstone, sent by Sir B. Pine to support the case of the Natal Government, had reached England a month before the Bishop. Having, as he trusted, fought the fight, and won a measure of justice for those to whom wrong had been done, the Bishop would have sought Mr. Shepstone out in the hope that the old friendly relations might yet, to some extent, be re-established between them, and was somewhat vexed when Lord Carnarvon, demurring to this, arranged that they should meet in his presence. He was still more vexed at the constraint of this meeting, although he was willing to attribute it to the surroundings. It seemed strange that Lord Carnarvon should imagine that such a case could be met by an injunction to "shake hands." Was it that he feared lest, in a private interview, the Bishop might ask questions more freely and persistently of Mr. Shepstone than of himself; and so might learn, while there was yet time, that the promises which had been made to him were hollow and worthless?

The Bishop expressed his intention of calling on Mr. Shepstone; but two days later he received a note in which Mr. Shepstone said that they were starting at once for Natal. The following was the Bishop's reply:—

TO TH. SHEPSTONE, ESQ.

"LONDON, *December* 6, 1874.

"I cannot tell you the pleasure with which I received your kind note yesterday. And though the steamer which takes this will, I hope, take me also to Natal, I wish to write a few lines which you will receive before you can see me, to explain that you were mistaken in supposing (as Mr. Torrens told me yesterday) that I had 'cut' you at a railway station. I should have almost thought that you knew me too well to suppose that this could possibly have happened. . . . The fact is, of course, that I never saw you. I heard from Major Erskine something about our having met at a railway station, when you were on your way from High Clere, and I was going down. But I told him I thought he was mistaken, as you had been there, I believed, on the Sunday previous to that which I spent there. However, so far was I from passing you without recognition that on that occasion I expressed to Lord Carnarvon my wish to go at once and see you on my return to town, and talk over matters with you. But he begged me *not* to do so for the present, as he had not, I suppose, fully made up his mind. Of course, I obeyed orders as you have done. But I longed for the time when I might see you and speak with you again as of old; and on Tuesday last, when he communicated in general terms the decision at which he had arrived, I again asked him if I might speak with you on the subject, as he told me he had already communicated, the same to you; and he then said that he would send for me, if he could bring us together on the Wednesday, which he did.

"I should like just to have shaken hands with Mrs. Shepstone before she left, for I know it has been a terrible trial for our

wives and children as well as for us. But I hope the worst is now over, and that good in the end will be brought out of all this misery."

The assurances which he received from Lord Carnarvon could not fail to satisfy him that the wrong done to Langalibalele would be substantially redressed. He therefore readily assented to the wish expressed by Lord Carnarvon, that any further discussion of this subject in the public journals should be discouraged.

"To this," the Bishop wrote in 1878 to Sir Bartle Frere, "I very heartily assented, and proposed to write a letter to the *Times* to that effect, which I did, after submitting it for his Lordship's approval and correction; and in this letter I stated that, though not at liberty at present to publish it, I was perfectly satisfied with the decision of the Secretary of State, which was wise, and just, as well as merciful. . . . But in so writing, I had no doubt that the promises made by the Secretary of State in the Queen's name would be carried out—in spirit, at all events, if they could not be in the letter."

Lord Carnarvon, indeed, had himself said:—

"I will frankly own that I had strained my own sense of what is due to the justice of the case to the uttermost, out of consideration for the feelings and difficulties of the South African colonists. . . . I had brought myself to advise the Crown to reverse or modify the action of the colonial Governments in South Africa in no greater degree than justice as well as public opinion absolutely demands."

According to the arrangement thus made, Langalibalele would not be permitted to return to Natal, but would receive a location in the Cape Colony, where he, with any of his tribe who might like to join him, might live in freedom like any other subjects of the Queen; being, further, supplied with cattle, agricultural implements, and other things which they

might need, and so be started fairly in their new career. This decision was (December 2) communicated verbally to the Bishop by Lord Carnarvon. The despatches conveying the official version of this decision were dated two days later; and these the Bishop was not allowed to see. This circumstance aroused his fears.

"Notwithstanding Mr. Shepstone's opinion that without much difficulty a suitable location might be found in the Cape Colony, . . . I must say that I had grave misgivings; and while expressing my most sincere thanks on behalf of the ex-chief and his son and people for Her Majesty's clemency to them, I ventured to suggest a doubt as to the practicability of carrying out at the Cape Her Majesty's gracious intentions. But Lord Carnarvon, relying probably on Mr. Shepstone's opinion, was quite satisfied on this point, and it would have been presumptuous, of course, on my part to have said more."

The Bishop followed Mr. Shepstone as soon as he could, ending his last sojourn in his native land on Christmas Day. Expressions of sympathy and good wishes came to him from a large body of his fellow-countrymen (in many cases, in spite of much religious prejudice), and from the Queen herself; and at Plymouth, as the steamer passed that port, he received an address with which he was much gratified. An order for the release of Langalibalele had preceded him; but the hopes which he may have entertained of peace and of "the worst being over" were soon to be dashed to the ground. He had asked to be allowed to visit Langa at the Cape on his way home, and Lord Carnarvon had said that he expressly wished him to do so, and would write to that effect. Mr. Shepstone would communicate to the chief, officially and authoritatively, the decision of Her Majesty, and the Bishop was to speak with him afterwards as a friend, and do his best to reconcile

his mind (if necessary) to submit to those parts of it which might not be pleasant.

The Bishop landed at Capetown, Thursday, January 21, 1875, and received at once from Mr. Fairbridge, M.L.A., whose guest he was during his stay at the Cape, a letter marked *private*, left for him by Mr. Shepstone. In this letter Mr. Shepstone, referring to Lord Carnarvon's decision in Langalibalele's case, and the co-operation which he asked of the Cape Government in the matter, informed him that the Cape Ministry had felt it their duty to decline acceding to Lord Carnarvon's wish, and that a serious complication was the consequence, the immediate effect being that Lord Carnarvon's decision could not be carried out as it stood. Of the subsequent incidents the Bishop wrote as follows:—

"Informed as above, I wrote to Sir H. Barkley, who, I found, had requested the Premier, Mr. Molteno, to meet me; and we had conversation for about an hour on the subject of Langalibalele, from which it appeared that the Cape Ministry refused to 'intern' Langa, as desired by Lord Carnarvon, somewhere in the Cape Colony, under proper restrictions, because Lord Carnarvon has also announced that the Bill passed by the Cape Parliament in order to carry out Sir B. Pine's plans! making legal the reception and detention of the chief and his son, as convicts at Robben Island, would be disallowed, and in that case they would have no power to place him under any such restrictions, or to exercise any surveillance upon him. Accordingly, a reply has been sent to England to that effect by the mail of January 5; and nothing can be done, or at all events will be done, until the Secretary of State's reply to that despatch shall have been received, possibly about the end of February. Thus, though charged with a message of mercy for the prisoner, my mouth was effectually closed, though every facility was given for my visiting him, and the Government steamer *Gnu* placed at my disposal for going over to Robben Island on Friday morning.

"Accordingly, I arrived as arranged, the passage taking about forty-five minutes on a very fine day, as this happened to be. We were landed from the little steamer in a boat, from which we got into chairs carried between staves on the shoulders of convicts, who were at hand for the purpose on the arrival of the steamer, and so we reached the island. Parched with the heat of this dry summer season, it looked arid and dreary in the extreme, fit only to be the haunt of sea-birds, of which some hundreds were flitting about. Scarcely a single tree or bush of any kind was to be seen on the island; but there was a small, now dried-up, patch of garden-ground, from which the vegetables for the institution [Lunatic Asylum] were raised, and I was informed that cattle do very well on the island, though of course their number must be limited by the small extent of it, which would hardly suffice for more than a hundred. I met with a very kind reception from Dr. Biccard, the excellent superintendent, who was much interested in the chief and his son, as were also the ladies of Dr. Biccard's family, and said that they were thoroughly well behaved, had given no trouble whatever, and certainly had very little the *appearance* of being rebels of a malignant and dangerous character, whatever the real fact might be. After a short rest I was taken to a room where they *now* live, having previously been lodged in separate convict cells, until this room was built and appropriated for their use, and I found it airy and comfortable. They were, of course, rejoiced to see me, having heard by some means that I had passed through Capetown on my way to England about five months ago, and had been refused permission to go and see them, and also that I had just come back from England with, so they fondly hoped, a word of grace from the Queen for them. It was hard to have that word actually intrusted to me, with a special charge from the Secretary of State to communicate it to them, after its official communication by Mr. Shepstone, and to use my influence to bring them to acquiesce contentedly in the arrangements made for them, as the wisest and best that could be made; and then to have my tongue

tied by virtue of Mr. Shepstone's letter and my own sense of the difficulties of the present situation, and be able to do no more than assure them in general terms that the chief induna of the Queen had heard very kindly what I had said on their behalf, and that there was mercy in store for them, though *when* or *how* it would be shown I could not exactly say. I ascertained on close inquiry that Mr. Shepstone had told them *nothing* except that 'the Bishop had remained behind, and was trying to make out their offence to be less than the Government considered it to be.' It was sad to see the effect upon them of my saying that I could not tell when they would be removed from Robben Island. 'Then it is death for us,' said the chief, and drew his finger across his throat. And for a long time their dejection was so great that I could scarcely get them to take an interest in the questions which I wished to put to them. I found that they had a perfect *horror* of the sea. I *fancied* that this might be the case, when the first talk was made about transporting them. But I had no idea of the extent to which this feeling of dread possessed them. . . . It is perfectly inhuman in any Christian Government to have sent the two poor wretches to this spot, where they have had no one to speak to of their own kind, and have endured this misery month after month, longing for my return from England, and buoyed up with the hope of being released on my arrival, or at least assured of a speedy release, a hope, alas! which has been so cruelly disappointed."

On his own side the hope entertained by the Bishop that the storm which threatened his friendly relations with Mr. Shepstone had spent itself was to be again rudely shaken. Mr. Shepstone reached Natal on the 15th of January, and on the 19th two of the three despatches (those, namely, which virtually recalled Sir B. Pine and released Langalibalele) were read publicly at an "indignation meeting" at Durban. Of these papers the former appeared in the *Gazette* at Maritzburg on the very day of the meeting, and the latter was not

published till two days had passed after the meeting, while the despatch which announced Lord Carnarvon's intention to introduce improvements into the native policy of the colony, though of the same date as the others, was not published till January 26.

> "I need hardly say," the Bishop remarks, "that the reading of these despatches at the Durban meeting abundantly accounted for the violence which was exhibited on that occasion, and for the insults prepared for myself on my arrival, the echoes of which may still be heard in one or more of the colonial papers."

For the time justice seemed to be down-trodden. There were the despatches, and there was the proclamation in the native language to Langa's tribe. The former spoke of an act of clemency to be done to the tribe and to the chief; the latter declared that any of his tribe, who wished to do so, might go to him, although he could not be suffered to go to them, and that all should be provided with such things as they might need. Yet Lord Carnarvon could state presently in the House of Lords that

> "it was only intended that Langa should be accompanied and surrounded by his immediate relations and friends,"

although to Sir B. Pine he had written that any promises made should be

> "performed with the most scrupulous fidelity, and that any other course of action would be calculated to bring the Government into the deepest discredit."

Nor was this all. The promises made by Lord Carnarvon in the Queen's name were not fulfilled even in this attenuated form. The despatches had insisted that

> "every care should be taken to obviate (for the members of the tribe) the hardships and to mitigate the severities

which, assuming the offence of the chief and his tribe to be even greater than I have estimated it, have far exceeded the limits of justice."

No such care has ever been taken; no such means have been provided. A large number even of his "immediate relations" remain to this day refugees in the Free State, and the number of his companions has never at any one time during the last thirteen years exceeded four or five, exclusive of infants. The chief himself was never released, although his place of banishment was changed; and this was the treatment dealt out to a man who had committed no crime at all. This breach of faith on the part of the Colonial and Home Governments was a heavy weight on the Bishop's mind to the end of his life. His last appeal for Langa was made, in December 1882, to Mr. Gladstone, who held out, as Lord Kimberley had held out before him, hopes of the old man's speedy release, and Langa has now at last (April 28, 1887) been brought back to Natal by Sir Arthur Havelock, though still a pauper and a prisoner.

"Justice as well as public opinion" had "absolutely demanded," Lord Carnarvon said, some action on his part; but the demands of justice were not satisfied by recalling Sir B. Pine as a scapegoat, and putting Sir G. Wolseley in his place, while the permanent staff of colonial officials for native affairs remained unchanged, with their intentions unaltered, and their feelings embittered by the check which they had received.

The trial of Langalibalele involved indirectly consequences full of pain for the Bishop personally. It led ultimately to the severance of the intimate and brotherly friendship which had existed for more than twenty years with Mr. Shepstone. The Bishop's letters, up to the date of his return to Natal, in January, 1875, bear witness to a hard struggle against the

conviction which was in the end forced upon him, that the friend whom he had implicitly trusted was not, after all, what he had taken him to be. A letter to Mr. Froude, which is given below, marks the date at which this sad conclusion was reached; and from this time to the end of his life the Bishop recognised in the policy promoted by Sir Theophilus Shepstone an influence in deadly opposition to the highest interests of Europeans and natives alike in South Africa —a policy through which the name of Englishman was fast

> "becoming in the native mind the synonym for duplicity, treachery, and violence, instead of, as in days gone by, for truth, and justice, and righteousness."

Painful, however, and disastrous though the result might be to himself, the Bishop could never hesitate in a question of duty. *Amicus Plato: magis amica veritas.* The dissolution or the interruption of a long and close friendship must be a deep grief to him; but he felt that he must be ready to give up everything, if the surrender must be made in the cause of justice and truth; and, as far as the happy convictions which made up the old friendship were concerned, he did give up everything. The incidents which led ultimately to this unhappy necessity were strange indeed, and in the story of these incidents, as has been already indicated,[1] we have the key to the mystery of the Langalibalele episode. It had been charged as an exaggeration of the offences committed by Langalibalele that, when a Government officer was sent to summon him to the presence of the Governor, he grossly insulted that officer by stripping him of his clothing. This circumstance the Bishop mentioned to his native printer Magema, who answered that Langalibalele had done no more than make the messenger take off his overcoat. "Well," the

[1] See pp. 346–57.

Bishop replied, "Somtseu [Mr. Shepstone] has heard a different story, and he believes it, and so do all the white people, and it has made them very angry. But why did he make Mawiza take off his coat?" "Because of what Mr. John Shepstone did to Matshana." "What was that?" Thereupon Magema told a story, which he said he had heard when a boy, to the effect that Mr. John Shepstone, having been sent to seize and bring to Maritzburg the chief Matshana, who had been concerned in killing a man, induced that chief to come to a conference, during which he drew out a short gun, and tried to shoot him, but hit another man. Matshana made his escape; but the "little trick" became a matter of traditional history, and led Langalibalele to fear that a like stratagem might be tried against himself.

The importance of this incident depended on the terms of the commission given to Mr. John Shepstone and the veracity of the reports of his acts. In his own report drawn up at the time nothing was said about the shooting. His conduct had been approved by the Secretary for Native Affairs; and sixteen years had passed away since the time of the alleged occurrence. The circumstances under which the matter was now judicially inquired into, while the Bishop found himself invested for the time being by the Government with the functions of a Public Prosecutor, are stated in the Bishop's letter to Mr. Froude to be presently given.

Langalibalele had not been acquitted by Lord Carnarvon of all blame. The verdict of the Secretary of State was as follows:—

"The material offence actually established against Langa appears to me, after weighing all the circumstances of the case with the most anxious care, to amount to this—that, having been thrice summoned to appear before the Government, he at first neglected, then refused, to come, and finally, having so disobeyed the orders of the Lieutenant-

Governor, he endeavoured to fly the jurisdiction of the Colonial Government with his tribe and his cattle."

Lord Carnarvon, while admitting that the refusal to appear may have been "dictated by fear," pronounced this to be an "unfounded panic," adding that

"there could of course be no real ground for such apprehension."

This was the full extent of the chief's offence. But, inconsiderable though it was, it is clear that it would have appeared still smaller had Lord Carnarvon been aware of what Mr. Theophilus Shepstone could have told him—of what was, indeed, presently to be accepted by him as judicially established after a minute investigation before a member of Sir Garnet Wolseley's staff.

The Bishop, as we have seen,[1] had his attention first drawn to an incident that had made a deep impression on the natives, by observing the manner in which Langa's plea of "fear of treachery" was treated by the court. It was held to be "an aggravation of the insult" offered to the Government messengers.[2] The Bishop proffered evidence, with the result already stated.[3] All references to the incident were studiously suppressed throughout proceedings which had for their avowed object the estimation of the real intent and culpability of Langa's acts.

Lord Carnarvon, then, felt at liberty to set aside explanations which the unfortunate chief based upon a knowledge of this incident. That the Colonial Secretary was not encouraged by Mr. Th. Shepstone to attach any importance to the incident was only in keeping with his past conduct.[4] But the matter was

[1] See pp. 343, 344. [2] See p. 345. [3] See p. 344, *note* 2.

[4] The Bishop had originally brought the matter during Langa's "trial" to the notice of the court and of the prosecutor, Mr. J. Shepstone, through Mr. Th. Shepstone, the Secretary for Native Affairs. The latter wrote

too serious to be altogether ignored; and Mr. John Shepstone having expressed himself as anxious only

> "that his character might be cleared of a charge which, on examination before a court of law, would prove to be utterly groundless,"

Lord Carnarvon desired Sir Garnet Wolseley to institute an inquiry into the matter, which was accordingly held by Colonel Colley.

The official report of this inquiry is given in an Imperial Blue-book,[1] and in an unpublished pamphlet (278 pages) by the Bishop. But of this history it is enough to say here that the Bishop's action was in the result more than justified. Sir G. Wolseley "left it entirely" in his hands "to obtain the necessary witnesses," and through and in spite of perpetual thwartings and obstacles he continued to collect eye-witnesses from both parties: those who had been with Mr. John Shepstone at the time from among the Ama-Hlubi in Natal and the Free State; Matshana's men from the north of the colony and from Zululand. It was not an easy task.

Twenty-one witnesses[2] called by the Bishop were accord-

officially to his brother on July 26, 1874, "You are aware that I did not tell you" of what the Bishop had said. But Mr. J. Shepstone had already, on July 24, written to the Bishop, "I admit that [my brother] casually alluded to what you had said concerning me." . . .

[1] C. 1401, February 1876. The pamphlet by the Bishop, is intitled "The History of the Matshana Inquiry, with a report of the evidence as taken down by the Bishop of Natal and the Rev. Canon Tönnesen."

[2] Of the difficulties experienced by the Bishop in gathering the witnesses some idea may be formed from the facts that already, before going to England, for asking the Zulu king to send down two of his subjects, Matshana's men, he had been reprimanded by the Governor through the acting Secretary for Native Affairs (Mr. John Shepstone himself), for holding communications with an outlawed chief, and that when these men arrived the same functionary asked them how they dared to appear in the colony, where they must know that they were looked upon as wild beasts to be killed as soon as seen. Another declared, "The gaol has injured my memory; don't send me back to the gaol." As the Bishop

ingly examined, together with four others who were called both by the Bishop and by Mr. J. Shepstone, and nine who were called by the latter on his own behalf. Sixteen witnesses whom the Bishop was ready to produce were not examined, as Colonel Colley urged that time was lacking for an inquiry so protracted. The Bishop's witnesses agreed in one straightforward story which was not impugned on a single point of importance. It also appeared that the statement put forth by Mr. J. Shepstone in 1875 was not consistent with his report sent in immediately after the attempted arrest. That report said nothing about Mr. J. Shepstone's having fired at Matshana or anyone else, or of any suspicion of a conspiracy on Matshana's part to murder Mr. Shepstone. The statement of 1875 declared

"that, having determined to execute the warrant handed me by the magistrate for the arrest of Matshana, on a charge of wilful murder, at all risks, and having a day or two previous received authentic information to the effect that, at a large meeting held by Matshana, it was decided that at this interview myself and party were to be put to death, and they were to leave with their chief in a body for the Zulu country, a signal was agreed upon to be made by the chief for the massacre, and was actually twice repeated at the meeting, but fortunately for us not acted upon. I had therefore to prepare, not only for the arrest of Matshana, but for the safety of myself and party. It was too late to withdraw at this stage, so I made up my mind to face our almost certain fate, we numbering one to their ten or more."

It might well be asked, Why were not all these things stated in the original report? His wife and her two young children

remarked, witnesses who came at his request knew that they were coming, as it were, with a rope around their necks; and if it should be declared that they had borne false witness, they had every reason to fear that for calumniating so high an official their punishment would be severe.

(by a former marriage) were by his own admission present at the interview, and the Bishop remarks :—

"It seems almost incredible that Mr. John Shepstone should have made up his mind to face almost certain death, not not only for himself and all his men, but for his wife and her two young children, on the ground that it was 'too late to withdraw at this stage,' when at any time since the 'day or two previous,' when the information in question reached him, he might have put off the meeting, or at all events have sent his wife and her children to a place of safety. It is, however, proved, and this also by the admissions of Mr. J. Shepstone himself, that he did not look on the principles of English good faith as applicable necessarily to dealings with the natives. Thus he had met Matshana at Dilizela and shook hands with him, giving him cattle for food in a friendly manner, and himself says of this, '*I should have apprehended him*, had it not been for the reason I have given—namely, that he was attended by upwards of three hundred armed men, was himself armed, and [*sic*] did not any of them lay down their arms during the interview. . . .' But should the Government still see it necessary, I can seize him at once, but will require an armed force to do so.'"

In the opinion or judgement drawn up for the Secretary of State and forwarded through Sir H. Bulwer, the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, Colonel Colley found as follows :—

"That Matshana was enticed to an interview, as stated by the Bishop, and was induced to come unarmed, under the belief that it was a friendly meeting, such as he had already had with Mr. Shepstone, for the purpose of discussing the accusations against him, and the question of his return to his location.

"That Matshana, though very suspicious and unwilling, came there in good faith, and that the accusations against him—of meditating the assassination of Mr. Shepstone and his party, of a pre-arranged plan and signal for the purpose, and of carrying concealed arms to the meeting—which are made

in Mr. J. Shepstone's statements, are entirely without foundation. . . .

"That Mr. Shepstone did not attempt to shoot Matshana, as described by the Bishop, but fired into the air, after the attempt to seize Matshana had failed, and in consequence of the attempt made almost simultaneously by some of Matshana's men to reach the huts and seize the arms of Mr. Shepstone's men.

"The concealment of a gun, and the fact that a great number of Matshana's men were killed in the pursuit, is not disputed by Mr. Shepstone."

If in using the word *shoot* Colonel Colley meant that Mr. Shepstone did not mean to *kill* Matshana, he was saying only what the Bishop said. There was no reason for supposing that Mr. J. Shepstone wished or intended to kill the chief. As a "noted sportsman and shot," he could have done this with ease; but it was not so easy to wound without killing or without hurting seriously. All that he wanted was by disabling him to make his capture more sure and his chance of escape smaller.

In reference to this decision of Colonel Colley, Lord Carnarvon, in a despatch to Sir H. Bulwer, dated December 15, 1875, declares:—

"I am bound emphatically to say that I have no hesitation in accepting it as a sound and just conclusion. On the other hand, I must, even after the lapse of so many years, record my disapprobation of the artifices by which it is admitted that Matshana was intrapped into the meeting with a view to his possible arrest. Such underhand manœuvres are opposed to the morality of a civilised administration; they lower English rule in the eyes of the natives; and they even defeat their own object, as is abundantly illustrated by the present case. Mr. J. W. Shepstone, however, was a subordinate officer, and, if his mode of executing the warrant was approved by the superior authorities

in the colony, the blame which may be attached to the transaction must be borne by them at least in equal proportion." [1]

When Lord Carnarvon, in this despatch, speaks of the "conviction" of Colonel Colley,

"that the charge brought against Mr. J. W. Shepstone, of having attempted to shoot Matshana, could not be sustained,"

it is clear that he also takes the word *shoot* to mean *kill*. The charge of attempting to kill had not been brought against him. The charge of attempting to wound or of firing in order to insure his capture had been in effect burked, though unintentionally, we may be sure, on Colonel Colley's part; and on this point the testimony of the witnesses generally was conclusive. In his statement of September 15, 1874, Mr. J.

[1] Blue-book, p. 250. The two accounts of Mr. John Shepstone, on which "with the greatest difficulty" Colonel Colley had based his decision, had represented him as firing after Matshana's men had turned to rally. His remarks, which were not forthcoming at the inquiry, but are now, by a curious irony of fate, published in the same Blue-book with Colonel Colley's Report and Lord Carnarvon's acceptance of it as "a sound and just conclusion," flatly contradict his other two accounts, and, by consequence, contradict also the decision based on these accounts in reference to the only point on which Colonel Colley had believed it possible to avoid convicting him,—his words here being, "When I found the whole force turning upon us, I did not fire again." In a letter to Lord Carnarvon, dated April 27, 1876, the Bishop, expressing his unfeigned admiration of the masterly manner in which Colonel Colley summed up the evidence (taken through an interpreter, and without assistance), recognised not only the judicial impartiality but also the singular accuracy of the summary composed under such conditions. But he pointed out the fatal contradiction since revealed, and also the "serious misapprehension under which Colonel Colley had laboured, through entirely overlooking (probably under the heavy pressure of work devolved upon him at the last moment of his stay in the colony) that portion of the Bishop's remarks which . . . . . had expressly guarded against any such misapprehension" as that the Bishop had made any charge against Mr Shepstone of having attempted to *kill* Matshana.

Shepstone had said that no opportunity of executing his warrant against Matshana had offered itself before

"the day on which I am charged with having treacherously inveigled him."[1]

This charge of inveigling both Colonel Colley and Lord Carnarvon held to be fully sustained.[2] From first to last, Mr. J. Shepstone, and his brother Mr. Th. Shepstone, had denied, not merely the fact of the shooting at Matshana, but that of inveigling him also.

The circumstances of the Bishop's return to Natal in 1875 presented a striking contrast to those of his landing nearly ten years before. The disaster of the Bushman's River Pass had been used to stir up in the minds of the colonists an unreasoning hatred of the Hlubi chief. By saying anything in his favour the Bishop was regarded as taking part with a bloodthirsty ruffian; and those of the officials who might have corrected their blunder were too much interested in securing the condemnation of Langalibalele to think of doing so. But it is a significant fact that the relatives of the three young men who fell at the Pass were not among those who were loud in abuse of the Bishop. Personal intercourse with him in their sorrow soon justified to them both his motives and his acts.

Before he landed, efforts to excite the worse part of the white population against him had been made by some who would not have been sorry if their rage had led them into tumult, and the tumult had ended in his bodily injury. In the town of Durban some of the shops were closed as a sign of mourning, and on many of the vessels in the harbour the flags stood half-mast high. Broad hints that the Bishop might be lynched reached the ears of Colonel Durnford and Mr. Warwick Brooks. Without saying anything to alarm the

[1] Blue-book, p. 255. [2] *Ib.* p. 257.

family at Bishopstowe, these stanch friends went down to the harbour to receive him. The steamer had arrived late at night; and the passengers would land early in the morning. The friends were on shore close to the ship at dawn, Colonel Durnford in full uniform, and wearing his sword;[1] and when, on his landing, they placed themselves one on either side, the crowd parted silently, and indulged in nothing more than black looks, of which the Bishop took no notice. All this ill-will might easily have been repressed, or even dissipated, if men in high office had not found that it would better answer their purpose to pander to it. The most powerful influences were exerted on the other side.

"I will now tell you," Colonel Durnford wrote to his father (July 3, 1875), "what I think of Sir Garnet Wolseley and his policy here. He came out to carry some point, I imagine, not yet divulged, and from the first he went in for conciliation, and therefore, I suppose, did not desire to show countenance either to the Bishop of Natal or to myself. . . . So we two had 'cold shoulder,' nothing we could take hold upon; we were asked to the official and public entertainments and to *none others*, although hospitality is the order of the day at Government House. I suppose the General feared to impair his popularity! . . . I have, as you know, stood up for the Putini tribe, and my views have been indorsed by Lord Carnarvon. The tribe, having confidence in me, collected funds and sent them to me to purchase land for them. They could not buy direct—the white man would certainly cheat the savage. I ascertained that Sir Garnet Wolseley and the Secretary for Native Affairs approved of the natives procuring land, and I informed them both of the fact that the tribe were sending me money for the purpose. Well, one day I was sent for to Government House, and informed that it was inexpedient that I took any further action in native matters, and I was called upon 'on my loyalty' to cease. I was told . . . that my

[1] The Bishop regretted the rebuke to the people implied by this.

usefulness as Colonial Engineer had been very much impaired by my political sympathies with Bishop Colenso, and so on. I resigned at once. My resignation was not accepted. . . . Sir Garnet Wolseley told me that, with my feelings that the Natal Government acted wrongly in the destruction of the Putini tribe, I was a *traitor* to that Government (as C.E.) in my action for their redress, and I should then have resigned. I rejoined, 'That is impossible, as the Queen has indorsed that action. I led the Government to the right path.' [1]

"He [Sir Garnet Wolseley] has treated the Bishop of Natal and myself with marked coldness ever since he came. His is a conciliating, popularity-seeking policy. Well, I'm in good company, better than ever I hoped for, and in a good cause. . . . One count against me, I find, is that I went to Durban to meet my friend the Bishop when he returned from England, thereby plainly showing my sympathy. Some people threatened to tar and feather him, to prevent his landing! Well, as a Government officer, I am told, I *should not have gone near him.* Is that not a nice creed for a gentleman to hold? Desert your friends when trouble comes!" [2]

Not content with bullying Colonel Durnford, who could not, by military etiquette, defend himself, Sir Garnet Wolseley undertook to "snub" the Bishop whose offence was akin to that of Colonel Durnford. As the Bishop himself says:—

"Nothing having been done after Mr. Shepstone's return to carry out Lord Carnarvon's instructions for the relief of Langa's tribe, I did what I could (having, I believed, some influence with them, and having first consulted Mr. Shepstone and secured his apparent approval) to induce the able-bodied men of the tribe to engage in work for the Government upon the roads, &c., under the Colonial Engineer (Colonel Durnford), in the hope of saving money to buy land for themselves in the colony after a time. . . . . It having been reported, however, by certain officials to

[1] *A Soldier's Life and Work in South Africa.* [2] *Ib.* pp. 122, 123.

Sir G. Wolseley that my messengers had 'caused agitation' by stirring up the natives with the hope that the chief Langa would return to Natal [an unfounded report, as the Bishop showed], he disapproved of my proceeding, declaring that members of the Ama-Hlubi tribe were still liable to forced servitude on their return to the colony, . . . and that the policy of the Government is not specially to encourage their return."

The Bishop insisted that permission for their return could not be withheld without a breach of faith on the part of the Government in a question, in which, to use the words of Lord Carnarvon, "the justice and the honour of the British Crown are involved." Finally, Sir G. Wolseley agreed, on condition that the Bishop should send them no more messengers, to make known to the Ama-Hlubi in the Free State and Basuto-land that they were free to return. The Bishop assented, and Sir G. Wolseley "kept the word of promise to the ear" by ordering a notice to this effect to be inserted in the *public papers*, and so taking care that it should not reach the Ama-Hlubi. At the same time he called upon the Bishop "by his loyalty, to do nothing contrary to the policy decided upon by that constituted authority which represents Her Majesty in the colony."

The Bishop's reply ends with the following words :—

His Excellency will be aware that during the past year I have felt it to be my very painful duty, as a loyal subject, to do many things contrary to the policy decided upon by the representatives of the Crown in this colony; that this policy has been condemned, and overruled, or materially modified by the Secretary of State; and that my conduct has met with the approval of Lord Carnarvon, and, I may add, with that of Her Majesty herself, conveyed to me by the Dean of Westminster. It would be no sign, therefore, of any want of 'loyalty' on my part, if under any like circumstances which might occur hereafter—which God

forbid—I should be found acting contrary to the policy of this Government. Nor, I am sure, will His Excellency wish or expect me, considering the relations in which during the past year I have stood to these people,—in this colony almost alone, but with the full approval of the highest authorities at home,—to be bound by restrictions, expressed or implied, to which no other white man in the colony would be subject."

The history of this period of the Bishop's life may run counter to the tastes and the prejudices of some or of many; but even these will be constrained to ask themselves whether it was possible for a truth-loving and single-minded man to follow any other course than that which he actually took. Pressed by anxieties of two kinds—anxieties for the securing of bare justice (to say nothing of merciful and gentle dealing) for the natives, and anxieties for the highest welfare of the white population of his diocese—he yet struggled on, cast down, but not dismayed, in the path of his duty. But that the pressure of the load was sorely felt is shown by the following letter to his brother-in-law:—

To C. J. Bunyon, Esq.

"Bishopstowe, *March* 8, 1875.

. . "As for my remaining here without men and without money, which . . . . friends of mine speak of so complacently, that is utterly impossible. I wait to see what course my friends in England, who promised me assistance, will take to aid me in what is really a superhuman struggle, at least a struggle too hard for one single man *unassisted* to maintain against all the world, political and theological. I wait also to see what course the native question may take here. But if nothing happens within twelve months to make my stay here hopeful or even possible, I should certainly not reject such a proposal as that from the Manchester New College, if it came to me, or any other by which I could get my bread respectably."

TO THE REV. J. D. LA TOUCHE.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *July* 30, 1875.

"Your letter of June 21 reached us yesterday, and very glad indeed we are to hear that you found all well at home, as I did, thank God, on my return from England. Soon after you wrote, you must have received my letter which would in great measure supply the answer to this of yours,—so far at all events as to settle the question for you whether *your* return to Natal would be acceptable or not. I can only say that it is much desired by all parties concerned, and *my* only reason for not urging it upon you with all my power is that you only can know your own circumstances in England, and you also are acquainted thoroughly with the state of things in Natal. But come to us again, if you can, and come as speedily as you can. . . . At present nothing whatever has been done in respect of the natives, nor, so far as I can see, is anything likely to be done, by Sir Garnet Wolseley, who . . . . does not seem to have a particle of sympathy with me and mine in what we have done for poor Langa and the Ama-Hlubi.

You will hear from our boys or Mr. Chesson what a snubbing Sir G. Wolseley has given to the 266 Christian natives for their memorial. . . . The *Times*, of course, comes down upon the natives, having evidently supposed . . . , that *I* was at the bottom of it, whereas I had nothing to do with it. It was a genuine document, emanating from the natives themselves. The *Mercury* insinuated all it can against me and Magema, who was employed to write it ; but only nine of the 266 signatures belong to this station. The fact is that the petition was suggested by Bishop Macrorie's head man in Maritzburg, and Bishop Macrorie's teacher undertook to draw it up for them."[1]

[1] The petitioners subsequently re-wrote it for themselves in English, and it was sent to Sir Garnet Wolseley (of all men !) in the following form :—"We, the undersigned Christians . . . are glad to welcome your Excellency's arrival, the great chief whom we are under, and our father who released us from all heaviness. We welcome your arrival with our

On August 14, 1875, Mr. Froude, writing at Maritzburg, addressed a long letter to the Bishop on the subject of the Matshana inquiry. In this letter he contended that, by the accepted ethics of secret or confidential Government service, Mr. J. Shepstone was not to blame for shooting "a supposed criminal when resisting a lawful arrest;" that the Bishop was going beyond the mark in charging this to him as a crime; that statesmen and soldiers are exceedingly jealous of such interference from outsiders as that which was involved in the part taken by the Bishop of late years in native affairs; that the miseries of the Langalibalele business were attributable to "everyone who has talked nonsense about the black races for the last eighty years;" that the blacks must be ruled by the whites; that the sooner the former could be convinced of this the better would it be for both sides. In a postscript Mr. Froude mentioned the allegation that the inquiry was the result of the Bishop's charging Mr. Shepstone with "murderous treachery" which disqualified him for public employment.

"I do not think," he said, "such a charge can be made good. If you could withdraw *that*, and let the matter stand where it did in Langalibalele's trial, public opinion would then bear you out."

To this letter the Bishop returned the following reply:—

To J. A. Froude, Esq.

"Bishopstowe, *August* 16, 1875.

"I thank you heartily for your letter and for all your kind words in it, as well as for your frank expressions of opinion on all points concerned.

nearty thanks. . . . We say that you are the same as a hen, which does not mind any kind of chicken, whether of a duck, or turkey, or of any other bird—she does keep them all under her wings."

"As to the case of Mr. John Shepstone, you—and doubtless Sir Garnet Wolseley and others—entirely mistake my position. I do not think that Lord Carnarvon does, or my friends in England; and I shall, of course, have to take care that my action is not misrepresented in the matter, as it has been here persistently. *Originally*, it was no part of my business to prove that Mr. J. Shepstone did the deed attributed to him. I neither cared, for the purpose I then had in view, nor (for his brother's sake) had I any wish to do so. I quite admit all you say about the justification which might be urged, and would be allowed by many, for the act in question under the circumstances, if it occurred. What I did was to urge it, whether true or believed to be true, as an excuse for Langalibalele; and when the Government here, that is, the S.N.A., refused to allow it any weight, and treated it as an impudent pretence, both in the sentence and in the judgement of the Court of Appeal, I had nothing to do but to submit the facts, as far as I then knew about them, to Lord Carnarvon for his own information. This was done by one of my own friends sending him my first pamphlet (*Defence of Langalibalele*); and though he did so without my express authority, yet I take the responsibility of the act, because I, no doubt, expressed in my letters the wish very strongly that Lord Carnarvon knew the facts of the case. Lord Carnarvon then sent my pamphlet out for Sir B. Pine's information, requesting him to reply to the statements made in it, and this produced Mr. Theoph. Shepstone's minute printed in the Imperial Blue-book (C. 1121) containing also Mr. John Shepstone's official report as forwarded at the time—a minute so untruthful, so dishonest, as regards this particular point, that the last links of friendship between us, which (as far as I was concerned) still held us together, were snapped asunder as soon as I read it, after my return from England. What course I should have taken ultimately in the matter, it is impossible to say; but the point was settled for me by Mr. J. Shepstone's entering an action against me for a false and malicious libel,

asserting that the statements I had made were 'as untrue as unfounded,' and calling upon me to 'retract unreservedly the aspersion it contains concerning me,' to which, of course, I replied that I declined to retract anything which I have written concerning Matshana's affair, until I am satisfied that the said statements are 'untrue and unfounded.' This obliged me to refer the matter to Sir B. Pine, and from his decision to Lord Carnarvon. I did not impute blame especially to Mr. J. Shepstone for his 'treacherous, murderous act,' as his brother (*not myself*) called it, as if *that* was the point on which I laid particular stress, as you and Sir Garnet seem to believe. But I said that he had lied to the Government at first in his official report; that he had lied again when his own act was alleged before him, as prosecutor, by a prisoner on trial for his life, in suppressing the truth from the authorities concerned; that he had lied, and was lying, down to the present moment, to Lord Carnarvon himself, in denying the truth of the story I had laid before his Lordship, and charging me with making statements of a most libellous and malicious nature. I do not, of course, mean that I used so coarse a word as lying; but undoubtedly I implied the fact expressed by that word. And it is *this* offence, against his own superior and against the Secretary of State himself—and not the original fault, which I quite well agree with you would be justified or excused by many a politician—which is the real subject of this inquiry ordered by Lord Carnarvon.

"You will see, I think, that under the above circumstances the whole of that part of your letter which refers to the matter of Mr. J. Shepstone is altogether irrelevant to the real point at issue. I never said that his act of 'murderous treachery' (Mr. Theophilus Shepstone's phrase) disqualified him from public employment. But I said that his dishonest concealments of that act (if it really occurred) in his official report, and still more his suppression of the truth when he acted as public prosecutor against Langalibalele, and, most of all, his daring denial of it in the face of Lord Carnarvon and of the whole world, . . . unfitted him to sit

on the Bench as the distributor of justice in the name of England; not to speak of his acting as Secretary for Native Affairs in his brother's absence. . . . I fully contemplated the possibility of the public trial with which Mr. J. Shepstone had threatened me, through his lawyer, before I left Natal; and all I wanted was to be protected so far by Lord Carnarvon as to have no obstacle thrown in my way by the Natal authorities in preparing my defence and calling my witnesses. The whole course pursued by Lord Carnarvon in this matter, as far as I know, is entirely his own; most certainly it was never suggested by myself (*i.e.* in getting Mr. J. Shepstone to withdraw his action at law, and substituting an inquiry in place of it). . . .

"With respect to Sir Garnet Wolseley, I agree with almost every word you say. I was fully prepared for some amount of feeling on his part as to any appearance of interference by an outsider like myself with the affairs of Government, with which, I may add, I have never once interfered during the twenty-one years I have lived in the colony till compelled to do so by the matter of Langa. Nor did I expect to be 'consulted' by him: that is far too grand a term to be used for any friendly talk which I might, perhaps, without any great presumption, have expected him to have with me, as privately as he liked, on native affairs, in which, as he knew, I had taken so deep an interest. I confess I see no reason why Sir Garnet Wolseley, coming direct from Lord Carnarvon as you do, might not have looked upon me with favour, as my action was approved by his superior, and have shown me, as you have done (independently, I venture to believe, of our former slight acquaintance), a little kindly sympathy in private—if he could not do so in public—considering the painful difficulties I have had to encounter, and in serving his chief and our Sovereign. But I was soon, as I told you, made to feel that this was not to be, and that I must still go on my solitary way; and I was content to do so, and *have done so*, withdrawing myself from all interference in native affairs ever since I received Sir Garnet's most uncalled-for snub-

bing, though he evidently does not believe this—*e.g.* as regards the Christian natives' petition. . . . I think also that you would find it difficult to show that I, in fighting the battle of Langalibalele, had been 'obliged to condemn the whites of Natal most severely.' I have no recollection of having ever done so on any single occasion, and certainly not in conversation with Lord Carnarvon. I remember his expressly asking me if I thought the people were disposed to be unjust and cruel to the natives, and I replied, 'Certainly not. They are mistaken in the present affair, because they have been utterly misled by the Government. But I fully believe that, as a body, they would wish to deal with them justly and kindly, and even generously.' . . ."

Three months later, writing to the Bishop from Capetown, Mr. Froude said that he must hasten with all speed to England, to undeceive Lord Carnarvon, "who imagines that the colonies are ripe for confederation."

"As to Colonel Durnford," Mr. Froude remarked, "I have rarely met a man who, at first sight, made a more pleasing impression upon me. He was more than I expected, and his distinguished reputation had led me to form very high expectations indeed. He has done the State good service. He alone did his duty, when others forgot theirs: 'among the faithless, faithful only found.' He has borne without complaint the most ungenerous calumnies. And, if it be possible for me to bring his case under the consideration of people at home, you may be sure that I will not neglect to do so."

TO THE REV. J. D. LA TOUCHE.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *August* 30, 1875.

. . . "The Matshana inquiry ended, as far as I am concerned, last Thursday, by my sending in my summary of the evidence. I am *perfectly satisfied.* I brought forward twenty witnesses, who all supported my view of the affair in the

most distinct straightforward manner. To many of them I had never said a word on the subject before they appeared to be examined, and I had never even seen the face of seven of them, of whom four were brought down by Mr. J. Shepstone and kept in his hands all the while in Maritzburg. I expect he thought I should be *afraid* to call them, supposing that, summoned as being his witnesses, they would support *his* story. But I did call them nevertheless; and they manfully spoke the truth. The only one who ate his words (as I expected he would) was Ncamane, whose story you know, and even he by the lies he told really proved my account to be true. Mr. J. Shepstone brought four eye-witnesses, who *all* of them lied transparently. In short, the matter is proved beyond a doubt, as Lord Carnarvon must see, *if only the evidence is sent home fairly.* But I must confess I have the greatest misgivings as to what Sir G. Wolseley may do. . . . In this inquiry he has refused me at first all help towards getting witnesses; and though at last he was obliged to send [to Zululand] for some at my request, *e.g.* Matshana himself, . . . he has refused to pay any of the expenses which I have had to incur in the matter. I hope to get these out of Lord Carnarvon. But the tone of his speeches wonderfully repeats Sir G. Wolseley's 'Let bygones be bygones.' Yes; and Langa is still at Robben Island, . . . and nothing has been done to assist the Ama-Hlubi to recover from their ruin; . . . and the Putini people have little done for them—not £2,000 altogether, I firmly believe, instead of the £20,000 which Lord Carnarvon speaks of. . . . The revelations made in this inquiry as to the rottenness of our whole native system, when the indunas, and would-be indunas, are actually trained to lying and deceit by the example of their white superiors, are very shocking. I am certain that Sir G. Wolseley will do all he possibly can to burke and hush up the affair, and perhaps he will succeed in doing so. . . . Lord Carnarvon himself has written a very kind private letter to me, asking me, in effect, to do nothing to help these unfortunate tribes, and Mr. Froude

has written another kind letter to suggest to me to drop the Matshana inquiry. And as I, of course, shall do neither the one nor the other, I shall be as usual, I suppose, abused by all parties. . . . Sir G. Wolseley's visit ends with this steamer, which carries him and his brilliant staff away. It remains to be seen what real good he has done. . . . The new native law seems to be nothing but a law to render legal all that Mr. Shepstone has been doing hitherto illegally or irregularly. The whole power is contained in his hands alone—legislative, judicial, and executive—as far as the natives are concerned; and through these he really rules the colony, and, like Sindbad's Old Man of the Sea, cannot be shaken off. He seems to me to be firmer in his saddle than ever."

TO THE EARL OF CARNARVON.

"BISHOPSTOWE, NATAL, *September* 1, 1875.

"MY LORD,

"I feel very deeply the most kind and frank manner in which you have written to me with reference to native matters in this colony, and I desire to express to your Lordship my sincere thanks for your letter. I am sure that I shall be allowed to express as frankly, with all possible respect, my own feelings at the present moment. And if I may not succeed in wholly removing from your Lordship's mind the impressions which have evidently been conveyed to it with reference to my proceedings since Sir Garnet Wolseley came to Natal, yet I venture to believe from the experience which I had while in England of your Lordship's kindness that you will at least consider seriously what I would say to justify myself in your Lordship's estimation.

"I suppose that I may assume that your Lordship's letter has been elicited by communications from Sir Garnet Wolseley; and I have no doubt that he believes that I am a somewhat troublesome—probably even a dangerous—agitator in native matters. He imagines, very probably, that I expected to be consulted about them in consequence of my recent action in Langalibalele's case; that I am disappointed at having

received from him, ever since he landed, an unmistakeable 'cold shoulder' in respect of all such matters; and that I have been, in consequence, more or less engaged ever since in stirring up the native mind, listening to their complaints, and fomenting their discontent. Nothing, however, can be more unfounded: there is not a shadow of real ground for such a suspicion. From the time of my landing in 1854 I have never interfered in political matters, with reference either to whites or blacks, till my sense of justice, outraged in Langalibalele's trial, and by the cruel wrongs done to his tribe and Putini's, compelled me to take the course I did; and when I returned from England and read the words of your Lordship's despatches, I heartily thanked God that my labour had not been in vain. Langalibalele, indeed, is still, I believe, a prisoner on Robben Island [he had been removed to Uitvlugt on August 26, though this was not known in Natal on September 1, when this letter was written.—J.W.N.],[1] though his condition is ameliorated; and certainly not one of his wives or children or friends has as yet been sent to him [nor was sent until Nokwetuka, Mbombo, and Mabonsa were sent at my persistent instigation on February 4, 1876.—J.W.N.];[1] and a week or two ago I saw a private letter (from the Superintendent of the Cape Botanic Gardens), in which the writer said that Langa would be more comfortable at Robben Island than at the place provided for him by the Government. Of course, the provision made for him has fallen very far short of what your Lordship intended, and most kindly mentioned to me in Downing Street, and of what, indeed, is implied in the despatch. But in face of the difficulties in which the whole affair had been involved by the rash proceedings of this Government and the self-assertion of the Cape Government, taking also into account the fears expressed, partly no doubt genuine, partly fictitious, of native disturbances as the natural consequence of your Lordship's action, I felt that perhaps all had been done in the case that could be done, while I trusted also that your Lordship might see reason to cut short his

[1] Notes appended at a later date by the Bishop.

banishment, of which indeed a promise has been given him by Mr. Brownlee, if he behaved well. He *has* behaved well, and he has now been for twelve months a prisoner on Robben Island, besides eight spent in gaol in Natal.

But there was no such difficulty in carrying out your Lordship's wise and merciful instructions with respect to the people of the two tribes. And here I must say I have been painfully disappointed. The despatch said that 'every care should be taken to obviate the hardships, and to mitigate the severities, which, assuming the offence of the chief and his tribe to be even greater than I had estimated it, have far exceeded the limits of justice.' I am not aware that anything has been done in this direction—except that their 'apportionment' to farmers and others has been cancelled—as by supplying grain, cattle, or clothing, except food and blankets given to the wives and children of Langa himself at my request, while awaiting the decision in their case as to their going, or not, to Robben Island. Again, your Lordship directed that, 'as far as possible, means should be provided by which the members of the tribe may be enabled to re-establish themselves in settled occupations.' I have not heard that any means whatever has been provided for this end by the Government, while my own efforts to get them employed under the Colonial Engineer, with the view of their saving money to buy land, have been effectually checked and stifled at the very outset by the course taken by Sir Garnet Wolseley under the advice of Mr. Shepstone. It is on this point only that I have come into any appearance of conflict with the Government; and I venture to inclose for your Lordship's perusal a copy of the correspondence which has passed between Sir Garnet Wolseley and myself on this subject. I do not forward it officially through the Governor, not wishing that your Lordship should be troubled with any further reference to these matters. But it is impossible that your Lordship should understand how innocent I have been of any wish to intrude beyond my proper sphere into Government affairs, unless you will have the kindness to cast your eyes over it. I inclose also another corre-

spondence, in which, after speaking privately to Sir Garnet Wolseley upon the subject, I petitioned at his suggestion for the release of two unfortunates still kept in gaol—the last victims of the Ama-Hlubi tragedy. Sir Garnet Wolseley was pleased to grant my prayer in respect of one of them, but for the present declined to release the other. I humbly submit the case of this man (Sibanyana) to your Lordship's merciful consideration.

"When I found that my efforts to get the men of the tribe to work with a view to buying land at the end of three years —instead of their merely sinking into serfs—did not meet His Excellency's approval, I withdrew at once from all active interference with such matters, or with any matters in which the natives were concerned, until I was called to act in the Matshana inquiry. Sir Garnet Wolseley has been led, I believe, to attribute to my suggestion or co-operation the Christian natives' memorial,[1] of which, of course, your Lordship will have heard; and the fact has been even stated, and after my express contradiction repeated, in the present Government organ, the *Times of Natal*, that my daughter had written two pages of the names of the natives attached to it. I trust that before this Sir Garnet Wolseley has become aware of the mistake into which he has been led on this point. It was a genuine product of the half-civilised native mind; and I venture to think that, with all its defects in manner and matter, it hardly deserved the severe reprimand which Sir Garnet Wolseley —I presume on Mr. Shepstone's advice—thought it to be his duty to administer. It was meant to be respectful to His Excellency, though complaining of several points in the present native system of government. Some of their complaints I know to be very real, and they might be and ought to be remedied, and Sir Garnet Wolseley would not be likely to hear of them from any other quarter. But, after such a rebuff as the petitioners have received, it will be long, I expect, before a Governor will receive any other expression from themselves of their real or imaginary troubles.

[1] See page 419.

"It was plain, however, from the first moment of his landing, that Sir Garnet Wolseley, while showing all possible courtesy and kindness to myself and my family, as he did to all around him, meant to keep himself entirely aloof from me on native questions; acting, I presume, on your Lordship's instructions, perhaps understood by him in a somewhat exaggerated sense. I understood of course, that policy might require that he should ignore in public, in respect of native matters, the existence of one who had made himself so unpopular as I have become in the colony through my recent action, and whose only claims to a hearing were that of having mastered sufficiently the native tongue to be able to enter into their hearts and understand their thoughts and feelings more than others, and that of having also in some measure won their confidence by having exerted myself and suffered on their behalf. As to being formally or officially consulted, I never dreamt of it, unless it might be perhaps with others as member of a Native Board. But I did think it possible, I must confess, that, coming fresh from England and your Lordship's presence, he might express to me in private some sympathy with the peculiar difficulties of my position; might perhaps ask if I had any suggestions to make in respect of the two tribes, in which he must have known I was so deeply interested; or might even let me know to some small extent what he was doing, or meant to do, on their behalf—more especially as I stood in this colony almost the sole public representative of that strong English feeling by which your Lordship's action was so warmly supported, and was in some sense responsible to those I represented, and whom I persuaded, so soon as I heard your Lordship's decision, to lay aside all further public discussion of the subject in England, and leave themselves, and the cause of these unfortunate tribes, with perfect confidence in your Lordship's hands.

"But, as I have said, I know not what has been done in respect of the Ama-Hlubi to correspond with the generous language of the despatch. With regard to the Putini

people, I see by the report of the debate in the House of Lords on July 24, which has just reached us, that your Lordship is under the impression that 'the sum of £20,000 has been laid out by Sir Garnet Wolseley in cattle, stock, agricultural implements, &c., which were to be given to the tribe by way of compensation.'"

The Bishop then describes the actual condition of the dispossessed tribe so far as it was known to him at the time, and adds at a later date the note that "£980 16*s.* 8*d.* was the real sum at the date of my writing, and £550 at the time Lord Carnarvon heard of the £20,000." In this instance, the nature of the misleading statements made by colonial officials to the Secretary of State enabled the Bishop directly and completely to disprove them. The evil which he was to see wrought in Southern Africa was due chiefly to the fact that colonial officials might sin with impunity both in word and deed, while no weight was given to the Bishop's strict and unswerving integrity, when it became necessary to judge of a conflict of testimony between him and officials of the Natal Government.

"Your Lordship is reported to have said [in the House of Lords] 'I would earnestly intreat those who have taken part in these transactions—whether it be the Bishop of Natal, whether it be others, who have taken a leading part, by influence, by word, or by action—I would intreat them to allow the past to be forgotten, and to address themselves to the future.' Most heartily would I for one throw myself into the spirit of these admirable words, and exhort my friends in England to do so, were the past really bygone, and had the instructions of your Lordship's despatch been really carried out. But it is hard to be called upon to do this, when it is only we—the Government and the white people—with whom these things are bygones—we, who retain the property of both tribes, and the lands of the Ama-Hlubi; while Langa and his son are still in exile, and prisoners,

without the society of any of their women or friends; and that poor solitary sickly wretch is still in gaol at Maritzburg; and nothing whatever has been done to help the Ama-Hlubi to settle down again on lands of their own, though willing to buy them with their own labour; and the restitution to the Putini people has hitherto—so far as appears—been chiefly in name, and not a reality. Under such circumstances can it be expected that the misery and injustice of the past two years should be forgotten by the natives?

"But you may be assured that it will be, as it has been all along, my most earnest desire to act as far as possible in support of the measures which your Lordship has devised for the future well-being of the colony, especially in respect of native affairs, knowing well, as I do, that your Lordship has only in view the good and happiness of all concerned. And I pray that your efforts may be abundantly blessed.

"I have, &c.,

"J. W. NATAL."

TO THE REV. C. J. H. FLETCHER.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *January* 6, 1876.

"I am much obliged by your letter forwarding me a draft ... on account of the Carfax sermon, which I shall duly apply to assist our work among the natives in Natal, and especially those of our two unfortunate and most shamefully ill-used tribes. I write more strongly now, because, I grieve to say, all the promises of Lord Carnarvon have turned out to be delusions, except merely as to the removal of Langalibalele from Robben Island to the main land. Lord Carnarvon appears to have thrown himself completely into the hands of Mr. Shepstone (now Sir T. Shepstone)—the very person whose policy has been the cause of all our recent troubles. . . . I wait to see what Lord Carnarvon will do in the Matshana affair before deciding what other steps to take. But I do not intend the monstrous iniquity

which has been allowed to take the place of all Lord Carnarvon's grand professions . . . . to pass unexposed in England. . . .

"It is quite true that the course which I have taken in native affairs has deprived me of much of the support which my theological warfare had left me in Natal, and I hardly know as yet what the end will be. . . . On New Year's Day there was a grand display at Durban on the turning of the first sod of our first Government railway, the Governor, officials of all kinds, and all the world of Natal and his wife, being present. But they left me out in the cold, as a punishment for my sins; so that the bitter feeling which met me on my return has not yet died out. This does not at all trouble me, for I expected it. But I certainly did *not* expect, after my intercourse with Lord Carnarvon in England, to receive nothing but the 'cold shoulder' from his confidential emissary Sir G. Wolseley."

TO MISS JANE HUGHES.[1]

"BISHOPSTOWE, *January* 24, 1876.

"I received long ago your most kind letter of April 17, and I ought to have replied to it before this time. But the truth is that I and mine—that is, especially my eldest daughter, Harrie—have been fighting ever since on behalf of these poor natives. . . . Our dear Alfred[2]—what an interest would he have taken in this whole affair, and perhaps he does take it! I need hardly say that I have not progressed a single step with my last Part on the Pentateuch. . . . The Langa people have not been encouraged or assisted in any way to settle themselves comfortably down again in the colony. On the contrary, they have been discouraged and deterred from returning into the colony.[3] . . . Then Lord Carnarvon said in the House of Lords that £20,000 had been restored to the Putini people in cattle, agricultural implements, &c. At the time when he said this, not £500, I believe, had been restored to them. . . . Lord Carnarvon now writes to the

[1] Daughter of the Bishop of St. Asaph.

[2] See p. 243, *note*.

[3] See p. 417.

Aborigines Protection Society, in a letter which has now reached us, that Sir G. Wolseley had estimated their losses at £12,000, and had settled to restore it to them in four annual instalments of £3,000 each. Now, first, this amount only represents the sum admitted to have been actually paid into the Natal Treasury from the [forced] sale of the Putini cattle; and thousands of their cattle had been used to supply the Government force, white and black, with food for some weeks, and multitudes had died of lung-sickness, contracted by the captured cattle being crowded together, neglected, and ill-treated. . . . But besides the cattle there were about 200 horses and an immense number of goats; 1,239 huts, at least worth 10*s.* each, burnt down; all the household utensils, pots, sleeping mats, &c. of 5,000 people looted; ditto all their clothing; ditto . . . . all their stores of grain for four months' eating, besides considerable sums of money in individual cases. Thus, £20,000 would be, I believe, far *within* the limit of their losses. But taking them at £12,000, the result of Sir G. Wolseley's absurd policy . . . . is that the Legislative Council voted £3,000 for 1875, of which £2,000 was spent by the time Sir G. Wolseley left the colony; but for this year they voted only £1,500 for the relief of individual cases of distress among natives, arising out of the Langalibalele 'revolt'; and, as the Colonial Secretary told me last week, they will vote no more!

"I hope you will not be tired with so long a discussion of native matters. But, while these things continue to be done, you will see how impossible it is for me to think of laying down my weapons or leaving the colony.

"You must know that I *preached* half of your letter as a part of my Cathedral sermon on one occasion; it suited so well to express my own feelings."

To F. W. Chesson, Esq.

"Bishopstowe, *February* 1, 1876.

"Sir G. Wolseley visited the location about the end of June, in the depth of the winter season, when it was bitterly cold

and the snow lay deep upon the ground in those parts; and he immediately ordered up a large supply of blankets, which might (under Lord Carnarvon's instructions) have been provided by a humane Government long before, since the Government force had plundered the whole tribe, men and women, of clothing of all kinds as well as of food; and subsequently they received a large grant of land-hoes, used by women, at 2*s.* 6*d.* each—I am not aware of any other agricultural implements having been supplied to them—and, some time after Sir G. Wolseley left, about 400 head of cattle. Altogether it appears from the report made to the Legislative Council on November 20, 1875—just two years after the 'eating up' of the tribe—that in all that interval they had only received, in picks and blankets, food and cattle, £2,261 18*s.* 4*d.*"

To C. J. Bunyon, Esq.

"Bishopstowe, *January* 16, 1876.

. . . "We have at last—only yesterday—succeeded, by dint of personal application and perseverance, in getting the consent of this Government to two wives and one man being sent to Langa, which, as one of the wives named is a great invalid, I shall try to get changed into one wife and two men, one of whom is to come back and report to the rest how they find their chief. And this, at the end of twelve months from the publication of the famous despatches, is all that has been done to carry out—not the promise of those despatches, *i.e.* of the proclamation to the natives sent with them, that 'the Ama-Hlubi, if they chose, might go to him,' but—even the much later statement of Lord Carnarvon in the House of Lords, that 'it was only intended that he should be accompanied and surrounded by his family and immediate friends.' Up to this moment not a single member of his family or friend has been sent to him, and when about a month ago, five men wanted to go down to the Cape at their own expense, to see him and return to Natal, they were refused permission by the autho-

rities here—or rather, Mr. Shepstone saw the chief man among them, Langa's first cousin, an elderly man, who has been for twenty-five years a Christian (not of the Church of England), a thoroughly quiet, respectable man, and spoke with him thrice on the subject: (1) when the man asked for help from the Government to go to Capetown; (2) when he received the refusal of the Government to advance the small sum needed for this; (3) when he went to take leave respectfully, having partly raised by small subscriptions, and partly borrowed (from myself) the money (£40)—and let him go off upon a fool's errand, without telling him that, when they got to Capetown, they would not be allowed to see Langa! The meanness of this Government—their petty underhand way of doing things—is incredible. Fortunately I had my suspicions, ... and I went to Sir H. Bulwer, and from what he said was able to recall them in time from Durban, whither the poor fools had gone down for embarkation—and after correspondence, &c., the result is what I have stated, that three people are now to be sent down." . . . .

By pleading the cause of even-handed justice between white and black the Bishop had raised up, as he knew that he could not fail to raise up, formidable hindrances in the way of his work throughout the diocese. By speaking the truth on the origin and growth of the Hebrew Scriptures he had alienated many. By raising his voice on behalf of native chiefs and their people, he had, it might almost seem, alienated all. To many eyes not a rift appeared visible in the monotonous blackness of the sky over his head; and the only result of some three and twenty years of care and toil seemed to be a feverish desire on their part to be rid of him altogether. With one exception, the newspapers assailed him with something of the fierceness of a crusade, and the editor of the one paper which supported him (the late John Sanderson) had to share the obloquy poured out upon him.

"If there is one man," said the *Witness*,[1] "more unpopular than another in the colony of Natal, it is the Bishop of that ilk. . . . We are careful not to tell it beyond the range of the colony, lest it should give his lordship an undue advantage over us, for the English people have great faith in a hated man."

It was nothing to the "authorities" at the time, or even for some time after, that he was declared to be in the right, and the Natal Government in the wrong, on every point submitted by him to the English Secretary of State for the Colonies. It mattered not that, although the wrong was not in every case redressed, there was in every case the admission that the Bishop had never spoken without reason, and had never alleged facts on insufficient evidence. It was enough that his statements imputed something much worse than incapacity to the Natal Government, and much worse than mere terror and panic to some of the colonists. In one sense he was successful throughout; but this very success was, with the motives which prompted his action, the offence not to be forgiven.

So it seemed at the time; and the opposition thus evoked was, in itself, no light burden for him to bear. It was pain and grief to think that they who should have been his closest friends and most earnest supporters should appear so utterly estranged. But he might have hoped that the tide would in the end turn (as in fact it did), and that he himself might be able to arrest it, had he not had to encounter difficulties of another sort, which involved a struggle against a vastly more powerful set of influences. If we think of it soberly, we shall see that a greater injustice to a religious community has seldom been committed by an ecclesiastical society or faction than that of which the promoters of the Church of South Africa

[1] March 17, 1876.

had been guilty against the members of the Church of England in Natal. These had gone out to the colony as such; they had, as such, received among them a Bishop of the Church of England; and because this Bishop had written and published books for which he had not been tried as any Bishop or clergyman writing and publishing them in England would be tried, if the materials of a case were forthcoming, they found themselves transferred, so far as the arbitrary decree of some self-constituted judges could transfer them, from the Church of England to a society which styled itself the Church of South Africa. It was nothing to the point to urge, as was virtually urged, that the two societies were as like each other as two pins; and that, in fact, there was no difference between them. There was a vast and vital difference. There might be an outward uniformity for the time, but it was obtained at the cost of loss of freedom. The new society had resolved that at all costs the right of appeal to the Crown should be abolished—in other words, that Bishops, priests, and deacons should be dealt with in the last resort by a purely ecclesiastical tribunal. Such a tribunal had professed to depose and excommunicate the Bishop of Natal; and in order to carry out the sentence it became necessary to commit a series of gross wrongs against his clergy, and also on the laity committed to his care. Nor was this all. The very refusal to prosecute the Bishop in the courts in which alone a clergyman in England could be prosecuted was, in fact, a confession that the conclusions established by the Bishop of Natal were utterly hateful to them. Of this fact there was no pretence of concealment; but it implied further that in their opinion their own rulings and interpretations ought to be accepted in England. It was notorious that they would not be accepted in England. There the battle was lost. But this defeat might be compensated if the great English Societies, formed for the purpose of aiding

the missionary work of the Church of England in the colonies, could be prevailed on to transfer their help to the new South African community. The compact was made, and not only was all aid withdrawn from the Bishop of the Church of England in Natal, but grants of double or treble the amount bestowed thus far on the Natal missions were now placed at the disposal of men who warned the Natal laity that they were no longer free to look on themselves as members of the Church of England, or to claim their rights as such. To the Church of England clergy this appeal to the purse had been, of necessity, almost irresistible. Some of them differed, or thought that they differed, widely from their diocesan on theological or Biblical questions; but it was not enough to express this difference, and still to insist on regarding themselves as clergy of the Church of England. Unless they joined the community set up by Bishop Gray, the incomes paid to them out of the grants from the great English Societies would cease. To the force thus applied some yielded; and the Bishop's power of action was practically paralysed. It was obviously impossible for him, on an income barely more than sufficient for the wants of his own frugal household, to maintain a body of clergy in distant and lonely villages, where the colonists could do little or nothing; and although his political unpopularity might sooner or later become a thing of the past, here there seemed to be an obstacle which he could by no efforts hope to surmount.

His thoughts turned, not unnaturally, to resignation. He had fought a hard battle; and, except from the merely temporal point of view, it could not be called a losing one. Still, if he were himself a hindrance to peaceful settlement, it would be his duty to think, in the first place, of the interests of others. The friends whom he consulted gave him sound advice. In no case had he intended to desert his work in Natal. Even if he ceased to be Bishop of the see, he

could still remain to labour amongst the native tribes who revered him as Sobantu. Let him, then, his friends urged, remain there as he was. His position was as clear and as unassailable as that of the Archbishop of Canterbury; and if some of the colonists, professing themselves members of the Church of England, should reject his ministrations because he had not allowed the Government to misuse the natives, that was not his fault. There should be, and probably there is, no need for saying that this course was not suggested by any action of the members of the Church of South Africa. Mr. Macrorie had been stationed at Maritzburg for years before the political excitement began. It was the latter which lessened or took away the support of the *laity*, and the loss of this support it was which turned the Bishop's thoughts more definitely in the direction of resignation.

TO C. J. BUNYON, ESQ.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *March* 13, 1876.

. . . "I cannot help thinking that the severe reprimand of the Secretary for Native Affairs by the Secretary of State, perhaps strengthened by other words which have not been communicated to me, has taken effect. At any rate, since the receipt of the despatch the S.N.A. has told his indunas that he is going to retire at once, being worn out, and has even named to them the person whom he wishes to succeed him, but said that the Government did not approve of that person, and was choosing among four others whom he named, and he hoped they would soon decide, as he was weary. The indunas said to themselves, 'He is not old and worn out. Has any news come about the Matshana matter?' This reached me from native informants. . . . It would be curious if both he and I should retire at the same time. It does not follow that either of us would leave the colony—at least for some time to come. At all events, I

should like to have a hand in assisting in the work about to be done (as Lord Carnarvon promises) for the improvement of the position of the natives."

TO MRS. LYELL.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *March* 31, 1876.

"I hope that I did write to you some weeks ago, acknowledging the receipt of the draft you sent me. . . . I ought to have done so, and I meant to do so; but I do not feel sure that I carried out my intention, amidst the multiplicity of cares which have just now been pressing upon me, chiefly in respect of my relations with the natives and this miserable Government. . . . Things are going on here very unsatisfactorily under Sir H. Bulwer, as under Sir G. Wolseley. But it is to be hoped they will be mended when the new Native Administration Law comes into operation—that is, if Lord Carnarvon is not persuaded to send it back for alteration in one of its most important particulars, viz. that which insures that no 'native law' shall be valid in future, except through an Act of the Colonial Legislature. This would take away from Mr. Shepstone the power which he now possesses of *making* law, just as he requires it, as he did in poor Langa's case, by laying it down that merely to run away, as he did, was an act of *rebellion* against the Government. However, I won't trouble you with any more disquisitions upon native affairs. If you have read my report upon the Matshana inquiry, or have even studied merely the official documents included in it, you will see what a crafty policy that of the S.N.A. has been; and I am sorry to say that Lord Carnarvon has to some extent lent himself to it—from motives, no doubt, of State policy. . . . I now inclose another document, by which you will see that I have been left to bear my own expenses in this inquiry. . . ."

The sum spent (to be accurate, £64 16*s.* 0*d.*) had been expended in summoning and feeding witnesses. The payment of this sum was at first refused by Lord Carnarvon actually on

the ground that "the charge of attempting to shoot (*i.e.* kill) Matshana had not been sustained"; but subsequently he expressed the remarkable opinion that

> "the justice of the case would be best met by the repayment to both sides of the expenses incurred,"

and left the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir H. Bulwer, free to propose such payment to the Legislative Council. As justifying the refusal of this claim, Lord Carnarvon pleaded that by directing the inquiry to be held he had relieved the Bishop from the heavier charges attending the action at law which was abandoned by Mr. Shepstone at Lord Carnarvon's instance. To this allegation the Bishop made the following reply :—

> "Now that I see the whole strength of my position—which must have been well known to Mr. J. Shepstone beforehand, though not to myself—and perceive the damaging effect of Colonel Colley's decision to Mr. Shepstone's reputation for truthfulness, I must say that I very much doubt whether the action would have been brought which was only threatened; . . . but I did not mean to shrink from this encounter. . . . I was prepared, if necesary, to defend the threatened action at law. With fair play I had no doubt of being able to prove the substantial truth of my statements. But if, in the then excited state of the colony, the verdict had even gone against me, I should have appealed for help to my fellow-countrymen in England, and, I venture to believe, should have appealed successfully. It would now, no doubt, be more difficult to do so, when the general interest in the whole matter has comparatively died away; and I am very unwilling to have recourse to my friends for this purpose. But I am not a rich man. I have no income beyond the small one attached to this colonial bishopric, and have very little besides to fall back upon. It is true, I count the service done by this inquiry to the cause of truth and justice worth any expenditure, on my part, of time and anxious thought and labour; and I can bear to

face, as the necessary consequence of the part I have taken, the sacrifice of many friendships, and the loss of influence among those who have been led to misjudge my motives, and who have been wholly in the dark till now of the justification for my conduct to be found in Colonel Colley's Report. It is too late, at my time of life, to try to stem the tide of hostile feeling on the part of many who have, till these matters occurred, been among my chief supporters in the colony. But it does seem hard that, having done the State service in this affair, as is proved by Colonel Colley's decision and your Lordship's despatch. . . . I should be condemned in a penalty of more than £50."

It was perhaps inevitable that the constituted authorities should grudge the Bishop his influence among the natives. For the last eight years he had been known among them as a great teacher, standing alone (as the teaching of the other missionaries made only too obvious) yet not overpowered; and now his wonderful intervention on their behalf had increased his influence tenfold. That this was in part the result of their own misdoing only added to the annoyance of the authorities; but, for good or for evil, the influence was a fact, which it was no more in the Bishop's power to undo than in theirs. His influence with the natives was one of the powers which they were bound to take into account, and to use for the future for the general good. They persistently took the opposite course; the result being that many of the steps taken to bring natives to a due sense of his insignificance had precisely the opposite effect. It was in vain that he was always willing, and at first attempted, to efface himself, and to lay every benefit done to the natives to the credit of the authorities, while these, by casting aside the directions of the Secretary of State and then yielding a few concessions inch by inch, made it abundantly and needlessly plain that the Bishop in some way or other had power to wring these conces-

sions out of that terrible being, the "Supreme Chief" himself, entirely against his will.

In spite of the tardy admission of Lord Carnarvon that the Bishop ought to be indemnified for his expenses, the money was never paid although the matter was more than once the subject of a debate in the Legislative Council of Natal.

TO THE REV. J. D. LA TOUCHE.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *March* 31, 1876.

"I have delayed writing to you from mail to mail, because I wished to be able to tell you the decision to which I had definitely come after receiving the judgement of Lord Carnarvon on the Matshana case. . . . I need hardly say that, if this is *all* that Lord Carnarvon has said or done in that matter, I am thoroughly disappointed, and I must conclude that he has made up his mind to sacrifice truth and justice to political considerations, especially to his desire to bring about the South African Confederation, for which he considers that he has special need of Mr. Shepstone's assistance. However, it is quite possible that he has said *more* than has been communicated to me by Sir H. Bulwer. . . .

"Meanwhile, I have sent by this mail to my brother-in-law a letter (of which Mr. Bunyon will be able, I expect, to show you a copy, if he and Dean Stanley decide to forward it to his Grace), in which, considering the strong prejudices with which I am still encountered in the colony by reason of my recent action in native matters, I have offered to resign on certain terms; or, if the Archbishop does not approve my proposal, then have notified that in future I cannot take upon myself pecuniary responsibilities for the support of clergy or building of churches, but must confine my labours, as far as the whites are concerned, to those who *desire* my services and do not expect pecuniary aid, and devote myself chiefly to work for the natives, of which, in fact, there is plenty to be done, and enough to occupy the most hard-working man."

TO A CORRESPONDENT.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *June* 27, 1876.

"If the S.P.G. were not betraying the interests of the Church of England—I mean the Established Church, with its rights and liberties—in support of mere ecclesiasticism, I should not have had the slightest difficulty in standing here. . . . . My present difficulty is, of course, this, which my friends in England seem to lose sight of—that the Church people here have not, as a body, rejected me. On the contrary, the Cathedral is well filled, and so is St. Paul's at Durban, and St. Thomas's at the Berea, and Christ Church at Addington. But all these are populous neighbourhoods, where the clergymen can be supported—though with very moderate incomes—without help from the charities of the Societies in England. In the *country* places throughout the colony there would be the same kindly feeling shown by many towards me, notwithstanding my recent action *in re* Langa; but during the last ten years they have been nursed by S.P.G. missionaries in enmity to me, and others, of course, who perhaps have never seen my face, stand wholly aloof from me in consequence; and this makes it hopeless to do anything, when, even if united, they would be unable to support their minister without aid from home. . . . Our Native Administration Bill has not yet come back from Lord Carnarvon. And the report among the natives now is (derived from Mr. J. Shepstone himself) that his brother is going to England immediately for the Conference, and he (John Shepstone)[1] is to be acting Secretary for Native Affairs in his place; and this after Colonel Colley has convicted him in his report of having deliberately tried to palm off a lying story on the Governor and Secretary of State *in re* Matshana. . . . If Lord Carnarvon allows this appointment, it will be indeed disgraceful. But he seems infatuated about this Confederation scheme, which is quite premature, and, I strongly suspect, will end in a complete fiasco."

[1] Now His Hon. Mr. Justice Shepstone, Judge of the Native High Court.

The truth is that the Bishop was feeling more and more the weight of the influence thrown into the scale on the side of a South African Church, which accepted just so much as it chose, and no more, of the law in force in and over the Church of England.

To Miss Jane Hughes.

"Bishopstowe, *August* 21, 1876.

. . . "Our Government is at last sending two wives and a son and servant of Langalibalele to reside with the chief near Capetown. These are in addition to the one wife and two men whom by dint of persevering worrying we got sent last February. And this is all the outcome of Lord Carnarvon's grand promises—first, that the members of the tribe that liked might join him, and then that his family and immediate friends might go to him, as he said in the House of Lords. They must not put forward now the old pretence that the wives were not *willing* to go; their objection merely expressing their dread of the sea, and their ignorance as to his real condition. Once assured, by the report of a man whom we got sent in February for the purpose of returning with a report of the real state of things at Capetown, that the chief was alive and well and comfortable, and that the voyage was not so dreadful as they imagined, they were ready at once to go, and were bitterly disappointed to be refused permission. . . .

"Thank you for sending me the copy of *Faber's Hymns*. That is a very beautiful one which you have marked for me; every line of it is good and true. And there are other passages also which I like very much, though, of course, I cannot sympathise—nor you either, I imagine—with his creed on all points."

To the Rev. J. D. La Touche.

"Bishopstowe, *November* 28, 1876.

. . . "I have seen, and had a business meeting with, Sir T. Shepstone. All was friendly enough, as far as externals

went. He is going up at once to the Transvaal, from which important news has just reached us, viz. that the Boers have been defeated in an attack they made on a native fortress, three white men killed—including the commander-in-chief of the Transvaal warriors, Von Schlickmann—three other Europeans wounded, and three natives of the Transvaal force. This is a very grave reverse for the Transvaal Government, and I suppose will make it more easy for Sir T. Shepstone to take over the territory, as it is supposed he has authority to do. Otherwise, till this occurred, there seemed little opening for British intervention. . . ."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *April* 30, 1877.

"As to the Transvaal affair I hardly know what to say, except that the sly underhand way in which it has been annexed appears to me to be unworthy of the English name, and to give the lie direct to Lord Carnarvon's public statements about Sir T. Shepstone being only sent to offer friendly offices to the Transvaal Government. It is plain that the whole was planned in England; and I am afraid the scheme will be found to include other annexations—*e.g.* of Zululand, which will be a very serious affair indeed. But time will show how Sir T. Shepstone means to govern the Transvaal—as large as France and Germany together, so they say—and how he means to make a recalcitrant people pay for such government. The expense will enormously exceed that of the Boer Government. Is the British taxpayer to be bled for it?"

There had been a thought of transferring the Manchester New College to Oxford or Cambridge; and to this scheme the Bishop refers in the following letter.

TO JOHN WESTLAKE, ESQ., Q.C.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *April* 30, 1877.

"I now come to Mr. La Touche's letter, received this morning. In this he quotes Professor Jowett's opinion, which is

strongly opposed to the idea of founding a separate college at Oxford in the way proposed, but is decidedly in favour of founding one or more professorships of Theology or Biblical Literature or Criticism, 'say one at each University for the Old and one for the New Testament.' They ought to be offered to the University in the first instance, and would probably be refused. But, even in that case, the professors, if they were Oxford or Cambridge men, would have all the privileges of the University. Such professorships should be of the value of £800 or £1000 a year. They should, if possible, include the subject of Ecclesiastical history, and the history of other religions. I do not know if this idea of founding a professorship has been entertained by the Manchester New College Committee. But it is what I should have suggested myself, in my reply to your letter, as a possible solution of the question. Only without help from the Manchester N.C. funds, I see not how an income could be raised for a professor. . . .

"You will hear, of course, of the annexation of the Transvaal, which is, I suppose, only a prelude to other 'annexations' in this part of the world. I cannot trust myself at present to write all I think upon the subject, except to say that I fear it will be found that we have got a 'white elephant' upon our hands. . . . Much as I (and others) would have rejoiced to see the Transvaal come fairly and honourably under English rule, I cannot take any pleasure in the proceedings which have actually taken place." . . .

TO THE REV. J. D. LA TOUCHE.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *March* 3, 1878.

. . "It is fully expected that Sir H. Bulwer will introduce a law for native education; and it would be unwise, under these circumstances, to strike out any new path for myself. However, I am reprinting (with amendments and additions) my Zulu-English Dictionary, and I have in the press Part VII., concluding my work on the Pentateuch, and have almost completed in MS. another work (on Criticism of the Pentateuch) as important as any I have yet published."

CHAPTER IX.

CETSHWAYO AND ISANDHLWANA.

1875–1879.

THE Bishop, as we have seen, had always felt a deep interest in the Zulu people, and naturally, since they were the predominant tribe among the natives of South-east Africa to whom he had been sent. The Zulus living entirely under their own laws administered by their own chiefs, and proud of their position and independence, had cultivated friendly relations with the English, ever since their first arrival and settlement.[1] These friendly relations had continued ever since, absolutely unbroken, although Zululand was separated from the colony by "a river easily fordable for the greater part of the year, and not too wide to talk across at any time."[2]

In November, 1859, the Bishop had founded a Mission station of the Church of England in Zululand, visiting the king "to obtain his sanction and support." This he had done at some personal risk, since the country had hardly recovered from the civil war of 1856, and it was well known that the young prince Umkungo, who had then fled to Natal, was at school at Ekukanyeni under Sobantu's protection. "As they

[1] At this date the Zulu dominion under the conqueror Tshaka reached south to the Umkomanzi River, in Natal, west along the Drakensberg, and north to Mzilikazi's (Moselekatze's) District.

[2] Sir B. Frere.

know the fact that I am his 'father,'" the Bishop remarked, "it is of no use to disguise it." This fact however laid him open to terrible suspicion, as the Prime Minister Masipula informed him

> "They had been much alarmed at my coming, thinking that my secret was some device to bring back Umkungo[1] by force;"

while others let out that "the whole uZulu" (as we say "all England") actually spent the night at the Mfolozi river, on the look out for Sobantu; for they said "he is coming with an *impi*, and thousands of horses."

> "This report," says the Bishop, "my dropping in one morning with only a single native follower, must have helped to disperse."

His whole party indeed numbered twelve, one being a white man, and two Government messengers sent in advance to announce him to the king.[2]

Political suspicions having been allayed, the Bishop completely succeeded in his object. The old king Mpande received him kindly, objecting to his plea that he must hasten back to his work of teaching in Natal. "Well, but you are teaching me now; I want very much to see you, to talk with you." The king then carefully chose for his station a site at Kwamagwaza, where, as he said, "there is fine timber, good water, good land, and plenty of people," in fact, as the Bishop saw, "a most desirable spot in all respects"; while Cetshwayo, against whose indubitable right to the succession the party favouring Umbulazi and Umkungo had taken

[1] Who claimed to be heir apparent in place of Cetshwayo.

[2] Two of the party were schoolboys who with *William* (see Vol. I. p. 87) were expected to make a first attempt at keeping journals in their own language, which might be "useful in showing how some of our proceedings looked from a native point of view." These were published with translations, glossary, and grammatical notes.

up arms, expressed his satisfaction on hearing of the arrangement. He was

"very glad that I am going to build at Kwamagwaza, and very glad that I have sent to tell him so. . . . He wishes to see me again . . . . he wants to be protected from white people; he wants persons to come to him who can be trusted, persons who will speak the truth. People say all sorts of things of him which are not at all true.[1] He wants very much to talk with some confidential agent of the governor."

The Bishop describes Cetshwayo at this time as

"a fine, handsome young fellow of about twenty-nine or thirty years of age, tall and stout-limbed, but not at all obese, with a very pleasant smile and good-humoured face, and strong deep voice. He drew himself up now and then with an air of dignity; but altogether the impression he made on us all was very agreeable, and our men, one and all, commended him as a pleasing young prince."

The Bishop, as we have seen,[2] offered soon after this to resign his own already organized diocese and go as a missionary Bishop to Zululand. The proposal fell through, the ecclesiastical contest intervened, and the only communication which he held with Zululand for some years was that he reminded the missionary whom he had placed in charge at Kwamagwaza, and who had chosen to join the schismatic "Church of South Africa," that the land had been granted to him, the Bishop, for the use of the Church of England, and that he might some day feel it to be his duty to assert the claim. The answer published in the *Natal Mercury* was that if such a thing should happen the schismatic had "a box of lucifers," by means of which he could dispose of all the buildings.

[1] The word *Cetshwayo* signifies, curiously enough, "calumniated."
[2] See Vol. I. p. 123.

The Bishop's favourable impression of Cetshwayo was confirmed by Sir T. Shepstone, who, describing the new king on his installation in 1873, says:—

"Cetshwayo is a man of considerable ability, much force of character, and has a dignified manner. In all my conversations with him he was remarkably frank and straightforward, and he ranks in every respect far above any native chief I have ever had to do with." [1]

Sir T. Shepstone also refers to the "peaceful and even cordial relations" which had been maintained "during twenty-seven years of close contact" between the Natal Government and the Zulus. It was understood, he said, that these should continue,

"Cetshwayo adding only—let them be more intimate and more cordial. . . . He said his army was ours, and that his quarrels ought to be ours also. I told him that when we wanted the services of his army we should consider it to be ours and send for it, but that we must form our own judgement as to his quarrels. . . . The advantages of our being able to read and write, and the extreme inconvenience of ignorance, were discussed. Cetshwayo heartily concurred in all that was said on these subjects, and said it was education made the English so great; that if he thought he could remember what he might learn he would be taught himself."

Two months after this installation Langalibalele's location was swept by fire and sword; and one of the first requests made by Cetshwayo, as king, to his English "fathers," was on behalf of the luckless chief. "That he might be allowed to sweep up this withered husk," "to pick up the bones of the dead dog," were the deprecatory terms of his messages; and these, Sir B. Pine writes, on August 3, 1874, were brought by no less than six "embassies." In the last of these,

[1] Blue-book, C. 1137, p. 20.

consisting of eighty men, "the largest embassy ever sent to this Government," the king had sent representatives of all his principal men to show that his whole people made the request with him. This embassy was "detained until the chief was out of the harbour," and then dismissed with an expression of surprise at Cetshwayo's repeating an application so often refused, and with the information that Langa was on the high seas. But of course these Zulus had learnt that Sobantu was also pleading for Langa; and at the Bishop's request Cetshwayo had sent down two of Matshana's men with one of these embassies, a proceeding which, as we have seen,[1] was resented by the local authorities.

This sympathy for Langa,[2] and the general tone in which these Zulus had invariably spoken of their king, together with his own recent experiences, no doubt made the Bishop more inclined to believe that what they said might be true Nor was it surprising that Cetshwayo should turn to the Bishop for advice in the astounding difficulty in which the Zulus were placed by their old friend and supporter, Sir T.

[1] P. 409, *note* 2.

[2] In a letter to the late Mr. William Shaen written at Plymouth, December 26, 1874, the Bishop translates a message which he had just received from Natal, and which was as follows: "Umfunzi and Unkisimane salute you much, those *indunas* of Cetshwayo. They have just arrived, being sent by him to summon a man who wishes to go away to Zululand. But they bring this confidential message to wit—'Cetshwayo rejoices exceedingly to hear that you have gone to the great indunas of the Queen to tell them all the story about the treatment of the black people of Natal, and to say that he prays that you, sir, would fight with all your might, as you have done already, about the matter of Langalibalele. Cetshwayo says that he is in good hope, and, even if you are worsted that is of no consequence, you will have done what becomes a faithful *induna* of the Queen. And you are to remember him continually, as he also remembers you. He entreats all the ancestral spirits of his people, Mpande, Tshaka, and Senzangakona (*i.e.* his father, uncle, and great-grandfather) to help you, that you may persevere and fight continually. In all this Cetshwayo's heart watches over you; he has held up his finger continually (a form of asseveration) that you are his father.'"

Shepstone. This official, as Secretary for Native Affairs, had, for sixteen years, received and "adopted" as "correct" their frequent and urgent complaints of Boer aggression. Now suddenly, on the annexation of the Transvaal, he justified the Boer demands, claiming to fix a boundary at will, without the arbitration promised by himself to the Zulus, in the name of the Natal Government, seven years before.[1]

It should be noted that, so far back as 1865, the Zulus had asked that an English agent should be placed on the border between the Zulus and the Boers "to see that justice was done on both sides." Again, in 1869, Cetshwayo had offered to the English Government a "strip" of country which should shut off the Boers from Zululand; while Sir B. Pine, writing to

[1] Ever since 1861 the Zulus had been complaining of Boer encroachments to the English Government, begging them repeatedly to interpose *to prevent a war*, "which," they said, "we wish to avoid." Throughout these sixteen years Mr. Shepstone had been the mouthpiece of the Natal Government, which had, in reply to Cetshwayo's appeals, always impressed upon him the importance of preserving the peace, and settling all questions in dispute by calm representation. Even in 1870 Sir T. Shepstone promised to arbitrate, and on the faith of this promise the Zulus had been enduring their wrongs ever since, with a patience which is not likely to be repeated in South Africa. In 1875 the Boer Government aggravated the position by a further annexation, followed by threatening notices to quit. The Zulu messenger, who reported this outrage, said, "Cetshwayo desired us to urge upon the Governor of Natal to interfere to save the destruction of perhaps both countries—Zululand and the Transvaal. He requests us to state that he cannot, and will not, submit to be turned out of his own home. It may be that he will be vanquished; *but, as he is not the aggressor, death will not be so hard to meet*" (Imperial Blue-book, C. 1748, p. 14). On March 30, 1876, Sir T. Shepstone had written, "this [Natal] Government has for years past invariably and incessantly urged upon Cetshwayo the necessity for preserving the peace, and, so far, with great success. But messages from the Zulu king are becoming more frequent and more urgent, and the replies he receives seem to him to be both temporising and evasive" (*Ib.* p. 24). Cetshwayo, however, still restrained his Zulus, and when in 1877 the annexation of the Transvaal was announced to him, he declared, "Again I say I am glad to know that the Transvaal is English ground. Perhaps now there may be peace" (C. 1961, p. 45).

Lord Carnarvon, referred to a proposed "acquisition" of such territory as a second reason for sending Mr. Shepstone to England in 1874. Lord Carnarvon in February, 1878, expressed himself as most anxious to avoid a Zulu war, "desiring nothing more than a full discussion of the [boundary] case with a view of arriving at an equitable and permanent adjustment of the difficulty;" and he was no doubt in earnest. But it would seem as if he, as well as Sir T. Shepstone, had expected the Zulus to give up now, after the annexation of the Transvaal, not—as they had once offered—a strip to be occupied by the English as a buffer between Zulus and Boers, but—after all these years of patient waiting for the fulfilment of promises—nearly the whole of the land in dispute, and that they should do this on the mere fiat of Sir T. Shepstone as representing the Boers.[1] It was impossible. The Zulu chiefs indignantly declared that such was the feeling and resolve of the whole Zulu nation. "All were agreed, and sooner than give way they would fight for it; . . . the land was theirs." "My father cannot really mean this," urged Cetshwayo; "it is right in the middle of the Zulu country."

It was under the pressure of these difficulties that Cetshwayo appealed to the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, and asked advice of the Bishop. The Bishop replied that it was usual

[1] At the Blood River meeting, October 18, 1877. The Zulus, as will be seen, regard Sir T. Shepstone's action at this meeting as the beginning of sorrows, and upon the appearance of the despatches the Bishop was compelled to observe as follows:—"Down to this date no trace appears of any hostility towards Cetshwayo in any of Sir T. Shepstone's despatches. . . . But now the whole tenor of his language is suddenly changed. Moved partly, it would seem, by the sense of the loss of his own personal prestige among the natives, which he regarded as essential to maintaining the authority of the English name in South-Eastern Africa, and partly by the consideration that the Boers . . . must be conciliated at all hazards, . . . Sir T. Shepstone in these despatches, having probably in the interval communicated with Sir B. Frere, sounds now aloud the tocsin of war against the Zulus, and raises the cry, *Delendus est Cetshwayo.*"

with civilised nations to submit such a matter to arbitration, and advised the king to send a proposal to that effect to Sir H. Bulwer. His Excellency, on hearing from the Bishop what he had done, wrote a letter which, under the circumstances, was, in the strictest sense of the word, impertinent, and in which he took upon himself to inveigh against irresponsible and unauthorised intervention, although compelled to admit that the Bishop's advice was "sound and good." The Secretary of State, however, in writing to him upon the subject, was able not only to agree with Sir H. Bulwer's opinion as to the soundness of the Bishop's advice, but also to perceive that

"the course taken by the Bishop . . . would appear to have been judicious."[1]

The Bishop had himself sent the following reply:—

"BISHOPSTOWE, *December* 27, 1877.

"MY DEAR SIR HENRY BULWER,

"I am much obliged by your Excellency's letter of the 26th inst., and I beg to assure your Excellency that any men who may have brought messages from the Zulu king to the Government have never communicated to me the message with which they were charged, nor have been asked to do so. I should have thought it a most irregular and improper course to have pursued, and I imagine that they would have thought the same.

"At the same time, when the colonial journals are in constant communication with Zululand through their own correspondents—probably missionaries or mere illiterate traders—and publish, continually and without reserve, the most unfounded statements as to Cetshwayo's acts and intentions, more especially in respect of the alleged persecution and butchery of Christian natives, it is impossible for me as a man and a Christian, and I may add a Missionary Bishop

[1] Blue-book, C. 2079, p. 21.

having special relations with Zululand, to remain unconcerned, and not to endeavour to ascertain, by the best means in my power, the truth or falsehood of these accusations. . . ."

As it afterwards appeared, Sir H. Bulwer had just offered to arbitrate—a proposal which Cetshwayo received, some three or four weeks after the Bishop's advice reached him, with a hearty and even a joyous welcome.[1]

The Bishop was now brought into collision with a more important and formidable personage than any of his former political antagonists; but in the issue he was as thoroughly justified in undertaking the one task as the other. In fact, he showed, in the case of the High Commissioner, Sir Bartle Frere, how a man believing himself to be animated by a crowning zeal for the furtherance of Christianity, might in his political conduct serve the purpose simply of a firebrand. Carthage fell because its destruction was resolved upon by the Roman Senate before the first move was made in the game which was to lay her prostrate at their feet. Sir Bartle Frere started with the same deliberate design of letting loose the dogs of war on Zululand.[2] In short, the spirit which

[1] "Cetshwayo hears what the Governor of Natal says . . . and thanks him for these words. For they are all good words that have been sent to Cetshwayo by the Governor of Natal; they show that the Natal Government still wishes for Cetshwayo to drink water and live" (Blue-book, C. 2000, p. 138). The king and his chiefs all appeared to the Natal Government messengers "like men who had been carrying a very heavy burden, and who had only then been told they could put it down and rest" (*Ib.*). Yet Sir B. Frere allowed himself to write "The offers to arbitrate originated with the Natal Government, and were by no means willingly accepted by Cetshwayo!"

[2] The whole subject was handled with indefatigable patience in a *Digest on Zulu Affairs*, running to nearly 2,000 pages of closely-printed matter, set up and printed in the Bishop's own printing office; but this Digest has not been published, although it has been freely circulated among those who showed any interest in the subject. When first begun, it was called *Extracts from the Blue-books;* but as it grew into a collection of information drawn from all available sources, with a careful

he showed from first to last was the very opposite to that of the peacemaker. In his resolution to see provocation and insults everywhere to the power and name of England on the part of the Zulu king, he stood almost alone among those who were associated with him in the task of government. Despatch after despatch from the Colonial Secretary and from the Lieutenant Governor of Natal conveyed virtual rebukes of his eagerness to spy out wrong where no wrong had been done or intended; but he returns like a bulldog to the charge, and plainly shows that, if it be in his power to prevent it, the victim shall not escape.

From the first the dispute between the Boers and Zululand was one which needed delicate handling. The task became much more delicate when the English annexed the Transvaal; but when Sir Bartle Frere was intrusted with the work, he handled it without any delicacy at all, adopting without hesitation the convenient opinions of Sir T. Shepstone. Wherever he looked he found causes of offence. The Zulus were a "standing menace" to their neighbours. The method by which their army was recruited was full of danger. Their disregard of human life was savage. Their marriage laws were bad. Their treatment of wizards and witches,[1] or of those who were reputed such, was disgraceful and barbarous. Of this indictment the first count alone touched a matter on which, by any stretch, a foreign Government might rest a claim of interference. On these and on other grounds, more or less resembling these, Sir Bartle Frere sedulously fanned

commentary, it was afterwards intitled *Digest on Zulu Affairs*. This work was continued to the Bishop's death (he added his last notes on the 18th of June, 1883), as was the persecution of the Zulus as a nation by British officials, which had given occasion for the task. The pages of this work are referred to from time to time, as a copy of it has been placed in the British Museum.

[1] The word *umtagati*, usually translated *wizard*, is a very comprehensive one, and is very commonly used in cases of suspected poisoning.

the flame of irritation, and fed the prejudices which from the first he had conceived against the Zulu king. The result was an unjust war, unjustly waged, for which the consent of the English nation had neither been obtained nor even asked. The plea of patriotism was held forth as a justification for slaughter and massacre inconsistent with the usages of civilised warfare; and these deeds were done in conflicts of which no warning was given until it was too late to prevent them.

When such things as these came to his knowledge, it was impossible for the Bishop of Natal to remain unconcerned. He had never submitted to the abominable doctrine that it is the business of the clergy to confine themselves to the reading of moral essays or the inculcation of spiritual lessons which may be both important and wholesome, but which have no reference to present circumstances. The Zulu war might be the fruit of mistakes made years and years ago, and the tracing out of its more remote causes might be a wearisome task; but he was resolved that, so far as he himself was concerned, he would not allow his countrymen to evade their duty, and that he would supply them with ample means for determining whether the guilt of aggression lay with the adversary or with themselves; whether a plea for the invasion of Zululand was or was not furnished by persistent and systematic slander and abuse of Cetshwayo before the peace was actually broken by the British; whether a war stated at the outset to be one against the sovereign only was or was not carried out with cynical cruelty against the body of his people; and whether for getting the chief into our power means were or were not employed, which, if adopted in European warfare, would cover with infamy those who stooped to make use of them.

The patience and exactness with which the Bishop had sifted in the case of Langalibalele details of facts misrepresented, distorted, and falsified, furnish a strong presumption

that in the case of Cetshwayo he exercised the same judicial care and impartiality. That the conduct of the High Commissioner was prompted by calculations of what he supposed to be British interests no one could well doubt or deny. The difficulties, however, which led to the war had grown out of the change of policy which followed the annexation of the Transvaal; but this plea could not fasten on Cetshwayo the guilt of any offences of which he had not been convicted. It may be well to bear in mind that on all these matters the judgement of Mr. Froude agreed clearly with that of the Bishop.

> "As long as the Transvaal was independent," said the former, "we took the side of the natives against the President; as soon as the Transvaal was ours we changed our views, we went to war with Cetshwayo, and we have been fighting with Secocoeni."[1]

The discovery of an adequate excuse for strife was, in truth no easy matter;[2] nor was a way out of this difficulty found until Sir Bartle Frere made up his mind to inform the chief that his army, as being quite unnecessary, and as being an instrument which could be used only against the English, must be broken up. If his subjects had, without his knowledge or approval, violated the Natal frontier, Cetshwayo was ready to make reparation, although the Natal police had often disregarded his own; but such offers were of no avail. His

[1] *Lectures on South Africa.*

[2] The Attorney-General of Natal stated that "the appointment of Sir Bartle Frere was the result of sending home Commissioners in connexion with Confederation;" that the ultimatum was the joint production of the High Commissioner and himself; and that the latter put forward, as the reason for his embarking in the Zulu War, the resolution "to bring the Zulu nation into such a shape as was compatible with the safety of Natal and the Transvaal." In other words, as the Bishop remarked, the Zulu War was waged not for the trumpery causes put in the foreground as *casus belli* by Sir B. Frere, but for the purpose of remodelling the Zulu nation with a view to confederation.

regiments must be disbanded; and the ultimatum gave him no alternative, and allowed him no time even to bring the matter before his council. Again, in Mr. Froude's words:—

> "Sir Bartle Frere knew that the brave, proud chief could give him but one answer. He would have redressed any wrong which had been committed by his people; he could not lay down his arms at the command of a British Governor. A friend of mine lately visited Cetshwayo in his prison at Capetown, and asked him if he did not regret having disobeyed Sir Bartle's commands. Cetshwayo replied that, had he known all that would happen, he would have given the same reply. A brave man might know that he would be beaten, but he would still fight rather than submit like a coward. His people all felt as he did."

Mr. Froude was not exactly informed on all points. Cetshwayo's words were not given as an answer to the ultimatum, for the ultimatum never reached him. He had expressed his readiness to pay the cattle fines, for this he could do alone; for matters which affected his chiefs as well as himself, he asked time in which to deliberate and consult them; but his enemies had good reason for refusing this, and for hurrying on the invasion. There was the fear on the one hand that the Secretary of State might interpose, and on the other that Cetshwayo might manage to pay the cattle fines in time.

Cetshwayo's army was defeated at Ulundi; but his powers of resistance were not broken. Shortly before the battle he had said:—

> "I was already made aware that the English had at last found out that I did not wish to fight;"

but until they had suffered this reverse, he might try in vain to make his men submit. Had he wished to renew the war, there was nothing to prevent him from so doing. A thousand of his followers, it is reported, were killed in that battle; and

strange stories were told of the treatment of the wounded. Mr. Froude added significantly:—

"It has been said that they were either left to die or were killed after the battle by our native contingent."

If incidents in the statements brought together by the Bishop were facts, the conclusion must be forced upon us, that not merely our native contingents (for whose discipline their employers are responsible), but British officers and soldiers were guilty of far worse offences than the slaughtering of wounded combatants on a field of open battle.

The great contention of Sir Bartle Frere was that the delivery of the Zulus from the tyranny of a king whom they mortally hated would be nothing less than a work of mercy. Anything therefore which tended to show that the king was in the daily habit of slaughtering his people was eagerly caught at. In his volume of *Extracts from the Blue-books* the Bishop examines the reports of such alleged massacres.

He shows, in the first place, that all blood-shedding in the Zulu country is laid, by Sir Bartle Frere and his informants, indiscriminately to the charge of Cetshwayo, although the chiefs administering the government under him had very large powers, and did not scruple to exercise them. The Bishop found, further, that while Cetshwayo claimed the right of killing those who, by Zulu law, were condemned to death, there were no facts to justify the charges of wanton blood-shedding on his part,[1] but that on the contrary there was abundant evidence that he had often protected his subjects'

[1] On July 4, 1877, Cetshwayo said to a Government official:—"I mentioned . . . three classes of wrongdoers to Mr. T. Shepstone, when he came to place me as king over the Zulu nation, as those who had always been killed. I told him that it was our law and those three classes of wrongdoers I would kill. . . I always give a wrongdoer three chances and kill him if he passes the last. Evildoers would go over my head if I did not punish them, and that is our mode of punishing."

lives.[1] In a note to one of Sir B. Frere's despatches, the Bishop writes:—

"Sir B. Frere is always very bitter against Cetshwayo, seeking, apparently, by continued iteration of abusive epithets, without a single word of milder character for anything he has said or done, to deprive him of sympathy from Englishmen in his misfortunes and wrongs.

"But these barbarities, at which Sir B. Frere expresses such 'horror,' have never existed to anything like the extent represented in his despatches, and need not be 'palliated or defended,' by any who regard them as the barbarisms of the Zulu king and people in their present stage of national progress, and are no more to be charged upon Cetshwayo personally than the hangings for petty crimes in England in the beginning of this century, or the executions for witchcraft in England, by burning or otherwise, down to a very late age, can be charged personally upon George III. or Queen Anne."[2]

Norwegian and other missionaries spoke of the Zulu chief as filled with hatred for Christian teachers.[3] After Cetshwayo's fall the missionaries bore witness against themselves. While still on his throne, he was a tyrant to be dreaded and put down. When he was no longer there, they could appreciate, at all events, those of his acts which had reference to themselves.

[1] "Frequently when the Indunas have been anxious to have persons put to death they have been saved by the interposition of the king"—*Conversation with J. Dunn.* And see the remarkable fact as to Zulu "kraals of refuge" established by Cetshwayo for persons accused of being *abatagati* Official documents are quite silent as to this indisputable fact.[i]

[2] But in point of fact the fifteen executions by hanging which appear to have taken place in the colony of Natal since August 1, 1882, have considerably exceeded in number the executions of which Cetshwayo can be shown to have had any cognizance during the five years of his reign.

[3] An abstract of what the Bishop has written on this point will be found in the Appendix.

"If Sir G. Wolseley," they wrote, "will concede to us the same rights and privileges as we had under the now deposed heathen king, and will . . . protect our lives and property from violence, as Cetshwayo did, we shall therewith be content."

It was, thus, on hearsay evidence of the flimsiest kind that the High Commissioner charged on the Zulu chief a tyranny over his subjects so persistent, and cruelties on a scale so vast, as to kindle in them the fiercest hatred for his person. So monstrous, indeed, had been his conduct from the day of his accession to power that his people had but one longing—the hope of being set free from his yoke. Before the conflict began these charges were urged with an iteration which shows that Sir Bartle Frere regarded them as essential for the establishment of his case and the justification of his policy. In a multitude of passages cited by the Bishop[1] he speaks of the sufferings of the Zulus under the "grinding despotism" of their "cruel sovereign," of the "atrocious barbarities" of the "irresponsible, bloodthirsty, and treacherous despot," of his power of "murder and plunder," of the "ruthless savage" who is only "anxious to emulate the sanguinary fame of his uncle Chaka," whose "history is written in characters of blood!" "The monster Chaka," he insisted, "is his model; and to emulate Chaka in shedding blood is, as far as I have heard, his highest aspiration." Sir Bartle Frere had made up his mind for war, and writing from Natal in September 1878, he informed the Secretary of State of "reports of raids into Natal territory by large bodies of armed men, headed by two sons of Sihayo," a chief who, in spite of his "extremely anti-English feelings," had been "little in favour with Cetshwayo," but whose appointment by Cetshwayo to represent him at the Boundary

[1] *Extracts from Blue-books*, p. 245.

Commission he regarded as significant.[1] He added that unless "the leaders of the murderous gangs" shall be "given up to justice," it would be "necessary to serve to the Zulu king an ultimatum which must put an end to pacific relations with our neighbours."

In his reply to this effusion, the Secretary of State, November 21, 1878, remarks that

"The several circumstances which you have reported as tending to cause an open rupture do not appear, in themselves, to present any difficulties which are not capable of a peaceful solution."

Such suggestions were, of course, thrown away on a man like Sir Bartle Frere; but if there was need to offer such counsel the Secretary of State failed in his duty. The whole tenor of Sir B. Frere's despatches should have convinced the Colonial Secretary of the necessity of his recall. The British people had suffered so much and gained so little from South African wars that any attempt to provoke another wantonly ought to have been promptly suppressed. The loss of thousands of lives and of millions of money, not to speak of infinite moral evil, has been the consequence of his neglect.

For Sir Bartle Frere there may perhaps be urged the excuse of a heated and disordered imagination. Like Saul on his way to Damascus, he could not move, seemingly, without breathing threatenings and slaughter. Sir H. Bulwer, the Governor of Natal, had refused to hold Cetshwayo responsible for the raid of the sons of Sihayo, because there was nothing to show that it had his previous concurrence or even cognisance,[2] although he became responsible for the act after its commission. For this act Sir H. Bulwer was ready to accept reparation; but he began soon to yield to the

[1] *Extracts from Blue-books*, p. 258; and see *Cetshwayo's Dutchman.*
[2] *Extracts from Blue-books*, p. 267.

vehemence of the High Commissioner, who seems never to have had the slightest scruple in listening to and accepting mere hearsay reports and even gossip. The notorious J. Dunn wrote at this time, December 30, 1878, to say that Cetshwayo had "quite changed his tone, and was determined to fight," and to this assertion Sir Bartle Frere at once gave credit. Sir H. Bulwer, it seems, had also changed his tone. Writing on January 10, 1879, he spoke of Cetshwayo as

> "half tyrant and half child. He cannot realise that we shall take action. He thinks all matters will be settled by words and by delays. He is willing to risk the Zulu monarchy rather than that Sihayo's sons should be sjambokked, which he thinks will be the punishment given them."

Rather, as the Bishop remarks,

> "Cetshwayo could not believe that such unjust and violent action would be taken so hastily by Englishmen;"

and, as to his resolution on behalf of the sons of Sihayo, the Bishop adds with unanswerable force,

> "there is surely something very noble in this, which is hardly the act of one 'half tyrant and half child.'"[1]

On February 12, 1879, Sir H. Bulwer speaks of the mistaken impression of Cetshwayo that he was about to be attacked; but

> "events have shown," the Bishop adds, "that the king was right in his suspicions of the good faith of the English authorities, and that from the first, and long before they arrived in the colony, Sir B. Frere and Lord Chelmsford did mean to invade his country, though Sir H. Bulwer had no such object in view."[2]

Speaking in the House of Commons,[3] Sir M. Hicks-Beach

[1] *Extracts from Blue-books*, p. 302. [2] *Ib.* p. 309.
[3] *Times*, March 28, 1879.

dismissed as "a very small matter" the alleged ill-treatment of two English surveyors by Cetshwayo's people some months previously.

> "I said so," he added, "in my despatch to Sir B. Frere; and I think that Sir B. Frere himself attached no very great importance to it, and it could easily have been settled one way or another."

But on December 6, 1878, Sir B. Frere had already come to speak of it as

> "a most serious insult and outrage;"[1]

and again the conclusion is that the authorities in England, in failing to recall him, were not strictly faithful to their trust. But, further, the High Commissioner insisted that the Zulu king was bent on invading Natal, and was ready to carry fire and sword through the whole colony. No doubt after the catastrophe at Isandhlwana he had it in his power to do so, as he had it in his power before. But, in spite of all these prognostications, Cetshwayo, the Bishop remarks,

> "never made a raid into Natal, though the colony lay for some weeks, before the reinforcements arrived, trembling and practically unprotected, completely at his mercy."[2]

But long before the disaster at Isandhlwana Sir B. Frere had suggested the need of explanations to Cetshwayo, which carry with them an ominous look of treachery.

> "I would explain," he suggests to the Governor of Natal, "that the assemblages of Her Majesty's troops of which he complains are *for protective*, and *not aggressive*, purposes, and that it is the threatening attitude of his people, so little in accordance with his own language, which causes distrust. I would inform him that the vessels he sees on the coast are for the most part English *merchant-vessels*, trading

[1] *Extracts from Blue-books*, p. 321. [2] *Ib.* p. 342.

to distant countries; but that the war-vessels of the English Government are quite sufficient to protect his coast from any descent by any other Powers."[1]

Such language is monstrous indeed. What knowledge had the Zulu king of the fleets of any Power except the English? Yet he was to give Sir Bartle Frere credit for protecting him from attack by the Russian Czar and the German Emperor, when Sir Bartle Frere had made up his mind to crush him beneath his own heel.

The series of letters addressed at this time by the Bishop to his friend Mr. Chesson, the Secretary of the Aborigines Protection Society, are of the highest value as furnishing full materials for the history of events which led to the ruin of Zululand. Some extracts only can be given here; but these will suffice to show the nature of the policy against the injustice and cruelty of which he protested.

TO F. W. CHESSON, ESQ.

BISHOPSTOWE, *December* 6, 1878.

. . . "I have just heard from two young officers—who have only now arrived from England at Lord Chelmsford's summons, with a number of others, volunteers for special services—that in England, when they left, even in military circles, nothing seemed to be known about the enormous military preparations which have been made in this colony for an expected war with the Zulus; and I cannot see in the London papers which have reached us by this mail any trace of such preparations . . . having been communicated to John Bull, who will have to pay for them at the rate (I know, from certain authority) of £100,000 per month, and I have seen it stated at double that amount. . . . It may be that the Aborigines Protection Society will have a very serious work to take in hand, denouncing in the strongest terms they can command the wicked and

[1] *Extracts from Blue-books*, p. 348.

most unjustifiable war of invasion into which we are about immediately to be plunged, if . . . the 'Jingoes' in the colony are to be believed. . . . Yet I still cling to the hope that Sir Bartle Frere will not be guilty of such a crime as they all complacently assume him to be on the point of committing.

"And what is all this for? Do not believe—I am sure you will not—one word of the lies which have been propagated by deluding telegrams of 'our own correspondent' of the *Mercury*, &c., as to the defiant position of the Zulus. . . . Now it seems, if we are to believe the *Mercury*, the Zulu people with their king are to be eaten up amidst bloodshed and misery unimaginable, because they have desired as their own the land which the Boers had filched from them, which Sir T. Shepstone in his famous despatch to Lord Carnarvon declared, *after* the Blood River meeting, October 18, 1877, he was satisfied 'by evidence the most incontrovertible, overwhelming, and clear,' belonged to the Boers, having been suddenly converted to this opinion; but which the Commission appointed by Sir H. Bulwer has—I feel sure, though their decision has not yet been published—pronounced to belong to the Zulus. . . .

"But I still hope for better things from Sir Bartle Frere, though I thus write, and write because to most I seem like a fool for trusting in his good faith to the last, notwithstanding all appearances to the contrary in the present aspect of affairs. . . .

"Do not forget that all this disturbance in our relations with Zululand, as well as with Sikukuni, is the direct consequence of that unfortunate annexation of the Transvaal, which would have fallen into our hands like a ripe fruit, if we had not taken possession of the country like a party of filibusters, partly by trickery, partly by bullying. . . . I have not the least hesitation in saying that both Cetshwayo and his army and people have been greatly misrepresented, for I have lived here now more than twenty-five years, . . . and during all that time not a single defiant act has been committed by Cetshwayo and his army and people against

the English Government; . . . they have shown no desire to disturb the friendly relations which, according to Sir T. Shepstone's own statement, 'during twenty-six years of Panda's reign were never seriously disturbed.' . . . And he [Sir T. S.] adds, 'Practically the government of Zululand had been in the hands of Cetshwayo since 1856.' Thus for twenty-two years, on Sir T. Shepstone's own showing, there has been nothing on Cetshwayo's part to deserve the harsh treatment with which he is now threatened, except that he and his indunas had the manliness to face Sir T. Shepstone at the Blood River, and assert their rights against the Boer incroachments, and have since had the good sense to lay down their weapons and submit the whole matter to arbitration, as proposed by Sir H. Bulwer (metaphorically speaking). Nothing could be more kind and gracious than Sir Bartle Frere's bearing towards myself. He returned my call promptly, came with his staff and Sir H. Bulwer and secretary to luncheon with me, and has always been remarkably friendly in his manner towards me. For instance, he himself broke to me the subject of Langalibalele, and the result was a letter from me, . . . which he acknowledged, not by a written reply, but by word of mouth, saying that the case, as I put it, was a very strong one, . . . and that I might depend upon his not losing sight of the matter. I sent a copy (for prudential reasons) to Sir H. Bulwer, who shortly afterwards replied that he would accept it as if addressed to himself, and would lay it before the Executive Council. . . .

"If the *Witness* gives a correct and complete programme of Sir B. Frere's ultimatum, I should not doubt that the whole affair might and would be settled amicably. But . . . something may be behind these wise and reasonable proposals—viz. the disarmament of the Zulus—which I could only regard as a mere pretext for waging a war of aggression. In that case I should say, 'How oft the sight of means to do ill deeds,' &c. Here are the troops, and they must be employed to do something corresponding to the vast expense incurred on account of them. It does indeed

seem incredible that we should require, as a *sine quâ non*, Cetshwayo to disarm his people, when we are actually arming our own natives against the Zulus. . . . Of course, it might be wise to man the eight or nine fortresses, which have been placed along the frontier, with garrisons consisting of English troops, supported by native levies; a small number of the former might suffice for each fort, and 2000 natives might be distributed among them; . . . and something of this kind should have been done long ago, not to repress attacks from Zululand, for we have had none whatever, . . . but to allay the apprehensions of the white settlers. . . . I still cling to the hope that Sir B. Frere's policy with respect to Zululand will not turn out to be based upon that principle which the *Guardian* describes as the gist of his letter on Indian affairs: 'We are very strong, therefore'—not 'let us be just,' but—'we need not be just.'"

"*December* 19, 1878.

. . . "I have detained what I wrote about a fortnight ago, being still unwilling even to admit the possibility that Sir B. Frere could insist on terms . . . which could only be a pretext for a war of invasion. Since then the 'award' and the 'ultimatum' have been published. . . . You will see that the disarmament is *not* insisted on; but two points are to be inforced, viz. the disbanding of the Zulu army, and the abolition of the present marriage system,[1] which

[1] The Bishop agreed, of course, that "it would be well that Zulu soldiers should be left free to marry, as he would desire the same, as far as possible, for English soldiers, on whom the present inforced celibacy has a most demoralising effect."—*Digest*, i. p. 529. But when he agreed in the terms of this portion of the ultimatum, he was "not informed, and never for a moment supposed, that they would be inforced peremptorily with bloody and brutal violence."—*Digest*, i. p. 537. Of the award he spoke not less plainly. The "milk and water," as a colonial journal phrased it, of this document, was converted into "fire and brimstone" by the memorandum which followed it, and which was intended to explain for Cetshwayo's benefit the nature of the cession made to him—a cession in name, and nothing more. Against this mockery of justice the Bishop protested, saying that "as an honourable nation, we had, since the

may still bring on a collision and the shedding of blood. I most sincerely trust, and I hope and believe, that there will be no war, and that the overpowering demonstration made on his border will have the effect of convincing the Zulu king that he had better at once bow to the decision of the superior power, and consent to all that is required of him. I believe (I repeat) that he will do all this; and as to the other points I do not think that there will be any difficulty. Sir B. Frere sent me a private request on Sunday last that I would criticise his doings as severely as I thought it necessary to do. I called on him on Thursday, and had a long talk first with him, and then with Sir H. Bulwer, in which I expressed plainly what I thought. I said that I rejoiced in the two main requirements of the ultimatum, backed up by such a force, that I had every reason to believe that the king would consent to them—in which case England would have done her duty as a mighty Power, in interfering with her barbarous neighbour in inforcing changes in the government of Zululand which would be highly beneficial to the Zulu people; and that if these were *all* that was contemplated (together with the inforcement of the rules laid down at the coronation), as the result of such an enormous expenditure, I most heartily assented to it as a sign that England was still ready to discharge her duty as a great Christian people. I could have wished, however, that these demands had been based only on the highest grounds, instead of importing charges of 'aggres-

annexation of the Transvaal, been holding the land in dispute as trustees for the lawful owner, and the land being now declared 'by a jury carefully selected by ourselves,' in Sir B. Frere's words, to belong 'of strict right to the Zulus,' we were bound to hand it over to them for their actual occupation with such farmers as they might allow to live there" ("and I trust," the Bishop said, "they would be many"), "and not to say that we 'give up the land to the Zulu king and nation,' when we take away from them all power to use it, or the greater part of it, for their own reasonable purposes." Thus steadily the Bishop met and exposed each fallacy of his antagonist, whose arguments have been likened to a cloud of locusts, of which one or another may be knocked down, the cry remaining, "Still they come,"—all exactly resembling one another.

sion,' 'wholesale bloodshedding,' &c., which I believed (and still believe) are partly incorrect, and partly highly coloured and exaggerated. . . .[1]

"I need hardly say that my recommendation of Sir B. Frere's action is based entirely on the assumption that he has spoken and written, as an English gentleman, words of straightforward simplicity and truth. I should be exceedingly shocked to find that there is anything to be read (as they say) 'between the lines' of the ultimatum.

"It is right that I should repeat that I believe that Sir H. Bulwer has done his utmost to maintain the cause of righteousness and peace in our dealings with the Zulus. . . . I think that he well deserves the high approval of his fellow-Englishmen for what he has done. . . . If we have, as I trust, a peaceable settlement of the Zulu business, we shall owe it primarily to the exertions of Sir H. Bulwer. I hope that justice will be done to him, if anything is said on this subject in Parliament."

"*December* 6, 1878.

"You may rely, I believe, on the truth of these three statements: (1) that Sir B. Frere fully expected a different result of the labours of the Commission; (2) that Sir T. Shepstone objected strongly to certain parts of the Commissioners' Report, which was communicated to him, but not to Cetshwayo; (3) that Sir B. Frere pressed the Commissioners with these objections, but they triumphantly overthrew them, and consequently that he will be obliged to award substantially in favour of the Zulu claim.

"Cetshwayo sent down messengers to ask what all this [pre-

[1] The Bishop's acquaintance with the Zulus had hitherto been but fragmentary. The attitude of Sir H. Bulwer had effectually prevented communication with them on the one hand; and on the other the Blue-books with their various revelations had not yet reached him. He was, therefore, obliged to argue on the assumption that for some at least of Sir B. Frere's accusations there must be a sufficient foundation in fact; and he wrote in a very different tone from that which he would have been justified in using, had he been then as well informed as he was afterwards to become, both of Cetshwayo's personal character and of the general features and working capabilities of the Zulu polity.

paration for war] meant—what had he done? He did not wish to fight with the English, and was ready to send down the young men [demanded by Sir B. Frere] as desired, but could not do so with war, as it were, at his very gates. . . .

"I strongly advised Cetshwayo to send down the criminals without a moment's unnecessary delay, as that was required; though what we can do with them, what law of the colony they have broken, or by what process they shall be tried, are questions which seem to me not easy to be answered."

When, ten months later, at the close of the war, one of the said criminals was captured, it was found that he could only be fined for trespass. It seems strange that Cetshwayo should not have been allowed to ask counsel in his difficulties from his best and wisest friend, and difficult to understand why Sir H. Bulwer should have objected to the Bishop's giving any advice at all, seeing that the replies he gave were: (1) to submit to the British demands without delay; (2) not to dream of fighting; and (3), though this came first in point of time, to ask Sir H. Bulwer to arbitrate between Boers and Zulus, which was precisely what Sir H. Bulwer himself professed to desire. The Bishop, however, on hearing the Governor's objections, gave scrupulous heed to them. He was satisfied that Sir H. Bulwer was striving to prevent the invasion of Zululand, and he felt that it was far better to disappoint Cetshwayo for the moment than to risk the Zulu interests with the Governor.

The award and ultimatum were delivered to the Zulus on the same day, and of the former the Bishop wrote to General Durnford a little later:—

"Sir Bartle Frere, while he adopted the judgement of the Commissioners, as he could not avoid doing, emptied it of all its meaning for the Zulus by a secret document—at least, one which he says was prematurely published, though prepared and signed a fortnight before the award was

delivered—in which he reserved their *private rights* to all those who had settled under the unjust Boer Government upon the disputed territory; in other words, giving to Cetshwayo the empty name of sovereignty. But with this award, such as it was [*i.e.* with the interpretation given to it by Sir B. Frere, but not intended by Colonel Durnford and the other Commissioners], Sir B. Frere coupled demands, to be complied with in a very short time, with which he knew the king could not possibly comply under the circumstances."

It was this "very short time," and the demand for immediate compliance with difficult requirements on pain of war, against which the Bishop protested—not the requirements themselves, although he might have suggested valuable modifications had he been allowed the opportunity, as all other missionaries were, before it was too late.

On December 22, 1878, the Bishop writes to Mr. Chesson :—

"I commend to your careful consideration . . . the cuttings which I send from our colonial papers. . . . You will see . . . an ominous paragraph about the farmers who have been settled in the territory now given back to the Zulus being confirmed in their farms under the guarantee of the English Government; in other words, Sir B. Frere gives back to the Zulus the country in question *without* these farms. . . .

"In other words, *every bit* of the territory given back to the Zulus will be 'guaranteed' to white farmers. . . . If this is really Sir B. Frere's meaning, then I say that the dishonesty of the whole affair is so palpable—the delaying the award till he had got together all his forces; the announcing it without the slightest intimation to the Zulu king that he was giving with the one hand what he took away with the other; and the leaving the poor Zulus and their friends, especially myself, after my interview with him, in the enjoy-

ment of a fool's paradise, because we trusted in the word and good faith of an English gentleman—that I must leave it to be properly judged by men in England."

TO THE SAME.

"*December* 27, 1878.

"I have reason to believe that Sir Henry Bulwer entirely agrees with my view, and that the memorandum had not been submitted to him before it was allowed to see the light. . . . Sir B. Frere told me that it was only a sketch of his ideas, and not meant to be final. So much the worse, say I, since it appears that he could himself entertain the notion of turning the Commission into a mockery, and sacrificing the Zulus in order to please the Boers. It is very clear to me now that he never wished or expected the Commission to have such a result, and that he has done his best to counteract it. . . . It seems to me that in letting that memorandum see the light—for it is absurd to suppose that the *Times* and *Mercury* separately published it without *implied* permission—Sir B. Frere meant to feel the pulse of the colony, and of a few persons in it, whose silence would give consent. I only hope that I have not been too reserved in respect of some of his other proceedings, for his demands upon Cetshwayo are in some respects hard, and very possibly even now they may bring on a war, which unquestionably some greatly desire."

"*December* 29, 1878.

"I very much fear that we are about to be plunged by Sir B. Frere into a bloody war. If, indeed, I believed implicitly all that I have heard in town to-day, I could no longer entertain a doubt upon the point, for the opinion is strong, I find, that it is intended to *force* Cetshwayo into war. . . . Have the terms of the memorandum *reached* the Zulus? Has J. Dunn, or any other white man, communicated to him the language of the second clause, with the comments of the *Mercury* and *Witness* upon it? And was the *possibility* of such communication contemplated when it was

allowed to get into the papers, though only a draft of Sir B. Frere's first thoughts, or was it *intended* to reach him? If so, it would be easy to account for his refusing all terms, and in fact he will have been driven to bay and *forced into war*. . . ."

TO THE SAME.

"*January* 9, 1879.

"I call your attention to the second cutting at the head of this letter, by which you will see what Colonel Wood is about—no doubt with orders in the way of *irritating* the Zulus at this crisis. All the Zulus living north of the Pongola are in ten days to submit to the Transvaal Government, or to cross into Zululand. . . . I have ascertained to-day [January 10] that Colonel Wood crossed . . . into the land just given back to Cetshwayo, some days ago. . . . I have been told on *good* authority that he did so when war was declared in the 'notification,' . . . which I supposed notified that war would take place next week if Cetshwayo refused to yield."

TO THE SAME.

"*January* 12.

"The news reaches us of blood being shed in Zululand, . . . and you will see by the cattle carried off how much dependence is to be placed in Sir Bartle Frere's statement that all demands 'were in the interest of the Zulu people,' and that the British Government has no quarrel with the Zulu 'people' (notification), which last has been published in a *translation* for natives, . . . not in the language of *our* natives, but in that of the frontier Kafirs. . . . Conceive the mockery of proclaiming in *writing* or in *print* to the Zulus, who have no chance of seeing the proclamation, or power of reading it if they saw it, that 'all Zulus who came in unarmed, or who lay down their arms, will be provided for, &c., . . . *but all who do not so submit will be dealt with as enemies'!* *How* they will be 'dealt with' may be gathered from the following orders:—'Instructions have been issued

to the volunteers that they are not to fire on the natives excepting as follows: When *one* comes within 200 yards *armed*, and when two, three, or more *armed* natives come within 500 yards.' . . . Remember that *every* Zulu goes about in time of peace 'armed,'—that is, carrying his assegais—as a matter of course. . . . On a somewhat similar principle to the above, I suppose, a shell was fired at a group of five, who stood on the Zulu side of the Tugela, about a mile off, and this took place on Friday, January 9, whereas the thirty days expired on *January* 10; 'and the shot' (says the *Colonist*) 'we are confidently assured took fatal effect.'"

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *January* 14, 1879.

. . . "The fact is now plain that Sir Bartle Frere came here fully intending to make this invasion of Zululand; and as the Zulus will not disturb the peace and begin the war, he is obliged to fall back on this affair in order to find reason for the English people, who have been already prepared by a series of false telegrams from Capetown. . . .

"A mere fraction of the money that will now have been spent in war, whether bloody and protracted or not (for which we shall mainly depend on the extent to which the forbearance of a savage can be tried), would have paid the reasonable claims of any Boers who might have been ejected from the new Zulu territory—even if they all desired to quit their hitherto, in many cases, very uncomfortable holdings.'

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *January* 24, 1879.

"Terrible news from the front to-day, as I have just heard by a private note from Sir H. Bulwer. A large body of our troops, under Colonel Pulleine, has been attacked by a strong Zulu force, outnumbered, and five companies of soldiers have been cut to pieces; and I very much fear that Colonel Durnford also has fallen. Meanwhile our own position in

the colony is now somewhat precarious, as the Zulus have gone behind the General, who was in advance of the colonel, and himself engaged at the time with another Zulu force. And I really don't know what is to prevent their entering the colony. It was madness (as it seems to an outsider) to think of guarding a frontier of 200 miles with such a force, more especially when the main body had marched away inland.

"*January* 26.

"The details of the late disaster have to some extent arrived, and terrible they are even as at present known. The list of *missing* (almost all of whom are believed to be dead, though some *may* yet turn up who had escaped) is frightful. . . . It is a disaster such as has not befallen the British arms since the last Afghan War.

"It appears that the General, having crossed into Zululand, with the third column under Colonel Glynn, marched forward on the 22nd, leaving the force in his camp under the command of Colonel Pulleine to come on with baggage-waggons and ammunition. An immense body of Zulus, who had heard from their scouts of this advance (what *our own* scouts were doing does not appear), fell upon the camp with irresistible daring, utterly reckless of their own lives, and crushing by their multitudes the British force. Colonel Durnford had been ordered to bring up from *his* post (the second column) his mounted natives and rocket battery to strengthen the convoying force, but only arrived just as the Zulu force was arriving, and only to add his own force and himself to the general loss. I mention this fact particularly, because in a telegram which Sir B. Frere sent to the Commodore at the Port, he says, 'You will have heard of Colonel Durnford's *misfortune* on the 22nd.' What he means by this I cannot conceive. . . .

"I trust that when all our forces are withdrawn from Zululand they will be strong enough to prevent any general invasion of the colony, though in my opinion—and in that of many others now—we have richly deserved it; for it must not be forgotten that Cetshwayo was true to his word. He never

struck a blow till we invaded his country and began to kill his men and plunder his cattle. . . .

"I need not say that Sir B. Frere's plans have ended thus far in a miserable failure. But I must leave the judgement on these to be pronounced by Englishmen at home, who will see that all difficulties with Cetshwayo might have been settled long ago by peaceful means, but for the desire to please the Transvaal Boers; and that we are now involved in this disastrous war by an utter miscalculation of the Zulu power."

It would not be easy to exaggerate the panic felt in the colony on receiving the tidings of the Isandhlwana disaster. It must be remembered (and none probably will now venture to deny) that the catastrophe which here befel the British force was the result of an accident. It was the black day of the new moon, when it is unlucky and even impious for the Zulus to begin an undertaking. The battle was begun by Lord Chelmsford's attack on Matshana, who was coming quietly to the rendezvous to help to talk matters over, and Matshana's fugitives roused the Zulu army. The defeat of the English was followed by panic. An immediate invasion of Natal was looked for. After describing some of the measures taken to meet the supposed emergency, the Bishop adds:—

"It cannot be believed that one of such great and varied experience as the High Commissioner was really in such a state of alarm as would seem to be indicated by some of these proceedings, at a time when the exhibition of calmness and confidence was needed to reassure the citizens. But the existence of such a scare in Natal would, no doubt, help to support his policy in the eyes of those at home, as an actual inroad of the Zulus would have still more effectually justified the charges he had made against the king, and the violent measures he had taken in invading Zululand for the good of the Zulus themselves and the

safety of the colony. After the disaster at Isandhlwana, Sir B. Frere, of course, repeats his charge against Cetshwayo of intending to invade the colony."[1]

But, if all that Sir Bartle Frere had said of Cetshwayo should be true, what would follow? Nothing less than this, that a war waged against such a monster must end in the surrender or death of the despot after the first serious reverse sustained by the arms of his unwilling warriors. In short, there would be no trouble in seizing a man of whom his people wished only to be rid, and with whom alone the British Government professed to have any grounds of quarrel. But what are the facts? To make this clear, the Bishop published, under the title of *Cetshwayo's Dutchman*, the private journal of a white trader in Zululand during the British invasion, which was professedly to deliver the Zulus from an execrable and unbearable tyranny. For this journal he wrote a preface and some notes, which throw a terrible light on the modes of warfare employed in this miserable war.

The Dutchman who wrote the journal, Mr. Cornelius Vijn, tells his story (which anticipates the narrative to be gathered from some of the Bishop's letters later on) to the following effect. He had gone into Zululand to barter blankets for cattle, and he did his best to entrap the Zulu king and hand him over to his enemies. Scarcely had he crossed the border, when he found that the outbreak of war was imminent. He began to experience at once the benefit of Cetshwayo's generous policy of self-defence. Cetshwayo's followers, or rather those of his subordinate chiefs, would have made short work with him but for the knowledge that the king was resolved to call them to strict account if they should do him harm.[2] Of this resolution Mr. Vijn was perfectly aware, and

[1] *Extracts from Blue-books*, p. 359.

[2] It may be noted that the chief who, but for Cetshwayo's orders, would have killed Vijn was Sir Henry Bulwer's favourite, Zibebu.

he had abundant proof that Cetshwayo was scrupulous in avoiding even the faintest show of wrong to the enemy who, he suspected, were on the point of invading his country. Thus protected, he seems to have made some very good bargains; but the benefits which he had received from the Zulu chief were for him not worth a thought when an opportunity offered of enriching himself at his cost. Had Cetshwayo been even slack in protecting him, still more had he in any way tried to threaten or frighten him, Mr. Vijn might with some colour have treated him as an enemy. Having availed himself of his friendship, and relying on his kingly good faith, the sharpsighted Dutchman defiled his hands with the price of blood; and he did this when he was sent to Sir Garnet Wolseley by Cetshwayo himself to assure the English General that he was

"employed in collecting his cattle to hand them over to the whites."

"Being a Dutchman," says Mr. Vijn, "and having been in close *intimacy* with the king, I was afraid of the consequences of refusing to do his bidding, and I undertook the task. Sir G. Wolseley then offered me a bribe of £200, and promised to keep the matter of this payment secret. He would give me three days to bring him in; but if I managed it in two days he would give me £50 more."

His interested zeal was not altogether successful. The king was taken at last; but as Mr. Vijn's guidance fell short of the mark he received only £50. Having thus done what he could to better himself at his benefactor's cost, he returned to take possession of his waggon and oxen, and over seventy head of cattle, which, during the whole interval, had been safely kept for him under the king's protection. This portrait of Mr. Vijn is drawn by himself. Its repulsiveness is heightened by the quietness with which, after this vile ingratitude, he

expresses his absolute disbelief that Cetshwayo was a bloodthirsty tyrant.

> "He had, of course," he adds, "to inforce from time to time the laws of his country; and if he had not done so, where should I have been, who owed my safety to the order maintained by the king?"

The fact is, that the pretence of a quarrel with the Zulu king, apart from his people, could not be sustained. Lord Chelmsford was obliged to admit that the limiting the operations of the war to the defeat of the chief only was impracticable, although he thought that that announcement was

> "politic and proper, because it afforded an opportunity to those chiefs who were averse to Cetshwayo's rule to come over to our side."

Either, however, they were not averse to his rule, or they would not come; and the people would not admit the distinction. In the issue, British officers or agents had to menace and even to torture the subjects of Cetshwayo in order to compel them to betray a chief whose tyranny was said to be unbearable.[1] The narrative of his capture is, indeed, a very striking one, and exhibits a devotion on their part scarcely less touching than that which shielded Charles Edward from the day of Culloden fight till he left Scotland. By fair means, and by any persuasion short of those of the scourge and the rifle, it was found impossible to attain the desired end. In the notes to *Cetshwayo's Dutchman*, the Bishop gives the terrible tale as it was related in the *Cape Times* of September 11, 1879, and by the

[1] A repetition of this wanton, cruel, and groundless libel will be found in the pages of Miss Charlotte Yonge's Jubilee History, for which she claims the special merit of being strictly accurate, on the ground that it has passed under the eyes of the highest authorities.

Government interpreter attached to the expedition. Nothing more than this story is needed to prove that the epithets by which Sir Bartle Frere justified his designs against Cetshwayo were slanderously untrue. If the conduct of a nation under the most trying conditions goes for anything, the inference follows that the High Commissioner's charges had absolutely no foundation in fact. But a series of incidents, openly avowed, and even boasted of, in this narrative and in others, go far towards shifting upon British shoulders the infamy with which Sir Bartle Frere did his best to overwhelm the Zulu chieftain. One specimen may be cited, as it may serve to show the depth of horror, of righteous indignation and anguish, with which the Bishop went through the terrible series. The party in search of Cetshwayo, having failed to make any impression on the men whom they caught, lighted on a solitary woman in the bush. In her terror she told them where the king had slept two nights before. But three men seized at the kraal to which she directed them

"denied in the most solemn way that they knew anything about the king. We threatened to shoot them; but they said, 'If you kill us, we shall die innocently.' This was about 9 P.M., a beautiful moonlight night, and the picture was rather an effective one. There were all our men sitting round at their fire-places, our secret tribunal facing the three men, who were calm and collected; whilst we, as a *sort of Inquisition*, were trying to force them to divulge their secret. As a last resource, we took one man and led him away blindfolded behind a bush, and then a rifle was fired off to make believe that he was shot. We then separated and blindfolded the remaining two, and said to one of them: 'You saw your brother led away blindfolded; we have shot him; now we shall shoot you. You had better tell the truth.' After a good deal of *coaxing*, one told us where the king had slept the night before. Lord Gifford gave orders for our party to saddle up, which was smartly done, and we

started off with the two brothers as guides. We left the one brother behind, so as to keep on the screw and make the two believe he had been shot."

Mr. Longcast added,

"We could get nothing from the Zulus. We were treated the same at every kraal. I had been a long time in Zululand, I knew the people and their habits, and although I believed they would be true to their king, I never expected such devotion: nothing would move them; neither the loss of their cattle, the fear of death, nor the offering of large bribes would make them false to their king."

Deeds of a like kind were done after the proclamation of peace. But there is not a shred of evidence that Cetshwayo departed from his policy of strict self-defence. Some of his men in the pursuit on the day of Isandhlwana were about to cross into Natal (and Natal, as we have seen, lay absolutely at his mercy), when an induna, or officer on horseback, shouted to them, "Has he said you were to cross? Come back!" For the plea of wanton assault on the part of Cetshwayo there is not even a semblance of colour. In the words of Mr. Gladstone, at Chester,

"That is a statement which beats all description. When it is really asserted by the responsible Minister of the Crown that the Zulus invaded us, we ought to be on our guard. The error is to be found in this—that not only did we invade the land of the Zulus, but unfortunately, by that terrible calamity which befell our troops, they practically drove us out of the land; they made a broad road towards the dominions of the Queen; but, having broken our bands with a heavy hand, they did not cross the stream which separated their land from ours, but simply were contented to wait within their own territories for the renewal of our wanton, unprovoked, mischievous, terrible attack."

This attack was marked by the employment of all the destructive agencies placed at our command by modern

science; but we have yet to learn that the employment of some of these would be held justifiable in such a struggle even as that of the Franco-German war. Cetshwayo undoubtedly had his rifles; but his men would have been more dangerous without them. They did not know how to use them,—proof surely how little he had been preparing to measure himself with the English. With his rifles, however used, he met us in the open field, and with rifles, if it be granted that our cause of quarrel was adequate and righteous, we were justified in meeting him. But he refused on his side to use means against which his conscience revolted. When a Tonga doctor offered his services for killing the whites by poisoning the springs of water, Cetshwayo, according to Mr. Vijn, said that

"he would not fight with the whites in any such inhuman manner, but he would fight in honourable fashion, for he had men enough for this. Also he gave orders always to his people that, whenever they were able to get white men into their hands alive, they were not to kill them, but must bring them to him."

On this the Bishop of Natal remarked (and his words demand the serious consideration of Englishmen):—

"No doubt Cetshwayo was right in his decision according to ordinary principles of humanity. But it is not easy to see where the line is to be drawn in planning means of death for an enemy in war, when 'dynamite' has been employed in Zululand, and elsewhere in South Africa, to destroy the ignorant savage, and smoking out of caves has been practised in Natal, and terrible engines, horribly destructive of human life, though requiring only skill in their use, and not any special display of valour, . . . have swept away the legs and arms and heads, or cruelly smashed the bodies, of thousands of brave but helpless Zulus. . . If civilised men by their secret arts may poison *the earth*, why may not savages poison the water?"

If it be urged that the application of all scientific results is fair in war, the reply must be that there was a time when the man who knew how to poison water was the possessor of a scientific secret which gave him over his opponent a vantage-ground similar to that which the knowledge of dynamite and other substances gives to us. But it is incredible that the English nation could ever urge or sanction such a plea as this; and it is still more monstrous to suppose that they would, if they had known the facts, justify their employment for the purpose of smothering to death in caves multitudes of women and children who, with the men, had taken refuge in them. Of such deeds the Bishop of Natal cited, in his notes to Mr. Vijn's journal, a series of sickening and revolting narratives, written, some of them, by the perpetrators themselves. In one instance, when the inmates offered a stout resistance, the mouth of the cave was walled up, and

> "bricks of gun-cotton [? dynamite] were thrown inside, and blew up the cave, destroying 400 or 500 men, women, and children who were in the inner recesses of the cave. My informant, a white man, said that there is no doubt about this, as the prisoners taken assured them that all their women and children were inside."[1]

The mode in which Cetshwayo was dealt with in the negotiations was not less astonishing. His messengers were in some instances treated as spies, and manacled. Sufficient time was not allowed for the return of answers to English letters; and these letters all contained impossible demands, with the exception of the last, which never reached him at all.[2] It was not in the chief's power to compel his regiments to lay down their weapons in the sight of the Queen's forces, and unhappily the assurances of an English General could scarcely convey to Zulus the satisfaction which they would

[1] *Cetshwayo's Dutchman*, Notes, pp. 99-103. [2] *Ib.* p. 148.

reasonably give to a European enemy. Even after the declaration of peace at Ulundi, Colonel Villiers had a "brush" with Manyonyoba's people (north of the Pongola), who had sought refuge in caves near Luneberg. From one cave nine head-ringed men were induced to come out on solemn promise of their lives and of fair treatment, given them on the word of the staff interpreter with General Wood. They came out, and a few minutes after they were killed by Tetelèku's people, who formed part of the British force. Throughout the whole struggle the usages of war were, to say the least, strained to the uttermost.[1] At the moment when Lord Chelmsford was insisting on his "utterly impracticable demand" that a thousand of the Zulu warriors should in person lay down their arms before him, he had accepted from Cetshwayo through General Crealock, and sent to England, an elephant's tusk of huge size, and by this act, the Bishop remarks,[2]

"according to native usage, as well as by Lord Chelmsford's accepting the Prince Imperial's sword, we were pledged in honour and good faith, on the word of an English General, to amicable relations with the king himself."

It was perhaps owing only to the time of day when his capture was effected that Cetshwayo lived to await at Capetown the judgement of the English people. Of his party of twenty-three, eleven tried to escape in the evening dusk, and five were shot. It is easy to see, the Bishop adds,

"what would have been almost to a certainty the fate of Cetshwayo, if Lord Gifford had carried out his plan of making his capture at night, . . . and if the king had made an effort to escape . . . in the evening shade and

[1] On the alleged price put by Sir Garnet Wolseley on the head of Cetshwayo, see *Cetshwayo's Dutchman*, p. 154.

[2] *Ib.* p. 139.

uncertain moonlight. A rifle-shot would in all probability have . . . relieved Sir Garnet Wolseley and the Government of the difficulty of deciding how to deal with him in the face of the English people and of all civilised and Christian men. In this case the unfortunate and noble-minded king would have perished without the chance of justice being done to him by word or act—his name blackened and his whole character misrepresented through the ceaseless vituperations of Sir Bartle Frere." [1]

To a certain extent it seems that a layman is allowed to charge his countrymen with making mistakes in matters of policy, and English Governments not merely with blunders but with downright duplicity and wrong-doing. But there seems to be a tacit assumption that clergymen have nothing to do but approve and laud the action of Governments for the time being; and when now and then a clergyman refuses to do this, and speaks his mind frankly and openly, the multitude stand aghast at what they call his folly and his daring. The bearing of the clergy with reference to things political has not a little to do with this general assumption on the part of the laity. We have had many wars in the present century, as in those which have gone before it. We have

[1] The examination of the charges brought against Cetshwayo for killing persons accused of sorcery or witchcraft, reduces them almost to nothing, even if we are agreed as to the meaning of the words. Still a belief, whatever it may be, in soothsayers, divination, the evil eye, is as deeply rooted amongst the Zulus as amongst other South African tribes. But it is deeply to be regretted that these superstitions should have been confirmed and strengthened indefinitely by the act of British soldiers, who, on the day before Cetshwayo's capture, full in sight of the English headquarters' camp, dug up and carried away the bones of his father, the old King Mpanda, which had been seven years buried. It is difficult to frame any excuse for such a crime as this; but to every Zulu and to every native in Natal the explanation immediately suggested itself. The white men intended by some unlawful and horrible means to gain power over Cetshwayo. Having dug up his father, they would soon catch the king. His immediate capture was for the Zulus proof positive of the successful sorcery.

had forms of prayer set forth at the beginning, during the course, and at the end of these conflicts ; but can anyone call to mind one single form, whether of supplication or of thanksgiving, which has not merely implied but roundly asserted that the English or British were always in the right, and their opponents always and altogether in the wrong ? There is something sickening in the remembrance of words in which God was addressed by the Archbishop of Canterbury in the first and second Afghan Wars, during the siege of Sebastopol, or the operations in Northern or Southern Africa. It has been always the same story—the parading of our own nobleness, the imprecation of defeat and disaster upon our enemies. It may be said that Bishop Colenso was not an Archbishop of Canterbury. The fact speaks for itself. It may also be said that he could afford to say what the Archbishop dared not utter ; that he had little or nothing to lose, and the Archbishop had a great deal. This is not the case. The tax on courage was as great in the one instance as in the other, even if it needed not a higher effort to stem the tide of public opinion among people whose heads are turned by fear, and who are rendered irritable or even savage by dread of personal loss.

With a spirit in singular contrast with the tone of all prayers put forth in England by authority, the Bishop of Natal's prayer "to be used during the continuance of the Zulu War," in 1879, spoke of

"the terrible scourge of war laid by our hands upon a neighbouring people,"

and besought the righteous Father

"to watch over all near and dear to us, and all our fellow-men, whether white or black, engaged in this deadly struggle ;"

ending with the words

"In Thy wisdom, we pray Thee, Merciful Father, overrule Thou all events for good, and in Thine own time restore

to us, and to those whose land we have invaded, the blessings of peace, for Thy Name's sake declared to us in Jesus Christ our Lord."

In the sermon which he preached at Maritzburg on the Day of Humiliation (ordered by the Government) after the disaster at Isandhlwana he spoke with not less firmness and candour. Each result has its own cause; and knowingly to assign it to some other cause is to be guilty of deception and mockery. This is, however, a course by no means unusual with those who profess to be giving themselves to the work of humiliation and prayer.

"I will not," the Bishop said, "prostitute my sacred office by speaking peace to you when there is no peace; by hiding the sins which we are bound to confess, and telling you of faults which are not the real burden which weighs us down. Rather, I will not dare to provoke the Most High God with such cowardly delinquency in duty, such base hypocrisy, in pretending to lead your prayers and your confessions, while yet, like Ananias, I keep back the substance of those confessions, 'lying not unto men, but unto God.' Let us beware lest we 'agree together to tempt the Spirit of the Lord.'"

Most assuredly the Bishop did not keep back the true cause, so far as it was known to him. He "plunged," as the phrase goes, into politics, and gave a history of the dealings which had led to disaster. In justice to himself, this history must be given in his own words. It was useless, he said, to suppose that the requirements of God were different now from what they had been in the days of Micah, who summed them up under the three heads of doing justly, loving mercy, and walking humbly. Have we, he asked, been doing justly in the past?

"What colonist doubts that what has led directly to this Zulu War, and thus to the late great disaster, has been the

annexation of the Transvaal—by which, as the Boers complain, we came by stealth, 'as a thief in the night,' and deprived them of their rights and took possession of their land? We all know that, while the Secretary of State, on April 23, 1877, was saying in his place in the House of Lords that, 'as to the supposed threat of annexing the Transvaal, the language of the Special Commissioner had been greatly exaggerated,' it had already been annexed on 'April 12, under authority issued months before by *himself*.' No doubt he had been beguiled by the semblance of great unanimity, of the general desire for annexation, among the Transvaal people; whereas the expression of such a desire we know came chiefly from Englishmen, most of them recent arrivals in the land, and not from the great body of old Dutch residents. He had also been, of course, very deeply impressed by the reports which had reached him about the state of the country, the weakness of the Government, its empty exchequer, its failure in warlike measures against the natives, and the cruel outrages committed by individual Boers in some of these conflicts. But those outrages were reprobated by their own fellow-countrymen. And the friendly services, advice, and aid, which were at first supposed and were, in fact, professed to be offered, might have done much to straighten what was crooked, and strengthen what was weak, in the machinery of government, and rectify the other evils complained of. And thus would have been laid at the same time the foundation of a deep and lasting friendship between the two white peoples, which before long would have resulted, if not in a willing union, yet at all events in a happy confederation, under the British flag, an event to be desired by all when the time is ripe for it. But no! we could not wait; confederation was desired at once; it was the idol of the hour. It would have been too long to look for it to be brought about in the ordinary course of things, by those gradual, though sure, processes of change which Nature loves. And so the deed was done, and we sent some of our officials to help in the work, and twenty-five of our mounted police—a small body

indeed in appearance, but quite enough of armed force for the purpose in view—with a body of soldiers stationed within call on our northern frontier, and with the armies of England at their back; for we know full well, and the Boers knew, that, if one single shot had been fired in anger at that escort, the violent subjugation, and perhaps desolation, of that land would have surely and speedily followed.

"So we annexed the Transvaal, and that act brought with it as its Nemesis the Zulu difficulty, with respect to the territory disputed with the Boers. Have we done justly here? I assume what is stated in the published award, that the three English Commissioners have reported their opinion that the land in question, south of the Pongolo—almost identically what was claimed by the Zulus—belongs of strict right to them, and not to the Boers. I assume that the Commissioners conscientiously discharged their duty in the matter, heard and considered carefully all the evidence produced on both sides, and produced in the presence of the representatives of both (an essential requisite in such an inquiry), and came to the deliberate conclusion that the Transvaal claim had not been sustained, and that the Zulu claim was justified. But how have we been acting all along in respect of this matter? From the year 1861, in which the Boer claim was first made, and in which also the Zulus first complained to this Government of Boer incroachments, sixteen years were allowed to pass before we took any effectual steps to settle the dispute—we, the dominant Power in South Africa. During all that time, with one exception, we quietly looked on, allowing these alleged incroachments on the lands of those who were looking up to us for justice to grow and be established, as if they were acknowledged rights; while the Zulu king and people were sending to our Government continually their complaints and protests, as shown by official documents. From year to year we allowed this question to smoulder on, the feelings of both peoples growing hotter and hotter; but we did not 'do justly,' as from our commanding position we were bound to have done—we did not interfere in the interests of

peace, and insist on settling equitably this difference between our white and black neighbours. And in 1876, the fifteenth year, our Secretary for Native Affairs reported as follows :—

"'This Government has for years past invariably and incessantly urged upon Cetshwayo the necessity for preserving the peace, and, so far, with great success. But messages from the Zulu king are becoming more frequent and more urgent, and the replies he receives seem to him to be both temporising and evasive.'

"In those fifteen years eighteen messages were sent by the Zulu king on this subject, the fourth of which, on July 5, 1869, nearly ten years ago, contained these words :—

"'The heads of the Zulu people have met in council with their chiefs, and unanimously resolved to appeal to the kind offices of the Government of Natal, to assist them to avert a state of things which otherwise appears inevitable :—

"'"They beg the friendly intervention and arbitration of this Government between them and the Boer Government.

"'"They beg that the Lieutenant-Governor will send a Commission to confer with both sides, and decide, with the concurrence of the Zulus, what their future boundary shall be, and that this decision shall be definite and final as regards them.

"'"They beg that the Governor will take a strip of country, the length and breadth of which is to be agreed upon between the Zulus and the Commissioners sent from Natal, so as to interfere in all its length between the Boers and the Zulus, and to be governed by the colony of Natal, and form a portion of it if thought desirable.

"'"The Zulu people earnestly pray that this arrangement may be carried out immediately ; because they have been neighbours of Natal for so many years, separated only by a stream of water, and no question of boundary or other serious difficulty has arisen between them and the Government of Natal. They know that, where the boundary is fixed by agreement with the English, there it will remain."

"'Panda, Cetshwayo, and all the heads of the Zulu people assembled, directed us to urge in the most earnest manner

upon the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal the prayer we have stated.'

"Our then Lieutenant-Governor, the late Mr. Keate—all honour be to his memory!—on the receipt of this request, promised to take steps in the matter, and did so. For two years and a half a correspondence was carried on with the Boer Government on the subject; arbitration was agreed to, Lieutenant-Governor Keate himself to be the arbitrator; the requisite papers were promised to be sent; the time for arbitration was settled. But all came to nothing; the promised papers were never sent; the arbitration never took place. Lieutenant-Governor Keate's term of office came to an end in 1872; and on May 25, 1875, the Acting President issued a proclamation annexing the land in dispute to the Transvaal.

"And thus this matter, which might have been settled easily in 1861, was allowed to grow into very serious importance. Farm-houses were built and small townships founded within the disputed territory; and we—the dominant Power—did nothing to check these proceedings, which were certain to embarrass greatly any future attempt to settle the dispute. At last, our present Governor, with a true Englishman's sense of right and justice, took the matter in hand, and at the end of 1877 proposed, and in due time appointed, the Boundary Commission, which reported in favour of the Zulus.

"Did we even then 'do justly'? I must speak the truth this day before God, and honestly say that in my judgement we did not. Some time before the Commissioners' report was made, the High Commissioner had said that we must be 'ready to defend ourselves against *further aggression*'; that 'the delay caused' by the Commissioners 'would have *compensating advantages*'; that 'it appeared almost certain that serious complications must shortly arise with the Zulus, which *will necessitate active operations*'; when all the while the Zulus were only claiming, south of the Pongolo, land which has now been declared to be 'of strict right' their own, and, north of it, land east of the Drakensberg,

which may as justly be their own, but respecting which no inquiry has yet been made. And we know that before the award was given large bodies of troops had been collected on the frontier, our volunteers called out, our native levies raised; and that award which might have been the herald of peace, was converted, by the demands coupled with it, into a declaration of war. Nay, the award itself was, in my judgement, stripped of almost all its value for the Zulus by a clause of the memorandum reserving under British guarantee all private rights acquired under the Boer Government, which had granted out in farms, it is said, the whole land in question, though it had no right to grant any of it. The Zulu king would have had no control over it; he would not have been able to send any of his people to live on it, or any of his cattle to graze on it, or even to assign places in it to any Zulus who might have elected to remove from the Transvaal to the Zulu side of the boundary.

"II. Have we shown ourselves in the character of men who 'love mercy?' Truly, it would have been a noble work to have used the power and influence of England for improving the social and moral condition of the Zulu people. Having first 'done justly' in respect of the award, we should have had a vantage-ground from which much might have been done by peaceful means in this direction. A Resident might have been placed in Zululand, with the hearty consent of the king and people, who had asked more than once for such an officer to be appointed on the border, to keep the peace between them and the Boers. His presence would have had great effect in forwarding such changes in the Zulu system of government as we all desire. . . . But even if, instead of waiting for the gradual improvement of the people, as wise men would do, we determined to inforce them at once, there was a way of doing this, which at one time indeed was talked of as if it had been really contemplated, viz. by advancing into the country slowly and gradually, intrenching at short stages, neither killing people nor plundering cattle, but repeating our demand from time

to time, showing thus that we had only the welfare of the Zulus at heart. . . . Of course, if we took such a work in hand at all, we were bound not to heed any additional expenses such delay would entail, which, in point of fact, would have been as nothing to that which must now be incurred. The success, however, of such an experiment would, obviously, have greatly depended on our receiving daily the surrender of chiefs and people in large numbers, wishing to shake off the yoke of the Zulu king and coming to seek our protection. And of such surrenders, so confidently expected at one time, we have seen, as yet, no sign whatever.

"I repeat the question—Wherein, in our invasion of Zululand, have we shown that we are men who 'love mercy'? Did we not lay upon the people heavily, from the very moment we crossed their border, the terrible scourge of war? Have we not killed already, it is said, 5,000 human beings, and plundered 10,000 head of cattle? It is true that, in that dreadful disaster, on account of which we are this day humbling ourselves before God, we ourselves have lost very many precious lives; and widows and orphans, parents, brothers, sisters, friends, are mourning bitterly their sad bereavements. But are there no griefs—no relations that mourn their dead—in Zululand? Have we not heard how the wail has gone up in all parts of the country for those who have bravely died—no gallant soldier, no generous colonist will deny this—have bravely and nobly died in repelling the invaders and fighting for their king and fatherland? And shall we kill 10,000 more to avenge the losses of that dreadful day? . . . Will such vengeance be anything else but loathsome and abominable in God's sight—a pandering to one of the basest passions of our nature, bringing us Christians below the level of the heathen with whom we are fighting? Alas! that a great English statesman could find no nobler word at such a time as this than to speak of 'wiping out the stain,' if he really meant that the stain on our name was to be 'wiped out' with the blood of a brave and loyal people, who had done us no harm, nor

threatened to do us harm, before we invaded their land—if he did not rather mean that our faults in the past should now, when our hands are made strong again, be redeemed with acts of true greatness, acts worthy of Englishmen, acts of Divine power, the just and merciful actions of Christian men.

"III. . . . Our mother country has wakened up at the cry of distress and terror which has reached her from Natal, when friends in England, and many here, were thinking but of a pleasant march, a military promenade, into Zululand. They are sending us vast reinforcements with all speed. To human eyes our power will be overwhelming, our victory triumphant and sure. But do we really believe in the Living God, who requires of us, if we would receive His blessing, 'to do justly and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with Him'? . . . Let those who will, bow down and worship their dumb idols, brute FORCE, and proud PRESTIGE, and crafty POLICY. But we believe, I trust, in the Living God, and, if so, then we are sure that not His blessing but His judgement will rest on us if we are not just and merciful now. . . .

"The Zulu king, it is well known, has sued at our hands for peace. It may be that he has done this, as some think, because his army has suffered much—because his counsels are divided—because he fears that some of his great chiefs will desert him—because he is laying some deep plot against us. But it may be (as I trust and believe) that he is sincere in his expressions of grief for the present war and the slaughter at Isandhlwana. As far as I can read the obscure and evidently confused and incorrect reports of his message which have appeared in the newspapers, he seems to say:—'This war is all a dreadful mistake—a horrible nightmare! Is it possible that I am fighting with my English father, with whom I have lived all along in unbroken friendly intercourse? I have no wish whatever to do so. My young men did wrong in crossing at Rorke's Drift. I ordered them not to cross, and, when I struck, I struck only in self-defence; and as before, in my own and

my father's time, so ever since that bloody day, the Zulus have never invaded Natal. As Englishmen, speak the word that no more blood be shed; let the war be brought to an end; and give me only such terms as I and my people can accept.'

"I say that, with the very possibility of such feelings having impelled the Zulu king to send this message—and it closely agrees in tone with the last message which he sent before the ultimatum was delivered—if we would walk humbly with God and put our trust in Him, and not in the god of force, we are bound to meet the Zulu king on the way, when he comes with a prayer for peace—to propose to him, from a higher and stronger position, such terms as it shall be within his power to accept, to show him that we Christians trust more in our strength Divine as a just and merciful nation than in mere military power; and, having done this, to leave the rest with God."

What the Bishop said to his people from the pulpit, that he did not shrink from pressing on the attention of those who were highest in authority. The series of letters which passed between himself and the High Commissioner, Sir Bartle Frere, in the early months of 1879, show the same impartial but earnest desire to do justice to all sides, while he also urged that the greatest care should be taken to insure fair treatment for the weak and the helpless. Of the annexation of the Transvaal territory and its results he spoke again as he had spoken before. In this instance he looked on the Zulus as having claims against the Boers, in the settlement of which the English would not merely have been justified in interfering, but were bound to do so. For a long time the dispute could have been easily settled. Sir Bartle Frere had been assured on very high authority that the Zulu king, Cetshwayo,

"would recognise the justice of our giving him the utmost we honestly could out of the land he claimed'—

amounting, as it seems, to a name and little more: but of

this Zulu chief the High Commissioner had formed from the first an unfavourable opinion. The Bishop's observation of his actions for many years past, and his acquaintance with others who had some knowledge of him, led him to take a different view of his character. In his judgement the Zulu king was,

"for a savage, an able, intelligent, and well-meaning ruler—'proud,' no doubt, but as a European might be proud, who asserted manfully his people's rights, and resisted what he deemed to be oppression—who had had great difficulties, great ignorance in himself and superstition in his people to contend with—but who had done his best to govern them, and was gradually adopting a more lenient method in dealing with offenders, by fines, instead of, as of old, by massacres."

The award asserted that the Zulu claims were substantially right: the memorandum, which served as a sequel to the award, reduced their compensation to a shadow. The Bishop had all along urgently advised Cetshwayo

"to trust to the uttermost in the good faith of England; and now," he added, "as I see what has come of his so doing, I am deeply grieved, and, as an Englishman, ashamed, that I ever gave him such advice, though it was the only advice I could give him."

Had the principles urged by the Bishop been acted upon by the High Commissioner, we should have been spared at least one great disaster, we should have saved a multitude of lives, and our national obligations would be less by some millions of money than they are. It is something that his voice was thus raised without respect to mistaken rulers and excited crowds.

"I am bound as an honest man," he wrote (February 1, 1879), to Sir Bartle Frere "to say, that, while, of course, I approve of

the main objects aimed at, and consider that they are such as a powerful Christian nation like ours has a right and a duty to inforce, if need be, upon our Zulu neighbours, yet I cannot see how to justify the manner in which our demands have been made, or the steps by which it has been sought to inforce them, with the killing of many hundred Zulus and the plundering of thousands of their cattle, and, it must be feared, with still greater miseries to come both for them and for us—and all 'for the safety and welfare of the Zulu people, to which the Queen's Government wishes well.' It seems to me that if we cannot inforce the changes we desire in a better way than this, we have no right to try and inforce them at all. But, above all, I mourn the loss of our character among the native tribes of South Africa, as an honourable nation, a just and truth-loving people, upon whose plighted word the Zulu king and people have been for so many years implicitly relying."

A few months later (June, 1879), at the time when the Government was repeating its "wanton, unprovoked, and terrible attack,"[1] two messengers from Cetshwayo to the Natal Government reached Maritzburg. They were treated more like prisoners than as envoys; but, as with their escort of police they passed the bounds of the Bishopstowe estate, they managed to give to a native belonging to it the greeting of the Zulu king to the Bishop.

"Look you," they said, "you must go to Magema,[2] and remember us very much to him, and tell him to say to Sobantu from Cetshwayo that he greets him very much, and hopes that he is well and that all things are well with him, and let him be sure too of this—that messengers will be sent to him by Cetshwayo, and they will manage to reach him without being seen and stopped before anything can happen. If the English army presses him hard, and he sees that he is about to die, or to be taken prisoner, he will send

[1] See p. 485. [2] The Bishop's native printer.

to report this to Sobantu, that, whether he lives or dies, it may be known to all in authority that he does not wish for war, and that it is the English who are pressing upon him to destroy him without a cause. Sobantu may rest sure that he will send before anything can happen."

The native to whom they had spoken now asked them, as envoys:—

"This coming of yours to ask for peace, and to say that you are ready to pay what is demanded, what does it mean? Is it that you are beaten, and can fight no more?"

Said they:—

"It is no such thing, we are not overcome in fighting; but Cetshwayo does not wish to fight, he wishes to make peace. These messages of his are sent to bear witness for him, that it may be known to all the world that it is not his fault, whatever may happen. He has done no wrong, and does not wish to fight, and it is the English who are driving him to it without a cause."

As they spoke, up came a man in a great hurry, bringing to Mfunzi and his companion (the envoys) a word from a friend (Mr. F. E. Colenso) that Cetshwayo should send back the sword of the young man, the chief (the Prince Imperial) who had been killed the other day. They said that they would be sure to tell this word to the king, and that the sword would surely be sent, for the word is a just one.

It was not for Cetshwayo alone that the Bishop had spoken and toiled. The letters relating to the time have told the story of Langalibalele's imprisonment, and of the circumstances which led to it. But Langalibalele was not an independent chief, and the Government thought that by way of punishing him for an offence which he had never committed, or, so far as appears, thought of committing, they were dealing him no harsh measure in trying him as a traitor, and sentencing him to life-long imprisonment.

"Here," in the emphatic words of Mr. Froude,[1] "the matter might have rested, had it not been for the courage and honourable feeling of one man. To the disgraceful unanimity of Natal sentiment a single exception alone was found. . . . It was no light matter to stand alone against an infuriated population and tell them to their faces that they had been cowards and brutes: yet this Bishop Colenso dared to do. He not only spoke the truth in South Africa; he was determined that it should be known in England. He collected evidence; he printed it and sent it home; he followed it himself, amidst the curses of his colonial fellow-countrymen, to carry his complaint before the Imperial Government."

The picture drawn by Mr. Froude may be in its general outlines sufficiently correct. Public feeling had, no doubt, been largely excited against him; but it is not to be supposed that he stood quite so entirely alone, if we look to the real convictions of many of the colonists.[2] It would have been well if they had felt it to be their duty to express their

[1] *Two Lectures on South Africa* (London, Longmans, 1880). Mr. Froude's testimony is welcome. It is to be regretted that in his volume *Oceana* we find no acknowledgement of the Bishop's protest against a policy which Mr. Froude denounces as severely as the Bishop himself.

[2] In a letter dated May 24, 1880, the late Bishop Merriman of Grahamstown, in sending his first subscription to the Aborigines Protection Society, explains why, having never "meddled in the least degree in politics" during a residence of thirty-two years in South Africa, he now joins the Society, and says:—"The tyranny by which the Zulu War was forced on, and the blackening of Cetshwayo's character and intentions, have been nobly testified against by Dr. Colenso. And though one of the clergy who presented him for trial, and who has ever since maintained the same repugnance to his heresies, and the same repudiation of his position as a minister and a member of the flock of Christ, I venture to hope that he is winning for himself the grace of repentance and enlightenment by his manly defence of the oppressed and maligned King of Zululand. Dr. Colenso happily engaged in this controversy not of his own choice . . . but was challenged to it by the Governor himself, and therefore he speaks now as by right when he denounces the high-handed injustice which has been, and still is, practised."

agreement with him more loudly and more early; and it might have been well, too, if the Bishop's visit to England had not come at the same time with Mr. Froude's visit to Natal. The Bishop's errand was crowned with a greater success than some ventured to hope for, or than many wished; and he did not shrink when he was called upon to do the same work of truth and justice for the unfortunate Zulu king, who was smitten down, whose lands were ravaged, and whose people were slaughtered, to suit the schemes of the Confederation party—schemes disapproved and censured by the Colonial Secretary, but having their authoritative sanction from a higher quarter, like those of the Indian Viceroy at the same time in Afghanistan.

CHAPTER X.

CORRESPONDENCE AND WORK.

1879–80.

OF the letters, or extracts from letters, given in this chapter, some bring out in more full detail incidents briefly noticed or referred to in the preceding narrative. Others show that his interest in the tasks of former years was not abated, although more pressing cares had compelled him to turn his thoughts chiefly in other directions. The letters on the final scenes of the Zulu War and its sequel are invaluable as coming from one who with indefatigable patience scrutinised the evidence for every event as it took place, and who did so not to support any schemes of mere political expediency, but solely in the interests of justice and of the welfare of the Zulus, if mercy was not to be thought of. Of those who may now read these letters many will, probably, be struck with the sound judgement and sagacity of his suggestions, and be tempted to regret that they who were charged with the ordering of affairs failed to exhibit the same single-hearted zeal for the true honour and dignity of their country.

TO F. W. CHESSON, ESQ.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *Tuesday, January* 28, 1879.

"Our position remains still one of great anxiety, but it is not *worse* than when I wrote on Sunday last—that is to say,

Cetshwayo has not as yet made any raid into the colony; and there is even reason to believe that it is not his *present* purpose to do so, if we may judge from the fact that four native waggon-drivers who escaped from the terrible scene of the 22nd passed by here and gave me an account of which I inclose a translation, and in that you will find at the end that the induna called back a Zulu force which was about to cross the Buffalo after them, shouting as they distinctly heard, 'The king has not said that you were to cross; he is only defending his own land; come back!' and they did so at once, and so the lives of these men were saved. I see that the *Pall Malls* just arrived are persistently representing that Cetshwayo has *threatened to invade the colony*, and *therefore* we must attack him. It is a most abominable falsehood, and is clearly meant to throw dust in the eyes of the English public, when this most unnecessary and unjust war has to be defended in Parliament. . . There is not—as far as I know—a shadow of ground for making such a statement. Cetshwayo has all along declared that he would *not* begin, but if he were attacked he should know how to defend himself, and he has done so in such a way that, in spite of our dreadful losses, no true Englishman surely can help admiring his skill and resolution. The papers here are talking of course of extermination for the Zulus. But I fear that, if that course is resolved on, we shall have to learn some more painful lessons; and the worst is that—if Cetshwayo really means to hold his hand, and merely desires to clear his land of the invaders, without retaliating upon us the blows we have struck at him—he will surely cease from such forbearance when he finds that we are only preparing a mightier force with which to crush him and his people utterly. I seriously fear that within the next two months, before reinforcements can arrive from England . . . we shall be invaded and the colony ravaged and ruined, that is, if we are known to be still making preparations for renewing the war. It seems to me that an effort might be made—not immediately, but shortly, if we find that he really is acting merely on the defensive—to get our

differences settled without further bloodshed, by sending a Commission to whom he would listen. Of course it would be idle to suppose that Sir Bartle Frere's huge demands should be accepted. But I think it would be quite possible to get the consent of the king and nation to put a stop to killing without trial, and to admit a Resident, not clothed with all Sir Bartle Frere's extraordinary powers (which were, in fact, preposterous), but to exercise a reasonable influence upon the king, and be a witness of his proceedings. . . . Would it be possible to press the Government, in sending the troops, to suggest negotiations to be tried first? I need hardly say that, if asked to go, I would go willingly myself as one of the Commissioners, but, of course, I cannot make such a proposal. . . . I have no faith whatever in the genius or power of Lord Chelmsford to guard effectually such a frontier as ours, . . . if once Cetshwayo made up his mind to sweep the colony.

"It seems to me clear that the real blame for the late disaster must attach to Lord Chelmsford himself, who slept in the camp the night before—nay, the two nights previously—and left it at 4 A.M. without having made the slightest preparation for repelling an assault, though the *Witness* says positively—and apparently under 'inspiration'—that he was well aware of a large Zulu force in the neighbourhood that intended to attack him, yet he had not thrown up intrenchments of any kind, nor parked his waggons; and he and his force lay down as if no Zulus were near. He had sent on part of his force the day before to reach Matshana's country, and that morning he sent away another large part of his force to support the first, and he set off himself to join them some hours before Colonel Durnford had arrived with his small reinforcement of two hundred and fifty native horsemen, who found the Zulus advancing near at hand, and were immediately engaged in deadly fight.

"As I hinted in my last, I perceive an ungenerous attempt on the part of Sir Bartle Frere to fix the eye on Colonel Durnford, as if *he* was the person principally concerned, instead of the General; . . . and I see that the *Witness*

to-day . . . tries to exculpate the General by saying that he could not possibly expect a body of troops left in charge of waggons to *attack* the enemy—they should have stood on their defence. And so no doubt they would have done if they had been properly prepared for defending themselves, —that is, if the General had not himself neglected, or allowed Colonel Pulleine to neglect[1] one of the rules laid down in a printed document published under his own authority, and which enabled Colonel Pearson to defend himself when attacked by a large body of Zulus. But what were the *mounted* men under Colonel Durnford intended for? It may be that when he arrived on the scene, at about 10.30 A.M., he became the senior in command. I don't know this as a fact, but assume it as possible, in order to throw on him all the responsibility involved in the attack; and he may have seen at once that, all due precautions having been neglected, a mere defence was hopeless against such numbers, and that the only chance of success was to be found in a bold attack on each wing, and he may have ordered such an attack. . . But the blame of all this—if it is to be blamed—must rest with those who, knowing that the enemy was to be expected, and even not knowing it, left the camp wholly unprotected during those six or seven morning hours of daylight (it is our midsummer), and during the whole of the day previously, and the evening before that. Well! I suppose that military authorities here and at home will look into the matter. . . . I have heard to-day that an induna ordered a Zulu who was about to stab an unarmed (black) boy, one of the camp-followers, to abstain, as the king had not said that such should be killed, only the fighting men. Of course this would not prevent many such *unarmed* men, white and black, being killed in the excitement, when no induna was nigh; as the other 'word' would not prevent small bodies rushing across the stream, when no one was there to check them. But I see ground for hoping that the king's purpose is not so bloodthirsty as is generally supposed; and I think many English readers will be sickened and disgusted with the

[1] *A Soldier's Life and Work in South Africa*, p. 218, *note*, p. 220.

accounts in the papers of men killed, who were not fighting, but running away or hiding in caves, and of *small* herds of cattle, *e.g.* eight or ten, evidently the little property of individual kraals, being swept off by our gallant warriors, as well as hundreds and thousands, which are all assumed to belong to the king, or at all events to the fighting men. What Zulu can possibly believe that we seek only the good of the Zulu people?

"In fact, if it is desired in England to avoid if possible a long, costly, and bloody war, the best thing to be done would be to withdraw the present High Commissioner, who will never consent to give up his plans, and send in his place some one who will look at things from an unprejudiced point of view, whose promises can be trusted, instead of its being necessary to 'read between the lines' before their real meaning can be understood, and whose conduct shall be open and straightforward, instead of tortuous and sly and slippery.[1]

"Major Dartnell from the front has reported that the natives there say that the indunas had been heard calling out that the King had not ordered his men to cross our border (agreeing with the statement of the four waggon-drivers).

"*Sunday, February* 2.

"There is nothing new, except that Mr. Joubert has arrived with an 'ultimatum' from the Transvaal Boers to Sir Bartle Frere, insisting on their independence being recognised, and some offer has come from the Free State of 500 mounted men to be allowed to fight [against the Zulus] under their own officers, and take all the booty they can secure. It is very sad to see that such captures of cattle have been made, especially by Colonel Wood's column, who have taken 8,000 or 10,000, I believe, and that from a people in whose interests this war is undertaken!

"I send you a copy of my reply to Sir Bartle Frere's last letter, and I think you will be astonished that he could

[1] So might have been avoided the needless and therefore iniquitous slaughter at Indhlobane, Kambula (on both sides), Gingindhlovu, and, most needless of all, Ulundi.

allow himself to write such a letter. It utterly destroys all confidence in his good faith as a politician, and in his wisdom as a statesman. I do not understand his object in writing it. Was it to go to England *without* a reply?"

TO GENERAL DURNFORD.

"*February* 1, 1879.

"Long before this letter can reach you, you will have heard by telegram and otherwise of the sad disaster which has befallen our troops in Zululand, and of the death of your noble son and our very dear friend. I will not expatiate on the events of that mournful day, which you will learn from published reports. I can only say that our grief for the loss of one whom we knew so well and so much admired and honoured, is very deep, as is also our feeling against this most unnecessary and iniquitous war. . . . You and his mother will rejoice, amidst all your sorrow, in knowing that he died a gallant soldier's death. But you may also have a special consolation in the fact that his last great act as a civilian was to do his part, amidst great difficulties, in securing the just rights of the Zulus, by whose hand, alas! one of their truest friends has fallen. . . . But your dear son, however much in his heart he may have condemned, as I believe he did, though he never said so, the course pursued towards the Zulu king, did his duty when the hour of trial came, and fell like a hero under the overwhelming numbers of the foe."

TO F. W. CHESSON, ESQ.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *February* 7, 1879.

"We remain still *in statu quo*. Cetshwayo has not, as yet, made any raid into the colony, though last Monday there was a great scare in Maritzburg at news, which came through Greytown, that a Zulu force had crossed the frontier. . . . Still, we are quite at the mercy of Cetshwayo. . . .

'Colonel Pearson is still at Etshowe, in Zululand, about thirty-four miles inland; and it is a remarkable fact that the whole mission-station there (Mr. Oftebro's) was found intact, the doors locked, and furniture all safe, just as it was left by the missionaries. . . . There can be no doubt that a large Zulu force is watching Colonel Pearson's movements, and he has already lost (I have heard on good authority) twelve waggons of a convoy bringing up stores. . . . It is serious as diminishing his supply of food for his men, which was calculated to last six or eight weeks; but this must now be reduced to four. . . .

"Mr. Joubert was driven up by a friend yesterday to make a call on me, and told me that Sir B. Frere had not only rejected the prayer of the Boers for the restoration of their independence, but had added (so he says) insult to injury by telling him that Cetshwayo had sent messengers to Paul Kruger to ask him to join him and drive the English into the sea, and had warned him against heading, or taking part in, any seditious movements, &c. He says that he returns to Pretoria to-morrow, but with a heavy heart, and in great apprehension of what will now happen—more especially if it is true, as stated in the papers, that Sir Th. Shepstone has gone to try to force the Boers out on command against the Zulus, by threatening them (under some obsolete law) with confiscation of their property if they do not obey the summons. 'If their independence was restored, he says, they would all go out readily against the Zulus, 'providing they were able to see that the war was a just one, which they don't see at present.' He also confirms the story about the Zulu force having been called up [told to hold themselves in readiness] by Sir T. Shepstone to intimidate the Boers, not, however, from his own personal knowledge, but from information on which he relies. As he suspects that Sir B. Frere intends to use in England the story about Cetshwayo sending messengers to Paul Kruger, he has written to the *Cape Argus* on the subject. Joubert is certainly a man of some ability, and not wanting in quickness of wit. For instance, he illustrated the request made

by the English to the Boers to join in an attack upon the Zulus, by asking: 'If you saw a man with a club in his hand coming to murder you, and a dog had laid hold of his heels, would it be your duty to kill the dog and seal your own fate by setting the murderer free?' And again, 'If my horse has been stolen, would it be the right thing for the thief to come to me and say, "If you will help me crush my enemy, there may be a chance of my restoring to you your stolen property, or, at all events, the saddle and bridle."'

"This is a very bad time for us all, you may well believe; and there is not a soul here, I fancy, except myself, who thinks of any possibility of making terms of peace with the Zulus on honourable conditions. 'Extermination!' is the cry. . . . This is mainly the product of *fear*, and no one seems to believe in an overruling Providence, which works on the side of the right and the just. I have still a faint hope that the voice of England will be against pushing matters to extremities with the Zulus."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *February* 16, 1879.

. . . "I had a visit on Tuesday last from Dr. Jorissen, who is very apprehensive of troubles being in store for the Transvaal, where Sir T. Shepstone is at this moment, trying (so says one of the Natal papers) to make the Boers understand what Sir B. Frere really meant by the award—viz. nothing that would really affect the Boers or benefit the Zulus. . . .

"Two Zulu spies have been seized on the frontier and sent down to Maritzburg, where they are kept in gaol. My son [Mr. F. E. Colenso], with the special reporter of the *Cape Argus*, has had an interview with them, in presence of the superintendent of the gaol, and a full report . . . will appear in the *Argus*. . . . These young men, you will see, declare that they were not spies. But in any case, their statement supports the view that Cetshwayo is only

standing on the defensive, and does not mean to invade the colony. And, if no invasion takes place before our reinforcements arrive, I cannot but think that there is an opening for peace to be made on honourable terms, as I suggested in a former letter, provided we have a new High Commissioner, as well as (I take for granted) a new General.

"I am occupied in digesting the Blue-books for the use of M.P.'s and other friends here and at home, who take a living interest in these affairs; for I will defy anyone to get a true idea of the case from the confused despatches in the Blue-books (where the affairs of the Cape Colony, Eastern Frontier, Griqualand East, Griqualand West, Basutoland, Pondoland, Transvaal, Natal, and Zululand, are all mixed up 'higgledy-piggledy,' without any attempt at arrangement), without an enormous amount of labour, which no public man can be expected to undertake. But whether I shall be able to complete my work, or to do so in time to be of any use before the Zulu question is settled some way or other, I am very doubtful."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *February* 23, 1879.

"Opinions are divided as to the reason for Cetshwayo's apparent inactivity. . . . For my own part, I still adhere to the hope—I can hardly call it belief—that he is only acting on the defensive, and does not wish to invade Natal unless driven to it by a renewed attempt to crush or 'exterminate' himself and his people. And I have a strong conviction that, if allowed to do so, I could get him to send a messenger *asking for peace* on terms which would be sufficiently honourable, though, of course, not such as Sir B. Frere set forth in his ultimatum and memorandum. I think it is not impossible that he might do this of his own accord. But, if he did, what would become of his messengers? According to the inclosed slip, which I send as a precious example of the way in which our Christian High

Commissioner and General are carrying on this war, they will be shot as soon as they are seen to be crossing the river. And in another cutting inclosed you will see that it is whispered that the king is 'now desirous of sending a message to Government,' against the arrival of which apparently effectual measures have been taken. Could not a question in the House with reference to the possibility of restoring peace be based on these facts?

"Sir H. Bulwer is going to call for a 'Day of Humiliation,' to confess our sins, and ask for victory! On the former point, at all events, there is much to be said."

TO THE SAME.

"*March* 5, 1879.

"It seems clear that all our panic, however natural under the circumstances, was wholly unnecessary, as Cetshwayo never intended to invade the colony. But it seems to me certain that Sir Bartle Frere does not mean to make peace if he can help it, his 'mission' being to found a great South African Province 'from Capetown to the Limpopo.'"

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *March* 23, 1879.

. . . "Yesterday Dr. Thrupp (a civilian from London, who came out as special surgeon for one year and is going home again) called here and brought a watch which he had taken from the body of an officer on the morning of January 23, to see if we could recognise it. It was Colonel Durnford's. The body was found lying within the camp, near to the hospital, with some two hundred others lying around him. It was *not* mutilated. . . . It is strange that two months have passed before this fact has reached us, though we have made all manner of inquiries. This has apparently arisen from Dr. Thrupp's want of personal acquaintance with Colonel Durnford, whom he had only seen once before.

"There is a very important question which ought to be taken

up about the natives, who have been forced out by the Government through their chiefs under threats of severe punishment. . . . Of course, if the Government can call natives out at pleasure for war purposes, they can also call them out for road-making, sugar-planting (as Sir B. Pine did), and other purposes, and all liberty of the subject is practically denied to them still."

TO THE SAME.

"*March* 30, 1879.

. . "The more I read of the new Blue-books, the more am I sickened with the evidence it gives of Sir B. Frere's determination from the first to bring on this war and to crush Cetshwayo, who appears to me to have acted nobly throughout. I have now sent a letter to Sir H. Bulwer, in which I have set forth the evidence which has satisfied my own mind that Cetshwayo's claim of land north of the Pongolo was thoroughly well founded. . . . Next week I hope to send the proofs of this in my extracts from the Blue-books."

TO THE SAME.

"*April* 13, 1879.

. . "I do not see that Sir H. Bulwer has anywhere expressed his approval of Sir B. Frere's *warlike proceedings*, though . . . he agrees in Sir B. Frere's 'decision to place the condition of affairs in the Zulu country and our relations with the Zulu king and people on a more satisfactory basis than that on which they now are,' and 'in the conditions which he has laid down' for that end in the ultimatum, in which nothing is said about inforcing these conditions by instantly waging war in the fiercest manner if they are not agreed to within thirty days. In fact, as far as I can see, Sir H. Bulwer says no more than I have said myself, . . . viz. that it is the right and duty of a great Christian people to press such reforms, and, if need be, to inforce them, on a people such as the Zulus. But I never meant that they might be inforced in this cruel and brutal fashion. . . . I

suppose bloody scenes will be repeated as this horrible war goes on, in which the work done by our force by means of Gatling guns, shells, and rockets (one killing thirteen!) is mere butchery, while the fighting of the Zulus is admitted to be wonderfully brave in the face of such deadly implements and the skilled firing of our men with first-class rifles. Will nothing be done by the Government at home to stop this frightful carnage? . . .

"The following is an extract from a newspaper dated March 30, 1879:—

"'The Zulu king has sent in messages to say that he wants to surrender. If so, we have gained the victory. But we have not done with him yet; we must repay him a little more for his savage and brutal manners which he has shown to all white men here, and the General's camp [Isandhlwana] was no pleasant sight to witness.'

"When they kill *us* by hundreds, you see, it is 'savage and brutal.' When *we* kill *them* by thousands, it is all right. You will not forget that Cetshwayo has allowed Colonel Pearson's column to retire, with 106 waggons and 100 sick, without making any attack on them. . . . So now we are just where we began, only that about 10,000 human beings have been killed—say 2000 of ours, white and black, and 8000 Zulus.

"*April* 20.— . . . I am now certain of what I have always suspected, that the intention has been from the first to depose Cetshwayo, and perhaps carry him to Robben Island."

TO THE REV. T. P. FERGUSON.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *April* 13, 1879.

"It was very pleasant to see your handwriting again, and to know that you remember us in all our troubles, which just now are indeed great, through the wicked policy of Sir Bartle Frere. . . . He came up from Capetown full of prejudices; he swallowed all the rubbish told him by worthless traders and hysterical missionaries. It was useless for Sir H. Bulwer to point out that the statements of the Zulu king

having built military kraals in the disputed territory, and having killed a large number of Zulu converts, were totally untrue. Sir B. Frere reasserts these falsehoods and a number of others just as unfounded. All these would go down with persons in England ignorant of the real facts, and seeing that they were backed up by some of our local journals, who glory in Sir B. Frere's policy, which, I need hardly say, will be an enormous pecuniary benefit to this little colony, besides (as they suppose) freeing them from all fear in future of a Zulu invasion.

"If you have seen the *Fortnightly* for March, you would have found in it an article from the editor (Morley), with which I most thoroughly agree from the first line to the last, except that (misled, I suppose, by the misleading statements of the *Natal Mercury*) he has assumed the loss of the English troops in that terrible disaster at Isandhlwana as only about three hundred. Cetshwayo did not *originate* the Zulu army: it came down to him, with the Zulu marriage laws, from his ancestors. And now that we see how strong and brave his force is, his conduct in restraining them from any attack upon his neighbours, the Swazis or Boers, for many years past (for since 1856 he has really had supreme authority in Zululand, though his father Panda did not die till 1872) is to my mind worthy of all praise. And there is every reason to believe that the desired reforms might have been gradually brought about in Zululand by judicious and peaceful measures on our part, instead of by this frightful war, which may end in the extermination of a noble people."

TO F. W. CHESSON, ESQ.

"*April* 19, 1879.

"On Wednesday last (April 16) I called on Sir H. Bulwer, and proposed that *I* should be allowed (so as not to commit the Government in any way) to send a message to Cetshwayo, and ask leave for me, with a party of working men (not *soldiers*), to go up and bury the dead at Isandhl-

wana, or bring back their bones for burial in English soil with military honours. Sir Henry received the proposal very kindly, and only objected on the score of my own safety, for which I should have no apprehension. . . . It would, I am sure, be a satisfaction and comfort to many friends of the dead, . . . and it would wipe off a great disgrace to our arms.

"Sir H. Bulwer's despatches are admirable, except for his very strong prejudice against the king personally. . . . I cannot help thinking that Sir Henry Bulwer was much offended by that formidable 'message,'[1] and that he cannot get over it, . . . and my fear is that he may have gone in with Sir Bartle Frere for the *deposition* of the king, which in my judgement would be as unwise and impolitic as it would be very unjust."

TO THE SAME.

"*April* 27, 1879.

"My conviction is that the missionaries have done a great deal of mischief by their exaggerated statements, and have greatly helped on the war. In fact, Mr. Oftebro says

[1] This "formidable message" merits a little notice. The sole authorities for it are two Government natives who were employed by the Secretary for Native Affairs' Office as emissaries to Cetshwayo in November 1876. One of these messengers was a Zulu refugee who had fled the country for a crime, and belonged moreover to a political party bitterly hostile to the king. (see p. 450 *supra*). The message expressed an intention to "kill" and to "wash spears," notwithstanding representations from the Natal Government, and formed the solitary exception to a long series of unexceptionable messages. When questioned about it in captivity, Cetshwayo protested against the notion that he had dictated it. He indicated, as proof of its fictitious character, the allegation that it had been spoken at a private audience in the absence of any *induna*. The Bishop's conclusion was that it was wicked in Natal officials to rely upon such hearsay evidence. There was absolutely no check upon the two natives, and they had every inducement to slander the king. Sir Bartle Frere made much use of this message, and it was even cited against the king in the House of Lords. What Cetshwayo said on this subject was in striking agreement with what had already been told by his chiefs to the Bishop.

[Imperial Blue Book, C. 2220, p. 17], 'So much horror I have for war, [yet] I cannot help wishing it to take place in this case, because I believe it to be the only thing that would settle the Zulu trouble, and be to the benefit of the Zulus themselves.' He little thought that 10,000 men would be killed, and yet the work not done!"

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *May* 4, 1879.

"Sir Bartle Frere has negatived my proposal to bury the dead at Isandhlwana, on the grounds that it might interfere with Lord Chelmsford's plans . . . . in reference to the more important work he has in hand."

Speaking of the Boer "memorial to the Queen," the Bishop says (May 9):—

"You will see how Sir T. Shepstone is compromised in the memorial, as having threatened to take his hand off the Zulus, if they [the Boers] did not submit to annexation."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *May* 24, 1879.

. . . "J. Dunn is understood to have come back from his interview with the last peace messengers, and to have reported that the message is *bona fide*, and that Cetshwayo means to have peace *if possible*. I am quite sure that an honourable and safe peace might be made at once; but I am equally sure that nothing will satisfy Sir B. Frere, and therefore also Lord Chelmsford, but the deposition of Cetshwayo, which is what is meant by 'unconditional submission.' If this is insisted on, it is my firm belief that the war will still go on, or rather will be begun again, with further vast sacrifices of blood and treasure to the English, and horrible slaughter of the unfortunate Zulus. . . .

"I ought to have mentioned in my last that Bishop Schreuder, I believe, has all along acted a friendly part towards Cetshwayo; and also Dean Green and another

of Bishop Macrorie's clergy have spoken out manfully against Sir B. Frere's proceedings, and the injustice of this war.

"*May* 25.—I find to-day that Dean Green is very much annoyed that his words about the Zulu War, spoken in the Debating Society, have been *published*. However, the other clergyman (of Bishop Macrorie's) wrote a letter to one of the papers, signing his name, in opposition to Sir B. Frere's policy; and I know that one of my own clergy takes the same view. . . . You will see that I am not *quite alone* among the clergy."[1]

Writing on May 31, 1879, of General Marshall's visit to the long-neglected battle-field of Isandhlwana, the Bishop says:—

"But one result has followed from this expedition, viz. the proof that Colonel Durnford must have rallied some of the carbineers and mounted police, and fought to the last, protecting as well as they could the retreat of the rest. . . . About thirty soldiers lay dead around the Colonel and his fourteen volunteers . . . and [twenty] mounted police; and to these belongs the honour of a gallant struggle with death on that terrible day.

"I hear (from good authority) that General Marshall had great difficulty in getting leave at all to go to Isandhlwana, all kinds of objections having been made to his going, and that he finally left before receiving Lord Chelmsford's formal letter of leave. . . . After this first visit, no further objection was made to General Marshall's repeating the visit."

TO THE SAME.

"*June* 8, 1879.

"It is now plainly stated that Cetshwayo must be brought in a prisoner to Maritzburg, and of course carried on to

[1] It must be added, however, that some months later Dean Green, in a letter addressed to Mr. Gladstone, which the latter had published in the *Guardian* newspaper, very effectively defended the Zulu king and people, and condemned Sir Bartle Frere's policy.

Robben Island, before peace can be made. And I am certain that Sir Bartle Frere will do his utmost to bring this about. . . . It would be an eternal shame to England if such a thing were done. . . . I do hope that the first step has been taken by Lord Chelmsford towards *peace* by replying to Cetshwayo that he must first send in the two captured cannon. I hear that a fine of 10,000 head of cattle is contemplated—for what? For defending his own land? Do not let such a mean thing be done, only worthy of a peddling nation."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *June* 15, 1879.

"We have just received telegraphic intelligence of Sir Garnet Wolseley's having left England, with power as High Commissioner in connection with the Transvaal and the seat of war. This is regarded here as a practical suppression of Sir B. Frere and Lord Chelmsford. If Sir G. Wolseley (as it is said) brings with him the conditions of peace, and if they are such as Cetshwayo can accept, of course we shall be very glad of this step on the part of the Home Government. But I must confess that, from our past experience of Sir G. Wolseley, I have no faith in him whatever, if left to himself."

Writing of Sir Bartle Frere's triumphant return to Capetown, and of his speech at a banquet given to him, the Bishop says :—

"In that speech, as you will see, he complacently takes to himself and Lord Chelmsford the credit of having, by invading Zululand, saved Natal from a bloody raid; whereas he has done his utmost to provoke Cetshwayo to ravage the colony, and I can only marvel at the extraordinary forbearance of the Zulu king, and rejoice that he has *not* followed the example set him by Christians. While I read Sir Bartle Frere's despatches, I am utterly amazed that a religious man, as he is understood to be, could allow

himself to write such ignorant, unfounded, and often grossly untrue, statements about Cetshwayo and his doings."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *June* 22, 1879.

. . . "Now, if ever, is the time when the colony may be invaded. There was no real danger, even after Isandhlwana, . . . because it is now certain (as I have all along believed, and repeatedly stated in my letters to you) it was not Cetshwayo's plan to attack the colony: he had no desire to aggravate angry feelings on the part of the English authorities; his motto was 'Defence,' not 'Defiance.' But now that he finds his ten attempts to get terms of peace scouted and treated with contempt and evasion he may be driven to desperation, and what then may we expect?"

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *June* 28, 1879.

"During this week the Zulus have made a raid upon the border of the colony, . . . and have carried off their booty, without being injured or checked by the mighty English force sent out expressly for the *defence* of the colony, but which is almost entirely employed in making an offensive movement into Zululand. I called on Sir H. Bulwer two days ago, . . . and found that he took a most sensible view of it. It was simply, he said, a most natural retaliation for the miserable raids which we have been making—that is, which Lord Chelmsford has ordered in spite of Sir H. Bulwer's strong protestations and the loud-spoken universal condemnation of the colonists. . . .

"I can only hope that this may not be the beginning of sorrows. . . ."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *July* 5, 1879.

. . . "Sir G. Wolseley . . . reached Durban last Saturday morning, and Maritzburg that afternoon. On Monday he

addressed a large body of chiefs who had been summoned from all parts of the colony. . . . But though he did say something about *making peace*, the general impression made upon the natives was that he was going *to make war* more fiercely than ever, and finish off the campaign in two months. He has, you will see, cut the knot of dispute between Sir H. Bulwer and Lord Chelmsford, and ordered out 2000 natives as baggage-bearers in *Zululand*. . . . As to the legality of this requisition we shall be glad to know what is thought in England.

"Last evening the news reached Maritzburg that Lord Chelmsford had had a battle with 2000 Zulus, who were defeated with a loss of 800; and 1 officer killed, 2 wounded, and, I think, 10 men killed, 60 wounded, on our side; after which our troops burnt Ulundi and other kraals. . . . I presume that now, our 'military' prestige having been restored, and 800 more Zulus killed, Sir G. Wolseley will make peace, or will honestly try to do so. But I confess I have a misgiving as to his intentions, and I think it quite possible that he may aim at dethroning and deporting Cetshwayo, in accordance with Sir B. Frere's evident determination. . . . It is a fact that Cetshwayo sent in lately to Lord Chelmsford cattle and a *tusk* of *ivory*, the latter as a token of his desire to return to a state of amity with the English, and that the cattle were kept, but the ivory was sent back to him."

TO THE HON. H. H. CLIFFORD.

"SIR, "BISHOPSTOWE, *July* 10, 1879.

"You will remember that on the 13th of June I called upon you and requested that, if you found it to be consistent with your duty, you would allow me to speak with the Zulu messengers, Mfunzi and Nkisimane, then in Maritzburg, as I wished to send through them a message to the Zulu king, requesting him to send in the sword of the late Prince Imperial.

"You replied that, whatever your present feelings might be,

you were under orders which would not allow you to permit such an interview.

"I had previously, however, mentioned to my son, Mr. F. E. Colenso, my intention of calling upon you for the purpose of making this request.[1] And I found that, without any further communication with me on the subject, he had sent his native servant to speak with the Zulu messengers, and desire them to represent the matter to their king, which they promised to do on their return to him.

"The result is, as I gather from the public journals, that 'on the last day of June'—four days before the late battle of Ulundi—'messengers had been sent from Cetshwayo again to propose negotiations,' and, 'as if to prepare the way for a good understanding, the Prince Imperial's sword, which was taken from his body on the fatal 1st of June, was sent back with a letter'—written by a Dutchman—'stating that Cetshwayo had understood that it was the sword of an English Prince.' And it is now, I presume, in the hands of Lord Chelmsford.

"I venture to believe that the recovery of this valued family relic, which was worn by the late gallant and much-lamented Prince, will afford some satisfaction to the Empress even in the midst of her present overwhelming bereavement.

"And I request that you will be so good as to communicate the facts, as above stated, to Sir Garnet Wolseley, in order that His Excellency, if he sees fit, may report them to the proper authorities in England, by whom they may be communicated to the Empress.

"I have, &c.,

"J. W. NATAL.

TO F. W. CHESSON, ESQ.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *July* 12, 1879.

"It is a very general belief here that Lord Chelmsford has received instructions from Sir G. Wolseley at Capetown that hostilities must be stopped, and has not chosen to obey them. I write this advisedly, and I hope that in England the facts will be brought to light. . . .

[1] See p. 502.

"*July* 13, 1879.

"I am now *satisfied* that Sir G. Wolseley means to get rid of Cetshwayo, if possible. I can only hope that something has been done in Parliament to prevent this great wrong being perpetrated. It would be a piece of egregious folly as well as a wrong. For, unless the English Government mean to annex Zululand, they cannot do better than make a friend of Cetshwayo, through whom they would easily settle Sikukuni and other difficulties; instead of trying to govern the people without a king, or appointing another king whom the people will never recognise as long as Cetshwayo is alive. But what malignant persecution is this of the unfortunate king, who had done nothing whatever to deserve Sir B. Frere's previous abuse and brutal treatment! I thank dear old Moffat for that word, 'a most brutal and unjust war.'

"What an amusing act on his [Cetshwayo's] part it was—if anything can be amusing in the midst of so much misery—to send down the copy of Sir Th. Shepstone's account of the installation, with the so-called coronation laws, and ask to be shown which of them he had broken![1] His cry is always, 'What have I done? What wrong have I committed?'"

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *July* 25, 1879.

"I suppose that you will know for certain in England, before we shall know it in Natal, whether it is really true that Lord Chelmsford fought this last battle in disregard of Sir G. Wolseley's orders to stay hostilities, shutting one eye as Nelson did, and not winking with the other. . . . If so, it may be doubted if he will be received on his return to England as heartily as at Maritzburg and at Durban. . . . If, indeed, they suppose in England that this affair of Ulundi has been a 'splendid success,' and has really brought the war and the war-*expenditure* to an end, he may be welcomed by the

[1] This book was sent down as far as the Border with a peace message immediately after the battle of Isandhlwana.

English multitude, in spite of his disobedience to or neglect of orders. But has it *been such a success?* As to *military triumph*, I should think that this would be considered very small, when the terrible advantages on our side . . . are reckoned against their mere numbers and bodily strength and courage, which were never once able to come into play amidst the horrible carnage, except when they moved on to grapple, if possible, with their foes, and were laid low by the murderous fire, or when in the pursuit they turned at bay and brought down a few of their pursuers. But was it a *political success*, or any more than a bloody but barren victory? That remains still to be seen. The burning of Ulundi and other kraals means nothing in Zulu eyes, as I hear from natives. And there is no clear evidence as yet that the loss of so many warriors—they are now reckoned at 2000 killed, but were probably more—has broken the spirit of the natives. . . . If Lord Chelmsford had followed up his victory, or had been able to do so, he might perhaps have brought the war to an end. As it is, I fear that Sir G. Wolseley will find much work lie still before him, unless he takes the straightforward course of making honourable and not oppressive terms with the *king himself*. But I am sadly sure of this, that not the claims of justice and righteousness, but simply his own difficulties and necessities, will prevent Sir G. Wolseley even now from practically 'annexing' Zululand, or the English Government from backing him up in the act, . . . and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach seems to be still deluding himself or the English people with the notion that three or four millions will cover the cost. . . .

"It seems almost certain to my own mind that the invasion of Zululand was contemplated of old by Lord Carnarvon, and was included in his plan of Confederation, and in the objects for which Sir B. Frere was sent out to the Cape; and that consequently (whatever may be the case with Sir M. Hicks-Beach, whom I would willingly believe innocent of such deceptions) the Zulu War did not take by surprise either Lord Carnarvon or Lord *Beaconsfield*, though doubt-

less they were not prepared for the disasters and expenses in treasure and blood by which it has been attended. . . . That is, probably, why they are letting him down so easily, and have been afraid to recall him, and do not mean (I fear) to prevent his iniquitous policy from being carried out as far as possible."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *August* 1, 1879.

. . . "It is perfectly plain that Sir B. Frere and Lord Chelmsford never wished to make peace, nor meant to do so, till by some bloody stroke they had wiped off the disgrace of Isandhlwana. And when I see how Lord Chelmsford can take to himself glory from the last butchery of Ulundi as 'the beginning of the end' of this campaign, and can even ascribe it to the Divine interference on his behalf in answer to prayer ('I have felt throughout the campaign that I have been sustained by your prayers and also those of the people at home'; 'and any success which has attended my efforts, I feel, whether it is generally acknowledged or not, is due to the prayers of the people and the kindly ordinations of Divine Providence, for I am one of those who believe firmly and implicitly in the efficacy of prayer and in the intervention of Providence'), the language appears to me shockingly presumptuous in the presence of the actual facts of the case—its crafty and dishonest initiation, its terrible disaster and loss of precious lives on our side, its awful massacres of 10,000 brave Zulus, fighting for their king and fatherland against the deadly weapons of their invaders, and the very great uncertainty as to what shall yet be the end of this miserable conflict, in which surely no true Englishman can find any comfort or glory. Is it true, I wonder, as I have heard it stated, that when, a few years ago, just after the Crimean War, Gatling guns were first invented, they were formally condemned by a Military Commission as too frightfully destructive of human life for purposes of war? Have *they ever been used before?*"

August 8, 1879.

"Sir G. Wolseley has told the Attorney-General that the reason for Cetshwayo's suspicion of the English is the affair of Matshana.[1] Thus evil deeds of old come back upon us. And Mr. J. Shepstone is now with Sir G. Wolseley, and will represent him, and English good faith, to the Zulu people."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *September* 13, 1879.

. . . "The unfortunate king has been captured,[2] and, as I feared, deported as a prisoner of war to Capetown. . . . Sir G. Wolseley, then, as I predicted, has put the crowning act of infamy to this iniquitous war. And it appears to me to be plain that the present Government . . . has been merely duping the Parliament and the people of England by pretending to send him out to correct, to some extent, the unjust proceedings of Sir B. Frere. . . . Sir G. Wolseley has announced that Cetshwayo will *never*, under any circumstances, be allowed to return to his native land. What right has he to bind the English nation under this permanent disgrace, and to commit all future Governments to carry out his arrogant decree? . . .

"After Isandhlwana, J. Dunn sent a message to Cetshwayo . . . saying that if he wished to be king of the 'whole country . . . now was the time for him to strike a blow, as there was only one column now to resist him.'[3] And this double-dyed traitor has been just appointed by Sir G. Wolseley to be ruler of the largest of his thirteen provinces, where, with his native wives and concubines, to whom he may add at his pleasure, he will set a splendid example of morality. . . . However, Cetshwayo did not yield to Mr. J. Dunn's advice, and refused all along to ravage the colony when he had it completely at his mercy. And now we see the reward he gets for such moderation."

[1] See Chapter VIII. [2] See p. 488.

[3] See also *Cetshwayo's Dutchman*, p. 30, *note* 1.

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *September* 20, 1879.

. . . "Mr. J. Dunn's first act . . . has been to refuse leave to any missionaries to settle in his territory. This excludes Robertson, Oftebro, and others, who have done so much to bring this great calamity on the Zulu people, and, as far as they are concerned, they richly deserve exclusion. But John Dunn's ukase extends to all. And indeed I do not see how he can well do otherwise, since any missionary who might think it right to deal gently with polygamy as found among heathens or converts from heathenism, must inevitably attack the polygamous practices of a white man like John Dunn. Surely the morality and Christianity of Englishmen will be shocked when it is found that we have spent many millions of money, and lost 2500 lives, and killed 10,000 Zulus, in order to *exclude* Christianity and civilisation from that part of Zululand which adjoins *Natal*. . . ."

At twelve o'clock upon the day of the Isandhlwana disaster, Colonel Harness, with four guns R.A., two companies of the 24th Regiment, and about fifty Natal sappers, halted upon a rising ground more than eight miles from the camp, heard the firing of cannon, and saw shells hissing against the hills to the left of it. One messenger from the camp reached him with the tidings that the camp was surrounded, and would be taken unless they were at once reinforced. Colonel Harness proposed instantly to march back, and, although Major Gossett ridiculed the idea, he started. Riding off to the General, Major Gossett returned with Lord Chelmsford's orders to Colonel Harness to turn back and march to the rendezvous.

TO THE SAME.

"*September* 21, 1879.

"I have heard from an officer [——, 16th Lancers] that Colonel Harness himself told him the story of his recall at

Isandhlwana exactly as I described it to you in a former letter, adding that the recall came from Lord Chelmsford upon the representations of Major Gossett. In order to have this fact upon record, will not some M.P. take a note of it to ask whether the statement is correct, and why it was not included in the report of the Commission of Inquiry? . . . It has been suggested that the reason why the Zulus fell back after their first attack . . . was that they saw Colonel Harness's force making for the camp."[1]

TO HIS SON FRANCIS

(who, with his sister Frances, had passed through Capetown on his way to England).

"BISHOPSTOWE, *September* 21, 1879.

"When other people were allowed to see Cetshwayo at Capetown (especially a photographer, who will make a fortune if the king allows his photographs to be sold, for I suppose his consent is legally necessary), it is shameful that a paltry pretence was made for excluding you. . . . .

"Colonel Durnford's remains are to be brought down and buried in the Military Cemetery."

TO F. W. CHESSON, ESQ.

"*September* 26, 1879.

"For the exhibition of the true attachment and devotion of his people to him [Cetshwayo] in his time of utter need and helplessness, it is well that he has been chased in this way, and not captured until just eight weeks after Ulundi; as it is also well for his *personal* appearance and character that he was not *killed* instead of captured, as I feel sure he would have been if Lord Gifford had carried out his contemplated *night* attack,[2] since, of course, he would have tried to

[1] This has since been confirmed by Zulus, who said that the resistance of the troops who held the "neck" was so determined that, when their enemies saw "*the other army coming back*," they began to draw off. But presently this "other army" stopped, and went away again, and "then we went in and finished them," *i.e.* Colonel Durnford and his men.

[2] See p. 484.

escape, and then we should not have had such a pleasant photograph taken of him at Capetown as gives the lie to all Sir Bartle Frere's descriptions.

"The simple fact that they have felt it necessary to *ship* the king off to Capetown is the best proof that they fear the devotion of his people to him. . . .

"It is a monstrous piece of impudence on the part of Sir G. Wolseley to appoint such a man [as J. Dunn] in the face of a civilised and Christian people, and actually in their name. Not only will it exclude Christian teaching certainly from the greater part, and probably from the whole, of Zululand, but it must also have a serious effect upon mission work in Natal. When our natives see a white man, with a black harem, set up by our Queen as the great authority in Zululand, will they not be quick to say, 'What harm can there possibly be in *our* being polygamists?'

"Even the *Times of Natal*, as you will see, does not think it possible that the English people will endure such things being done in its name, or allow the present arrangements to stand."

TO THE SAME.

"*October* 12, 1879.

"I have just returned from the burial of Colonel Durnford's remains, which have been laid to rest in the Military Cemetery. There was an immense attendance of people, and of course the troops of all kinds . . . joined in the procession. The ceremony was most solemn and impressive, and the respect paid to his memory by all classes was most touching, though only what I expected."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *November* 23, 1879.

. . "I quite agree with Sir Fowell Buxton that nothing can be done at the present moment to disturb Sir G. Wolseley's (so-called) settlement of Zululand, except, I think, that some public expression should be made of its not being

satisfactory, though acquiesced in for the time, that it may have a trial. Only please remember that it means not *governing* or *improving* the Zulus, or doing anything for the real benefit of the nation which we have treated so cruelly—and which can only be done, as I believe, through Cetshwayo—but leaving them to lie weltering in savagery in a more debased condition than when he ruled them.

"But I must caution you against adopting the view, propagated very freely in England, . . . that the colonial outcry against Sir Garnet Wolseley's doings is 'based on self-interest.' I assure you that this is a grave mistake, and, if persisted in, will injure *our* cause. . . . I must honestly say that I think the colonists have been harshly and unjustly judged in England in respect of this war. Speaking of them generally, I have no hesitation in saying that they never desired the war in the first instance. They never urged it on, or even dreamt of it, until Sir B. Frere came up here, and wheedled them into following his lead and supporting him in his undertaking to relieve them from the 'standing menace' of the Zulu power. For, of course, the Zulu military system was in some sense a 'standing menace' to the peace of Natal, and some accidental circumstance, either under Cetshwayo or under some other king, might have brought the Zulu army over our borders. . . . *To this extent alone*, I firmly believe, can the colonists be charged with 'self-interest,' either in their support of the war or their condemnation of Sir G. Wolseley's doings."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *December* 7, 1879.

. . . "The news to-day is that Sikukuni[1] has 'surrendered,' and is to be sent as a prisoner to Pretoria. . . . But there are two ominous phrases in the telegrams, 'caves blown up,' 'caves full of dead bodies'; and the question arises, How many of these were the bodies of women and children? who, of course, took refuge in the caves and would be there

[1] A chief on the farther side of the Transvaal. He was taken to Capetown, but sent home after the treaty with the Boers. See p. 469.

defended by some of their men. Is it possible that such practices will be passed by in England without censure, or even notice, as a military friend assures me will be the case? Has our civilisation and Christianity really come to this?"

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *December* 21, 1879.

. . "Not a word has been said—or perhaps allowed to be said—about the killing of Sikukuni's women and children by dynamite. Only, where are they all? It is now stated that two hundred women and girls have been captured, but *no boys*. What does this mean? I think that this use of dynamite to blow up caves in which women and children are *known* to be hiding . . . is positively diabolical."[1]

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *January* 12, 1880.

. . "About matters in the Transvaal. My conviction is very strong that the Boers have been most shamefully treated, . . . that they have acted admirably, restrained by wise leaders, and (again like Cetshwayo) have done their utmost to avoid collision and bloodshed, although any Englishman could have told them that all their forbearance, and their appeals to English justice and equity, would be thrown away with the men now in power. As to their treatment of the natives, have the Boers done anything so horrible as killing hundreds of women and children by dynamite (or gun-cotton) in the caves at Intombe, and (I *fear*, but cannot assert) at Sikukuni's? . . . No doubt the Boers did formerly commit atrocities. I wish I could say none were committed by Englishmen in the late war. But I should not fear their committing them again if their land were given back to them *now* under such conditions as those on which their independence was originally recognised; and they are ready to pledge themselves to confederation, when the South African States are agreed to bind themselves together. I have never heard that 'the native tribes

[1] See p. 487 and Appendix E.

resident in the Transvaal' were oppressed by the Boers. It may have been the case; but my impression was that frontier Boers made up commandos and raided on outlying tribes, who were very probably troublesome because the Boers had 'annexed' more or less of their lands."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *January* 25, 1880.

. . "I have now *ascertained* that the women and children of Sikukuni *were* in the cave, and were known to be there, when the cave was blown up by Sir G. Wolseley's orders. How many women and children were killed in this horrible fashion no one knows; but I fear there were very many."

TO THE SAME.

"*March* 21, 1880.

My son Robert [Dr. R. Colenso] and his bride reached Durban safely last Tuesday. He applied at Capetown to Mr. Sprigg for leave to see Cetshwayo, and was refused! The reply made to my son's friend, Mr. C. A. Fairbridge, . . . was as follows:—

"'*Private.*

"'COLONIAL SECRETARY'S OFFICE, CAPETOWN,

"'*March* 21, 1880.

"'DEAR MR. FAIRBRIDGE,

Having spoken to Mr. Sprigg on the subject of your visit of this morning, he told me . . . . that hitherto, in reply to the applications of friends and strangers alike, he has consistently declined[1] to allow anyone to have access to Cetshwayo, and he desires me to say that, while personally he would be happy to afford Dr. Colenso the opportunity he wishes, he fails to see any reason for departing now from the line of action which he has considered it necessary to adopt in this matter.'

[1] The Bishop gives a whole string of instances showing that no difficulties whatever were placed in the way of any person visiting Cetshwayo who was not known to be a friend of the ex-king.

"I may mention that Miss Lucy Lloyd, daughter of my Archdeacon Lloyd, who has long been in charge of the Grey Library, Capetown, having shared in the labours of her late brother-in-law, Dr. Bleek, the librarian, in the study of the Bushman's language, and was very intimate with the Freres, was allowed a *permanent* leave to visit Langalibalele. But, having taken my daughter Frances to see him as she passed through Capetown, she had her own leave taken from her the next day! . . . I came up to Maritzburg in company with —— who had been shut up in Etshowe with Pearson, and was the very officer who brought in the two peace messengers, whom Pearson would have merely put in charge of the police, but *the Rev. Mr. Robertson advised that they should be ironed.* . . . Their hands were chained together so that one could not move for the most ordinary purposes without the other. He was utterly disgusted."[1]

TO THE REV. SIR G. W. COX.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *April* 3, 1880.

"We have just got hold of a copy of *Fraser's Magazine* for February, and have read with the greatest satisfaction your admirable article on the Zulu War. There is not a single line that I would alter in it, nor a single mistake from beginning to end—unless indeed you meant to say that Sir G. Wolseley accepted *in person* the tusk from Cetshwayo, which he really accepted through General Crealock.[2] Sir G. Wolseley sent it home to the Secretary of State, by

[1] From *Digest*, p. 555. "On March 23, two spies (!) from the king arrived with a white flag. They were seized and questioned outside, and then blindfolded and brought in, and *ironed* because of discrepancies in their statements. The one said that . . . the king had now sent them to us, and offered a free and unmolested passage to the Tugela, if we did not burn their kraals and destroy the gardens. . . The other Zulu . . . stated that he joined the messenger from the king by command of Dabulamanzi, who instructed him to tell the *impi* that had been lying in wait for us not to harm us if we agreed to the message."—*Natal Times*, April 14, 1879. Where are the "discrepancies"? There are *none*.

[2] See p. 488.

whom, it is said, it was sent to the Queen, instead of sending it back to Cetshwayo. By that act, of course, Sir G. Wolseley identified himself with the acceptance of the tusk, and with himself the English nation, who were thus pledged to make reasonable terms with Cetshwayo himself. I see that you have made no allusion either to the flogging by Lord Gifford's orders or the digging up of Panda's remains. I believe that both statements are substantially true. And I have *no doubt* as to the truth of the latter. I observe also that neither statement has been contradicted on authority, but only the flogging, by an anonymous writer, who says that he saw nothing of it, and would have seen it if it had happened. Why, then, does he not give his name, that we may know where he was at the time when the flogging is said to have taken place, and be satisfied that he *could* not have missed seeing it? And why write anonymously at all, if he was only relieving a brother officer from a disgraceful accusation? And what a farce it is haggling about these stripes, when there is no attempt to deny that the other abominable process of torture was applied by blindfolding two or three Zulus and threatening them with death if they did not betray their king, and then leading one of them away and firing a gun, and telling those remaining that he had been shot?[1] But the whole war has been full of sickening brutalities and treacheries, and there is too much reason to fear that this is nothing new in the history of our wars with natives in Africa and India."

On April 13, 1880, Dr. Jones, the Bishop of Capetown (of the Church of South Africa), addressed a letter to the *Times*, inveighing with some bitterness on the meanness of spirit shown by the Bishop of Natal. The futility of his pleadings has been pointed out already.[2] His contention turned on the alleged eagerness of the Bishop of Natal to avail himself of legal loop-holes in order to escape a deserved punishment. The Bishop's real mind may be learnt from the following letter:—

[1] See p. 484. [2] Vol. I. p. 403 *et seq.*

TO JOHN WESTLAKE, ESQ., Q.C.

"*April* 19, 1880.

"I distinguish between a citation to appear before the *Synod* and one to appear before the *Metropolitan*, who would hear the charges and adjudicate 'with the advice and assistance of such of his suffragans as can conveniently be called together.' And the Privy Council, who had the citation before them, plainly did not consider that this clause modified at all the meaning of the summons, which was, to 'appear before the Metropolitan.' It seems to me that, if I had been cited to appear before the Synod, the Privy Council could hardly have interfered at all, for that would have been merely an ecclesiastical proceeding, not based upon the letters patent, and therefore not coming within the cognisance of the Crown, unless indeed Bishop Gray took steps to interfere with my income, or with my discharge of my duties as Bishop, as a consequence of his proceedings. . . . I do not apprehend the possibility of any suggestion being acted on by Bishop Jones—even if it be made by some zealous person in England—of trying me again before the Synod. I should, of course, refuse to be tried by any Bishops who do not acknowledge as binding on their Church the decisions of the Supreme Court of Appeal in the Church of England. And even if they abandoned their first principles, and agreed to be bound by those decisions (which would enable me to appeal to a court of law against any judgement of theirs which was not in accordance with those decisions), I should feel it to be my duty (having regard to the fact that I hold my office by letters patent *in trust* for others) to take advice as to the legality of any such proceeding, before I agreed to submit to it. But even now, as you know, under Lord Romilly's judgement, there is nothing whatever to prevent their bringing the *merits* of the case before the Rolls Court, by a fresh application to stop payment of my income because of my alleged heresies.

"It is quite possible that the present questions may be raised

in the action now pending between Bishop Merriman and his recalcitrant and excommunicated Dean (Williams, of Grahamstown), which was to have been heard in the Supreme Court of the Cape Colony last month, but has been postponed (on application from Bishop Merriman) to next month. Bishop Merriman having excommunicated Dean Williams applies to the court to expel him from the use of the Cathedral; and the Dean will raise the question whether Bishop Merriman, being a Bishop of the Church of South Africa, has any right to force his way into a Cathedral of the Church of England; and also the larger question whether the Bishops and clergy of the South African Church have any right to take possession (as they have done) of the lands and buildings belonging to the Church of England. My only fear is that Bishop Merriman at the last moment, and under advice from England, will shrink from the contest, and that some compromise will be resorted to."

The Bishop, as we have seen, was by this time not alone in his disapproval of the invasion, and in the closing months of the war he found a sympathising friend in Lieutenant-General Clifford, V.C., who was stationed for a time at Pietermaritzburg in charge of the lines of communication and base of the invading army, and with whom, in spite of the exigencies of this position, he was able to exchange counsel. General Clifford at the end of the war availed himself of the services of the Bishop's native printer to obtain, from the Zulus concerned, the details of the death of the Prince Imperial, which these might hesitate to give freely to the military, and even procured the sanction of Sir G. Wolseley for the transmission to Cetshwayo of the message

"Sobantu salutes Cetshwayo: he is grieved for him: he does not forget him,"

and the reply

"Cetshwayo thanks Sobantu for his message, and is glad to

learn that he does not forget him. He hopes Sobantu will speak well for him."

After the battle of Ulundi the Zulus were no doubt for the time being half-stunned and crushed. But that they were not regarded as completely subjugated may be gathered from the nature of Sir G. Wolseley's "settlement," which was openly described as a "Kilkenny cat" arrangement, by which the Zulus would be led to turn upon one another, and so complete the work begun among them. Not only was their whole national organization and existence declared at an end; but they were not even left under their own tribal chiefs, the thirteen districts having been for the most part cut up and allotted in direct defiance of such considerations. Two of the new chiefs were foreigners—a Basuto Hlubi who had taken part in the invasion, and the English J. Dunn.[1] The king's family and Chief Counsellor[2] were relegated to private life; and, with large portions of their tribes, the two most powerful in the country, were allotted to two chiefs of unenviable notoriety, Hamu and Zibebu. Of these, the first was a drunkard, and had earned the contempt of his fellow-countrymen by deserting to the English during the war; while the second was in evil repute, and was noted now by Sir G. Wolseley himself as "of a time-serving disposition."

By such means discord was rendered inevitable, sooner or later. But a national sentiment is not to be thus abolished, and for the bulk of the Zulus Sir G. Wolseley's arrangement, which was emphatically condemned by persons of very different opinions in the colony, existed at first only on paper. The devotion of chiefs and people to their deposed tyrant was exhibited in an unmistakable manner throughout the whole of the country.

The first Zulu petition on behalf of Cetshwayo was made to a Border official from whom it was ascertained that the

[1] See p. 528. [2] Mnyamana.

king was at least alive; and in February 1880, some four months after the withdrawal of the English forces, the Zulus sent well-known messengers

"to bring to Sobantu 'Cetshwayo's book,' which was sent to him by the Queen, and to ask Sobantu to inquire for them and to point out in that book the words against which Cetshwayo had offended, as they knew of none—they did not know what fault he had committed."

The book was a handsomely bound copy of Sir T. Shepstone's report of the proceedings at Cetshwayo's installation. The king, they said, had sent the book before to Sobantu during the war, with a similar request.[1] But when the messengers reached the Border, Bishop Schreuder told them that

"it was of no use to take it to Sobantu, as he could not help them,"

and sent them back with it to the king. In the flight from Ulundi it had been dropped and lost in the grass; and there it had lain until the "great chiefs," wishing to bring it to Sobantu, had sent a large party of men, who had searched for it carefully until they found it.[2] The Bishop, replying to these messengers, told them briefly what were the principal charges brought against the king:

"the words of the Governor of Capetown which have weighed heavily upon Cetshwayo and have crushed him."

They indignantly refuted these charges of their own knowledge,[3] and concluded by saying that

"all Zululand would have come to inquire on behalf of

[1] See p. 525.

[2] This book, with one corner damaged by the exposure described, but otherwise in perfect order, having evidently been carefully preserved by Cetshwayo, is in the possession of the Bishop's family. It was rescued with a few papers from the fire at Bishopstowe. See Vol. I. p. 78.

[3] A detailed account of this interview is given in the Bishop's *Digest*, vol. i. p. 690.

Cetshwayo and to intreat for him, only that their hearts were dead at first at his being taken over the sea; for people said, 'They have killed him and thrown him into the sea.' But now the great chiefs had determined to inquire, if they might be allowed to do so."

"Well," said the Bishop, "the Government has told you, through the Secretary for Native Affairs, that the President is appointed to hear all the complaints of the Zulus. If therefore, the great chiefs have complaints on this subject, they may take them to Mr. Osborn, and answer for Cetshwayo, if they are able, as to these crimes that are laid to his charge."

But he added the warning:

"Mind, you must not expect anything from what I say. That word still remains which was spoken at Ulundi—that the king should never come back."

Again the Bishop had given the same advice as the authorities, and again it was to be charged against him as an offence. For doubtless it did revive the drooping hearts of the Zulus to find that they had not been mistaken in believing in Sobantu's kindly feeling for them. Three months later there reached Maritzburg a deputation on Cetshwayo's behalf such as had never come down before.

The result of the elections, which in 1880 left Lord Beaconsfield no alternative to resignation, raised in the mind of the Bishop high hopes, which were, unhappily, not realised.

To F. W. Chesson, Esq.

"Bishopstowe, *April* 24, 1880.

. . . "Now that the Liberal majority is so magnificent, something will be done, I presume, to rectify the enormous wrongs of the Zulu War and (so-called) settlement. . . . The

election returns seem to show that we were all mistaken in supposing that the English people were drugged and dead to their principles of truth and justice. The heart of England, I trust, is still beating rightly, and will expect that now the Liberals are trusted with *predominant* power, they will do what can be done under existing circumstances to rectify the past.

"With respect to Zululand, then, I should say that Sir G. Wolseley's settlement is universally condemned in South Africa, and that matters cannot possibly be left long as they are. The general desire here is, of course, for 'annexation.' But this, I suppose, is out of the question. . . . Setting aside, therefore, the notion of bringing the country directly under English rule, what appears to me the right course to adopt is as follows:—

"(1) The English Resident[1] should remain, as now appointed. (2) Cetshwayo should be restored as king; not, of course, in the independent position he once occupied—that is now impossible—but pledged under certain conditions: (*a*) He will be guided in all things by any advice given him by the Resident. . . . Of course, if he differs with the Resident on any point, he may appeal direct to the Natal Government, by whose decision he must abide. (*b*) He will receive appeals from the judgement of the thirteen kinglets, but will not otherwise disturb them or interfere with their territories. . . . (*c*) He must abandon the idea of a Zulu army, military kraals, &c., and should be required to insist on the surrender of all the fire-arms and ammunition now in possession of his people. And then he might be allowed a certain number of guns for his body-guard, say 500, which should be of such a quality—*e.g.* Martini-Henry or other breech-loaders—as to necessitate his receiving his supplies of ammunition from the English authorities. . . . (*d*) No sentence of death shall be carried into effect except by the king's orders, countersigned by the Resident."

[1] The Bishop threw his suggested conditions into a more detailed shape under eighteen heads.

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *May* 16, 1880.

. . . "I shall anxiously await your letter, telling me what hope there is of the present Government rectifying, as far as possible, the wrongs done to Cetshwayo and his people. At present Sir B. Frere and Mr. Sprigg seem to be cock-a-hoop in consequence of a telegram received from Lord Kimberley, expressing his approval of Sir B. Frere's policy, and hoping that he will remain at the Cape. . . . I cannot believe it as yet, and shall be horribly disappointed if this is the result of the grand Liberal victory, and of all that we (you and I) have done, as I believe, in helping to produce the change of feeling in England which has led to it. . . .

"As to the Transvaal, you know what I think of the way in which it was annexed, and that I am also of opinion it might, and ought to, be given back to the Boers under certain conditions, to which they would willingly accede. But all these matters require the presence of a new High Commissioner of the right stamp."

In the foregoing letter the Bishop also relates a conversation between Sir T. Shepstone and certain natives who saw him on his return from England. It bears out very strikingly the Bishop's conviction as to the point at which Sir T. Shepstone's influence turned against Cetshwayo. A reference has already been made to the Blood River meeting.[1] The attitude which Sir T. Shepstone assumed towards Cetshwayo after that meeting, evoked from the king the complaint, officially reported, that his old friend "wished to cast him off," "was tired of carrying him;" and, again varying the same metaphor that his "shoulders had suddenly become prickly." The Bishop's informants, in May 1880, stated as follows:—

"Somtseu (Sir T. S.) told them that he . . had seen Cetshwayo and spoken with him. Cetshwayo said: 'That I am here

[1] See pp. 469, 470.

is your doing, my father.' Said Shepstone: 'Well, yes, you despised me, who was your father, and said that my shoulders were prickly.' Cetshwayo said: 'Yes, those words were mine; I meant that, as, when a calf sucks, if it gets no milk, it keeps butting or nudging its mother, so I too was doing; for I did not know what wrong I had done before my father, nor by whom I should now be carried." Shepstone: 'Oh! I did not know that was what you meant. So then the country has been ruined for so small a matter as that!'"

TO F. W. CHESSON, ESQ.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *May* 23, 1880.

. . . "I have heard on very good authority that Sir B. Frere's despatch requesting Sir H. Bulwer to sign the ultimatum remained for some days unanswered; that at last, as the two Governors were hardly on speaking terms, our Colonial Secretary, Colonel Mitchell, urged Sir H. Bulwer to sign it for the sake of peace (!); and that Sir H. Bulwer, when he sat down to sign it, hesitated for a while, then signed and dashed it from him, saying, 'That's, I fear, the worst thing I ever did in my life.'"

In May 1880, the deputation already mentioned[1] came down to beg for Cetshwayo's restoration. Among them were representatives from three of Sir G. Wolseley's appointed chiefs, one of whom sent down his letters patent, received from Sir G. Wolseley, as the credentials of his envoys. But, as the Natal Government were determined that Cetshwayo should not be restored, it became necessary to suppress the evidence which showed how earnestly Cetshwayo's people longed for his return. The admission of this fact would leave obviously not a shadow of excuse for the recent invasion of Zululand. The admission, therefore, must not be made. They professed to have delivered the Zulus who still survived from a cruel tyrant: the world therefore must not learn that these Zulus were clamorous to have the despot

[1] See p. 541.

brought back to them. It would never do to let the truth be known; and all needful measures, no matter what their character might be, were taken to hide it. The great hindrance to the easy and successful application of these measures was the Bishop of Natal, whose unflinching demand of justice for the Zulu chief and his people made ten evasions or falsehoods necessary when one might otherwise have sufficed. The Zulus, with the exception of Sir G. Wolseley's thirteen chiefs, were told that without a pass from the Resident they could not enter Natal. To Zulus who wished to enter Natal in order to urge the restoration of the king the Resident was ordered to refuse a pass. After repeated refusals, the Zulus came without it, and, having done this, were sent back unheard. The Bishop reported these facts to the Secretary of State. The officials calmly denied the existence of any deputation. None had come with the necessary pass, and therefore none had come at all. Against such an iron wall of false excuses the Zulus might dash their heads in vain.

TO F. W. CHESSON, ESQ.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *May* 24, 1880.

"The Zulu party has just arrived, the two princes and others on horseback. . . . I suppose the whole party will be at least one hundred in number. . . . We should have laid in a supply (of meat) had we known their number, and been quite sure of their coming that day to Bishopstowe, for it was quite on the cards that a policeman might have been sent from town to meet them and bring them on at once to the Governor instead of their being thrown on my hands . . . Of course, this night I had to do the best I could for them, and sent to them green mealies, mealie-bread, bread, coffee, and sugar, from our own store, and our own joint of beef (intended for our dinner) for the two princes; and this, with a good supply of oranges from the garden, sufficed as food for the night.

"Before going to their huts they came to the house, and the chief men came and sat down in my study, where we had a little pleasant chat by way of greeting; but nothing was said on either side about the express object of their coming, as I did not wish to have any talk with them about Zulu matters until they had seen the officials. . . . But I was anxious to know if they had Mr. Osborn's note, and there it was wrapped up in a brown paper parcel, and fastened to the stick by which it was carried, just like the standard of a Roman legion. . . . But they also carried, in the same conspicuous way, another small standard, and they brought to me the parcel it bore aloft, and asked what they should do with it. On examination it proved to be (what I may call) letters patent of Seketwayo, one of the most important northern chiefs, appointing him to be one of the thirteen kinglets, with the signature of Sir G. Wolseley and his officials. . . . This was sent to show that Seketwayo's heart was in the embassy, and that he was present in his representative.

"After getting some coffee, raisins, and oranges, seeing the photos of Cetshwayo, over which at first they were very sad, and being allowed to pay a visit to the drawing-room, they went off at sundown."

On the following day they went to Maritzburg, were told that they had come too late, and were again thrown, at some cost and more inconvenience, on the Bishop's hands for another night. Their numbers turned out to be over two hundred.

"It is rather expensive, you see," he wrote, "for a private person to provide for so many."

"*May* 26, 1880.

"We have just had an Aden telegram, informing us that the Aborigines Protection Society are to have an interview with Lord Kimberley to-morrow on South African affairs God grant that something may be then done, by getting a promise from the Secretary of State either to act directly in the matter, or to appoint a Commission towards preparing for the restoration of the king to Zululand."

TO F. W. CHESSON, ESQ.

"*May* 29.

"Alas, another telegram has come, telling us of Mr. Gladstone's 'high praise' of Sir B. Frere, and his statement that he was indispensable for confederation. This last is mere rubbish, the fact being . . . that we are not a bit nearer to confederation at present than we were five years ago. . . . It is altogether an astounding and shocking phenomenon for us out here who have been fighting for the right to find that now, when we have helped to secure the victory for Mr. Gladstone, he should make such use of it, to stereotype the injustice and iniquity of the past. . . . I confess I feel at this moment very dejected, and cruelly disappointed with Mr. Gladstone's actions, while the Jingo journals all around are triumphant. Still, as we do believe in a Living God, we must not despair."

Among the native tribes Sobantu's name was now spread far and wide. From the distant and more civilised part of the Cape Colony came native letters expressing sympathy with the Zulus and strong gratitude for the part which the Bishop had taken towards them; while from the north, at a distance which made it needful to spend two months ("see two moons die") on the road, came messengers from the Gaza chief Umzila, whose dominions are recently described by a traveller as "enormous in extent," reaching indeed to near the Zambezi; "his people composed of different tribes, all speaking different languages, and all differing from each other in many other respects, but all recognising him as king." The messengers carried on their shoulders an elephant's tusk, as an offer of friendship on the chief's part, with a request that the Bishop would be his friend, as he was Cetshwayo's. Presents were given in return to the full value of the ivory, but with a careful warning that they were making no political alliance, Sobantu having nothing to do with the business of governing, but being appointed to teach the truth, to

"enlighten people." They replied that Umzila asked only that Sobantu should take an interest in him, and throw a little light on the subject if he should hear Umzila's affairs being discussed. With this he would be perfectly satisfied; and so, it would seem, he was; for the messengers were a month out from home bringing another tusk in token of Umzila's gratitude, when they heard of the Bishop's death. Umzila has since died, but his son still sends to Bishopstowe; and, unhappily, it seems only too likely that the affairs of the Gaza country will be soon under discussion in the present access of the gold fever in South Africa.

After the Zulu War a similar crusade was projected against the Pondo nation, which lies to the south, between Natal and the Cape Colony. The papers were full of the threatening aspect of affairs. The Pondo chiefs applied to the Bishop, praying him to plead their cause in England, on the condition that they should pay his expenses. He was compelled to refuse their request, but advised them to send a deputation to Capetown.

On June 24, 1882, and writing now to an Englishman whom the Pondo chiefs had enlisted as their secretary, he was obliged to warn them that if, as was then under consideration, such a deputation came to Maritzburg, they

> "must not look to me for help. I would gladly render such help if I could. But in the present state of my relations with the Natal Government in respect of Zulu matters, *I could not help you*, because any appearance of intervention or co-operation on my part, should Sir Henry Bulwer grant you an interview, would do the Pondo cause more harm than good under existing circumstances. . . . I must warn you not to expect anything from Lord Kimberley and the English Government which you would not obtain from Sir Hercules Robinson and the Cape Government. I am myself persuaded that Sir H. Robinson, and, I believe, also

the present Cape Government, is kindly disposed towards Umqikela and the Pondos, and desirous to deal with them justly, and even generously, so far as is practicable under the circumstances which now exist, Sir B. Frere having formally taken possession of the St. John's River mouth in the name of the Queen, and having been allowed to do so without check or hindrance from the English Government or the English Parliament. Much as I condemn the act of Sir B. Frere—and I do condemn it utterly, as most unjust and iniquitous, like many other of his political actions—the thing is done, and Mr. Scanlen must be regarded as speaking the naked truth when he says, 'on grounds both of honour [I suppose, prestige] and policy it is now impossible to retreat from the unfortunate position entered upon by [our] predecessors, with the full knowledge and consent of Her Majesty's Government.'

"In short, my advice to the Pondo chiefs is this—and I give it with a deep sense of the wrongs they have suffered and a most hearty interest in the future welfare of themselves and their people—to give up the hopeless struggle against superior might, which can only *end*, as the struggle in Zululand did, with the utter ruin of the Pondo nation, and to leave themselves in the hands of Sir H. Robinson, who, I feel sure would *do everything in his power* (under the existing circumstances) to meet the just desires and secure the peace and welfare of the Pondo chiefs and people."

CHAPTER XI.

CORRESPONDENCE AND WORK.

1880–83.

MR. GLADSTONE'S determination to retain Sir Bartle Frere in his post at the Cape of Good Hope seemed to leave little chance indeed of a satisfactory, still less of a righteous, settlement of the great Zulu controversy. The arrangements made by Sir Garnet Wolseley removed no difficulties, and introduced many new ones.

TO F. W. CHESSON, ESQ.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *June* 6, 1880.

"I send you some information obtained from the Zulus, with which, I think, you will be much interested. . . . It is the most important deputation that has ever reached Maritzburg. . . . In fact, it is clear to me that something must be done. Either the country must be 'annexed,' or Cetshwayo must be restored under some such conditions as those I inclosed to you, else before long there must be an uproar in Zululand. We have broken it up into thirteen independent kingdoms. But who or what is to prevent a revolution in any one or more of these kingdoms, by which the people will throw off Sir G. Wolseley's kinglet, and choose one for themselves, or perhaps 'consolidate confederation' of five or six kingdoms? Some of Sir G. Wolseley's kinglets are already *deprived* of their subjects, and things cannot possibly remain as they are for any length of time."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *July* 17, 1880.

. . . "When Sir H. Clifford came up here to take leave, I asked him to tell me what reply he would give if he were asked officially to state what he thought about the possibility of restoring Cetshwayo to Zululand. He said that, if asked, he should reply that in his opinion the very best thing that could be done for the settlement of Zululand, which is now very far from being settled, would be to restore Cetshwayo, if a good Resident were placed by his side."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *July* 22, 1880.

. . . "War has broken out in Basutoland, in consequence of the policy of Sir B. Frere and Mr. Sprigg, . . . and it is impossible to say what may be the result of this disturbance. . . . It is a most lamentable result of Mr. Gladstone's miserable folly in keeping Sir B. Frere at the Cape; and I should not be at all surprised if he now made the Basuto War an argument for *keeping* Sir B. Frere at the Cape, on the old principle, 'It is difficult to swop horses crossing a stream.' What I hope is, that Sir B. Frere will be recalled, in which case Mr. Sprigg will fall; and with a new Governor and Ministry at the Cape I do believe it would be possible to bring about amicably the confederation or amalgamation of both Pondoland and Zululand."

TO THE SAME.

"*August* 15, 1880.

"The new Commandant (Colonel Hawthorn, R.E.) and Mrs. Hawthorn are warm friends of ours, he most friendly, and she a very superior woman, whom I found, on making my first call, deep in Blue-books, and expressing herself in a very satisfactory way about the wrongs of the Basutos. They are a great addition to my strength here, and they speak also highly of Sir H. Robinson and his lady, with whom they are intimately acquainted."

A few weeks later the Bishop made the voyage to Capetown to see the Zulu king, whose fate had not yet been determined by the British Government, and the Hlubi chief Langalibalele, in whose case British good faith seemed to have been trodden deliberately under foot.

TO F. W. CHESSON, ESQ.

"CAPETOWN, *November* 7, 1880.

"On Wednesday last we visited Langalibalele at Uitvlugt—a miserable place, so dry in summer that scarcely anything will grow there, except that one patch of ground produces some pumpkins for the prisoners, and in winter much of the land must be a swamp or under water. Everyone speaks of the place as a wretched home for Langalibalele. He made no complaint. . . . But he put into my daughter's hand secretly at parting a scrap of paper on which his young son (whom we sent from Natal to write for him, &c.) had written in his father's name complaining of the manner in which one of his keepers swore at him. . . . The principal guardian does not live on the spot, but some two miles off, at Mowbray.

"We have had three long interviews, and shall probably have another before we leave, with Cetshwayo. He is . . . at present under the charge of General Clifford and Major Poole, to whom he is much attached, as he recognises gratefully their kindness towards him. You know General Clifford is a friend of my own, and I need not repeat the warm expressions of my esteem and regard for him. . . . But it will show you how closely Cetshwayo is kept, when I mention these two little facts. Having arranged . . . to pay a second visit, I wrote subsequently to say that I presumed I might bring with me the daughter of my host. My host, Mr. Fairbridge, may be known to you already as the head of one of the chief law firms in Capetown, . . . lately M.L.A., and spoken of as likely to be made Attorney-General on a change of Ministry. . . . I received a note in

reply from General Clifford, permitting the young lady to come, as my daughter's friend, but strongly warning me against bringing any persons who merely wished to see the king out of curiosity,[1] as none were allowed to see him unless he himself desired it. . .. . It did seem to me that such a notification was hardly necessary for me, inasmuch as Cetshwayo regards me as his 'father,' and would joyfully welcome everyone I brought or sent to see him. . . . However, I concluded that General Clifford wished to be able to say that he had replied to me as he had replied to others.

"But Mr. Fairbridge was willing also to receive the king at his house and to give him a luncheon. . . . General Clifford refused leave. . . . I must say I cannot understand General Clifford's objection, under such exceptional circumstances, which are never likely to occur again, *e.g.* our presence and a kind and sympathising host and family. . . . My one chance of ameliorating his captivity by some act of special kindness has passed away. However, I replied that I acquiesced cheerfully in the General's decision, being sure of his kindly feelings both towards Cetshwayo and ourselves. And I do believe that he is sincerely desirous to say and do all he can on behalf of Cetshwayo in England. . . . On Friday I dined (privately) with Sir G. Strahan. . . . He expressed a strong feeling of pity, and even regard, for Cetshwayo, a determination to get at the truth or falsehood of the charges made against him, and an inclination to recommend his being sent to England for a time. 'What did I think about this last?' Of course I very strongly commended his view; and I now would urge with all my might upon our friends the expediency of making a point of pressing for this to be done."

The Bishop availed himself of the same opportunity to do, by the wish of the Dean, the work of a Bishop of the Church of England at Grahamstown.

[1] See page 534, note.

TO MISS J. G. HUGHES.

"CAPETOWN, *November* 9, 1880.

"I have been preaching and confirming (as no doubt you will have heard in England) in the Cathedral at Grahamstown, in consequence of an urgent request from the Dean and congregation, who have been excommunicated by Bishop Merriman from the Church of South Africa, and the Supreme Court at the Cape having pronounced that Church to be 'root and branch' separate from the Church of England. And I have (much against my own wish and purpose) been constrained to publish the four sermons which I preached there, and the address which I delivered to ninety-nine candidates for Confirmation (seventy-five over twelve, two over eleven, two over ten; facts which I mention lest the falsehood should be propagated in England, as in Capetown, that the age of the candidates ranged from six to sixty; there was one of sixty, and one older still, who had been a communicant for thirty years, but had never been confirmed; and the next in age was forty years old). I send you also a copy of these sermons, and on pages 47–48 you will find some of your own words, which I mentioned to you I had copied at the end of a sermon of mine which I was writing at the time when I received your letter communicating the death of your dear brother. Please excuse this act of plagiarism.

"We (myself and daughter Harrie) came on from Grahamstown to Capetown in order to see Langalibalele and Cetshwayo; and we have visited both of them, and gained a great deal from the latter which throws light on the past, but does not in the slightest degree modify my views as to his character and conduct—rather confirms entirely my good opinion of him, and increases my detestation of the gross calumnies of Sir B. Frere, which have done so much to poison the minds of the English people against the king, and so furnish an excuse for his own policy. . . . My hope now is that Sir G. Strahan (the Cape Administrator of the Government) and General Clifford will recommend that

Cetshwayo may be sent for to England on his way *back* to Zululand."

The Bishop was rejoiced to find not only that his own impressions of Cetshwayo's character were confirmed, but that personal acquaintance with the captive was beginning to create convictions in his favour in the minds of those in authority who were not interested in maintaining Sir Bartle Frere's theory concerning the ex-king. It was important, the Bishop felt, to prepare Cetshwayo for what would appear to him a formidable adventure, and asked :—

"What would be his own feeling supposing that at any time he were sent for to England to see the Queen and the authorities there ?"

Cetshwayo at first looked distressed, and said :—

"The sea would kill me."

But on the Bishop's explaining that

"the journey is not so bad, really ; and we, for our part, if we heard that you were sent for to England, should be very glad ; for we should say, 'It shows kindness to him, and is a step forward : for he would not be sent back just as he now is—a prisoner.'"

"Do you really think that?" said Cetshwayo. "And you wish me to go ? I will agree, then, at once, if I am asked, since you advise it, although I have a great horror of the sea ;" adding, "And there is nothing I will not do if my Father Sobantu wishes it."

This was at the farewell visit, the last time that Cetshwayo was to see his "father" in this life. And it lends no small weight to the Bishop's estimate of his character that this "savage," his head and his heart full of troubles and hopes, for himself, his family, and his people, could yet, at such a moment, remember others.

"Do not forget Langalibalele"

was actually Cetshwayo's last word to Sobantu.

It may be well to state the circumstances which led the Bishop to comply with the request of the Dean and the congregation of the Cathedral of Grahamstown.

The see was vacant, and there was no other Bishop of the Church of England whom the Dean of Grahamstown could invite to perform the necessary work of Confirmation and Visitation. Four sermons preached in the Cathedral church of Grahamstown, together with an address to the candidates for Confirmation, remain as a memorial of this visit, and show not merely the earnestness and fervour of his teaching, but its sobriety, its forbearance, and its charity. It had been said of him that the faith of his earlier years had grown cold. Every line in these sermons contradicts any such supposition. The hardships of life pressed on his mind, no doubt, with increasing weight. If we think of the terrible struggle in which during the latest years of his life he had himself been engaged, how could we expect it to be otherwise? In one of these sermons he says:—

"It is strange to see so many souls brought into this world, to be prepared, as we believe, for another life, in the midst of circumstances not unfavourable only, but almost preclusive of virtue or godliness—in the midst, for instance, of such grinding want as leaves no room for any thought or care but how to still the cravings which are scarcely ever satisfied; brought up in gross ignorance—ignorance of good, but not of evil—with vicious, or at least morbid, tendencies inherited from vicious parents, and surrounded by an atmosphere of vicious feeling and example. Such we know to be the condition of multitudes in the great over-grown cities of Europe, the children being crippled and dwindled with want, and with toil premature and excessive. Must modern civilisation, we ask, in its triumphant onward course, pass like the car of Juggernaut over the heads and hearts of these little ones? Must the labouring poor be crowded together till light and air and water, the common property

of all animated nature, are hardly afforded them? till, if they can scarcely herd together as beasts, it can hardly be expected that they should live as human beings—the home, the family, the centre and fountain of reverence, of self-respect, of love and moral excellence, having been obliterated and lost in the over-crowded lodging?"

To this question the only answer to be returned is one of faith and trust. He frankly allowed that

"we cannot explain the apparently fruitless suffering, the helpless destruction, as it seems, of so many, before they have done service to God or man on earth, or ripened for a glorious hereafter; yet we can leave them in the hands of Him of whom our own hearts bear witness continually as a righteous God, a faithful Creator, a merciful Father; sure that, in other words, there must be a mystery which is not yet revealed—that in the cycles of eternity there must be more than compensation for each one of His creatures in the hand of Him whose justice and mercy and power are infinite."

To the candidates for Confirmation he said:—

"You have come to confess the faith of Christians—that you believe the great God, your Maker, the Creator of all this mighty universe, to be, as Jesus our Saviour has revealed to us, your Father and Friend; One to whom each of you may say, 'Our Father,' and may go in all life's troubles as a child to a tender parent, to pour out the burdens of your hearts before Him, to tell Him of all your sorrows, to confess all your sins, which He knows—blessed be His Holy Name!—before you confess them. Here is no difficult doctrine perplexing to the intellect, passing all power of human thought even to conceive. . . . It is the simple truth—which our Saviour taught in all the actions of his life, as well as by all the words of his lips, and which he sealed for us in death—that God, our God, the living God, is a faithful Creator, a most compassionate and tender Father, of whose

love towards us all the tenderest earthly parent's love is only the faint foreshadowing.

"Bear this ever in mind, then, that you have such an ever-present Father and Friend—One who may lead you in His Providence through dark places, by rugged paths, over a desolate waste, so that He may prove, and strengthen, and perfect you for His work in this world and for that higher work which He has for you to do in the life beyond the grave, but who will hold you by the hand all along, and be near you each time of trial to comfort you with His presence and stay you with His everlasting love—One who will condemn the sin which is destroying His child, but yet will not cast off the sinner, will love and save, while He corrects and chastens."

But the candidates had come to do something more than to confess their faith.

"You have come to make answer to the call of your Creator in the words of the prophet of old, 'Here am I: send me!' You have come, most of you, in the prime of youth, in the fulness of health and strength, God's precious gifts, to acknowledge yourselves bound to carry out in life the duty of Christians; and that is, you know, to follow the example of Jesus Himself, of Him who taught His disciples, saying—not 'Blessed are they who keep whole and undefiled all the articles of this creed or that creed,' but—'Blessed are the meek, Blessed are the merciful, Blessed are the pure in heart'; . . . to set Jesus Himself, the dear Son of God, before your mind's eye continually, as the type of what true children of God should be; to be truthful and brave and loving, pure and innocent in heart and life, as He was, letting your light shine before men in all your daily intercourse, as He did, to the glory of your Father in Heaven. . . . Is this your resolve and expectation? Then *seek* that Divine help, in the strength of which alone you can lead such a life as this. Turn to your Heavenly Father at any moment—for He is ever near you—and with one simple

word or thought look up to Him for support in your duties, trials, temptations, in the struggle with evil within and without."

His return to Natal was not a return to peace and quiet.[1] The policy which Sir Bartle Frere and his supporters had professed to carry out was producing an abundant harvest of misery. The Zulu and Basuto Wars were followed by a war in the Transvaal. We have seen already that he could approve the action of the Boers when he believed them to be in the right,[2] as he could condemn it when he believed them to be in the wrong.

TO F. W. CHESSON, ESQ.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *January* 9, 1881.

"The Transvaal War—between two white Christian peoples, in the face of the natives—is horrible. But it seems to me that the Boer proclamation is very just and strong, and utterly condemns the action of Sir T. Shepstone and Sir B. Frere, as well as the mistaken policy of Sir G. Wolseley and the misstatements of Sir W. O. Lanyon."

The strife thus begun is described by Mr. Froude as a series of disasters culminating in Majuba Hill and the death of Sir George Colley.

[1] Within his own domestic circle there was at this time vouchsafed to him a source of unmixed pleasure in the birth of his first grandchild, in whose little existence he took an intense interest, amidst all sorrows, even admitting the charge of having once made the tiresome fifty miles' journey to Durban chiefly "to see Eric." His visits to Durban were, however, by no means periods of rest, including much walking to and fro under the Durban sun, and often two sermons on a Sunday.

[2] See p. 533. We have seen what was his ideal of the position and duties of "a great Christian nation." He hailed Mr. Gladstone's decision, not only as restoring peace, but as restoring, to some extent, our moral prestige, with some right to urge reforms when necessary on the Boers. In like manner he held that the boundary award, before he knew it to be a mere pretence, gave us a right to urge—peacefully—reforms upon the Zulus. See p. 513.

TO F. W. CHESSON, ESQ.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *February* 10, 1881.

. . . "It is useless for me to touch upon the incidents of this war, which you will have heard of by telegram before this. But Sir G. Colley must be in a very bad way at this moment, being cut off from his communications with the colony, as well as the Transvaal; and it is generally feared that some, at least, of the reinforcements now on their march to help him will be cut off, a strong Boer force having entered the colony on this (Maritzburg) side of Newcastle, it is believed, for that purpose.

"I need not say that I am utterly disappointed with Mr. Gladstone and Lord Kimberley, and particularly with the tone of the *Daily News*, speaking, I suppose, as the Government organ. I cannot help thinking that the present Government has lost a great deal of its power by the feebleness they have shown in their action with regard to South African affairs, where, as far as I can see, they have not righted a single wrong committed by Sir B. Frere, and only withdrawn him under great pressure, and when he had already set on foot further mischief."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *February* 20, 1881.

"I have just received yours of January 20, with your pamphlet on the Basuto question (or rather on Sir B. Frere's falsehood with respect to it), which I have read with great satisfaction. I only marvel that you could keep such a restraint on your pen when dealing with one who seems incapable of speaking the truth on political matters.

"Inkosana[1] says that Cetshwayo would eat no food on the day he heard of Major Poole's death. We grieve deeply at the loss of so fine and true-hearted a soldier. And if his friends only knew how much he has done, while

[1] The chief captured with Cetshwayo, now, at the king's wish, expressed through the Bishop, exchanged back to Zululand.

custodian of Cetshwayo, to soothe and comfort him in his captivity, and how deeply he is mourned by the ex-king, even they might derive some consolation from the fact that his last months were spent in such truly Christian work. I saw him and had a few pleasant words with him while he was in Maritzburg, before he went to the front."

To Dr. Muir.

"Bishopstowe, *February* 27, 1881.

"I have just received your telegram of yesterday's date in time to thank you for your kind gift of £10 for 'distressed Zulus,' which I assure you is very welcome at this moment, and will be duly applied.

"It is useless to write to you about our South African troubles, as you will hear by telegraph occurrences of grave importance, which will have transpired in respect of Basutoland and the Transvaal long before this reaches you. I hope, however, that you will have been taught by experience to have a wise distrust of *first* telegrams—even official telegrams—until the other side has been heard. Here are the English papers reaching us, full of ravings about the treachery, cruelty, bloodthirstiness, &c., of the Boers, of which, when the facts are thoroughly known and fairly considered, hardly a trace remains. In fact, Sir G. Colley, I believe, has stated that there has been nothing unfair or unworthy of civilised men in the action of the Boers hitherto, except in the case of the death of Major Elliott; and that has been sternly denounced by the Boer Government, and, if the charge can be brought home to the guilty parties, shall (they pledge themselves) be duly punished. I know from good authority that the survivor of the two, Captain Lambert, has stated at Durban that he believes the person who shot Major Elliott was not a Boer at all, but a Scotchman, whose name he mentioned, and who may have fired 'loopers' as the Dutch call them, that is small bullets which scatter and wound—in fact, the bullets, I believe, recommended by high officials for use in Ireland, as not so

likely to *destroy* life. This might account for the victim being hit in several places, while his companion close by him was not struck at all. However this may be, it is clear that the act was not in any way contemplated or sanctioned by the Boer Government; any more than the act of some of our force killing eleven Zulus (who were captured by Lord Chelmsford's force on January 22 (day of Isandhlwana), and on January 23 were let go to return to their own land, as it was found not convenient to keep the prisoners, and who were shot down by our people—not *all* of them black—before they could cross the boundary-stream) could be charged on Lord Chelmsford; though I never heard that he expressed openly any abhorrence of the act, or made any inquiry about it."

It is a fact that Lord Chelmsford went off with all his staff to Maritzburg immediately after the disaster, leaving a number of mixed troops demoralised by that event, some panic-struck, others furious from desire for vengeance, all in great excitement, and without having appointed anyone to command after his departure. At length the senior of the officers left took the command; but in the meantime this great crime, for which no one was responsible, had been committed. One volunteer related how he had seen a comrade mount his horse, and, riding after the released prisoners, shoot one of them down with a revolver.

TO F. W. CHESSON, ESQ.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *March* 20, 1881.

. . . "To-day we hear that the only real obstacle to peace being made is Lord Kimberley's insisting on the garrisons being retained in the Transvaal. If this is the case, Lord Kimberley will be doing what Sir B. Frere did with the Zulus—demanding what he must know they *would* not, or, looking to the feeling of the people and the sacrifices they have made for their independence, *could* not, comply with. . . .

"Please read carefully Sir G. Colley's Despatch, 2783, p. 10. You will see that he condemns the present 'settlement' in Zululand, and actually recommends *one paramount chief* with a Resident. This surely points to the restoration of Cetshwayo; and I cannot but think that he may have seen a copy of my suggestions. I wonder if he wrote a late despatch on this subject. At all events, this one would seem to be an excellent basis on which to urge (when the proper time comes) the restoration of Cetshwayo."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *March* 27, 1881.

. . . "Well! we have peace, thank God! but at this moment you know more about the terms of it than we do, the most contradictory reports being in circulation. . . . But now surely is the time for us to move about Langalibalele and Cetshwayo. Mr. Gladstone, who is credited with having taken the Transvaal affair in his own hands, will not do less for the *natives*, who have scarcely any to speak on their behalf, than he has done for the Boers, in rectifying as far as possible the wrong done in the past. . . . I have read with great delight Sir W. Lawson's speech at the public meeting about the Transvaal. I wish you could tell him some day, if you see no objection, how much I admired it, and how I look to him to take firm ground, when the proper moment arrives, for my three poor chiefs—Langalibalele, Cetshwayo, and Beje." [1]

TO MISS JANE HUGHES.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *April* 9, 1881.

"I thank you much for your P.O. order, to be employed in relieving any distress from want of food among the

[1] The Bishop refers to a petty chief who, having changed his domicile to Zululand some two months before the war, had been identified as having taken part in a retaliatory raid across the Tugela during the invasion (see p. 498). For this the chief and twenty followers were

Zulus. . . . At one time, no doubt, there was a great deal of suffering from this cause in Zululand, so that Sir G. Wolseley reported the fact to the Secretary of State, and was understood to be contemplating some measure of relief. But the extreme pressure is relieved, thank God, by an early and abundant harvest, and of course they are now eating the new grain. What I fear is that they may have consumed a great deal of it before it was really ripened, and so will not have stored sufficiently for winter use, and perhaps will have to eat their seed corn. I shall take measures to keep myself informed as to the real state of things in Zululand, and use the money which has been sent to me by yourself, Dr. Muir, and Mr. Chesson, in the best way I can for the relief of the people (when the proper time comes) which will be, I expect, by supplying corn for planting purposes.

"We here—that is, a respectable minority—are rejoiced at the peaceful settlement of the Transvaal difficulty. At least, we hope that all will be settled amicably, though there are wretched 'Jingoes' here who abhor the peace, and would, if they could, keep up animosity and kindle again the flames of war. I have very little personal acquaintance with the Boers, though I once met Krüger, and Joubert made a call at Bishopstowe, and I reckon Dr. Jorissen as a friend, being a Leyden man, where Kuenen, &c., live. But I sympathise heartily with them in their late struggle, in which I believe them to have been entirely justified. And it gives us hope that other wrongs may be redressed when Mr. Gladstone is ready—even in the midst of defeats at Lang's Nek, Ingogo, and Majuba, besides that at Bron-Korst (Water-cress) Spruit[1]—to hold back the hand of Great Britain from cruelly chastising these brave patriots, so unequally matched with our power, which, of course, could overwhelm and crush them."

[1] condemned to various terms of hard labour, from one year to ten; but the Bishop's exertions led to Lord Kimberley's taking a merciful view of the case, and ordering their release.

TO F. W. CHESSON, ESQ.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *April* 30, 1881.

. . . "It is an ominous fact, which I tell you confidentially, though I know it to be true, that Lord Kimberley has actually asked the Cape Government whether they would enact a law to detain Cetshwayo a prisoner again after his return from England, should that be thought desirable. One can hardly imagine such baseness. I feel certain that the Cape Government will refuse to do anything of the kind; and I have a strong conviction that they have already expressed their willingness that Cetshwayo should go to England, or, in other words, be restored to Zululand. In fact, as something must be done to remedy the present miserable state of disorganization in Zululand, and as the *English people* will not allow (so Lord Kimberley told Mr. Grant) of annexation, . . . I think it possible that even Sir H. Bulwer will find himself compelled to recommend the restoration of Cetshwayo."

In his efforts on behalf of the Zulu king and the Hlubi chief the Bishop had always taken the most scrupulous care to maintain the dignity of the British Government, and, so far as it might be possible to do so, to inforce the respect due to it. Of this the authorities were thoroughly well aware; and yet they could employ against him the not very honourable devices mentioned in the following letter:—

TO F. W. CHESSON, ESQ.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *July* 2, 1881.

. . . "Instead of allowing Cetshwayo 'all the liberty possible, consistently with his safe custody,' as was promised by Lord Kimberley, I think it appears that the strictest surveillance is exercised over the *letters* he sends and receives—at all events, to and from Bishopstowe. I have told you before how his letters to us have been kept back from us, and one or more of Langalibalele's

altogether; and now we hear that all *our* letters are cut open when they reach them. Can you conceive anything more contemptibly mean than such a proceeding, except for the policy it implies of keeping the outer world and the Secretary of State in ignorance of facts which might come to light if correspondence were free?"

TO THE SAME.

"*July* 16, 1881.

"On Monday came down our old friend Mfunzi, with several men of position, to make a fresh appeal in the name of the three chiefs for the restoration of Cetshwayo. This is the first communication I have had from them for more than six months. And they say that they have repeatedly asked leave from Mr. Osborn to come down, but for one reason or another . . . could never get it, and at last they started without any permission, and there they were, announcing also that when they get back safe . . . Mnyamana and other important chiefs are coming down.

"On Tuesday they went in to Mr. J. Shepstone (acting S.N.A.), but he was unwell, and told them to come again. . . . On Wednesday they went in, but he said it was too late; they must come earlier to have a long talk. On Thursday they went in, but found him sitting in the Native High Court, and were told to come again. . . . On Friday they had a long talk with him, and most friendly, when he took down part of their words, and told them to come again. To-day (Saturday) they went in, but found him too busy to attend to them."

TO THE SAME.

"*July* 24, 1881.

"But will they [their words] be sent to the Secretary of State? I doubt it much. For after all had gone pleasantly for several days, they received a sudden 'cold shoulder,' and were told to go back [to Zululand] at once; there would be no reply, as they had not been sent with a note from Mr.

Osborn. I therefore fear that no report will be made to the Secretary of State about this deputation any more than about the first, or about the two intermediate deputations who asked leave to come down, but were refused permission.[1]

"If the king were to die, . . . and all hope were at an end of obtaining some reversal of their cruel wrongs by peaceful appeals to the justice and mercy of the Queen, and for the restoration of Cetshwayo, the whole land, I fear, would soon be deluged with blood through internecine quarrels between the appointed chiefs and the chiefs put under them in Sir G. Wolseley's famous 'settlement.' At this moment there are serious disputes in five of the thirteen kingdoms. . . . This is exactly what was predicted by colonists generally, who had any real acquaintance with natives, as soon as the 'settlement' was announced.

"I have learnt to-day, for certain, that Sir Th. Shepstone is quite of opinion that it would be far better that Cetshwayo should be restored than that the present disordered state of Zululand should be allowed to continue, from which he apprehends very dangerous results.[1] But he is strongly of opinion that Cetshwayo should be sent for to England without delay. I have heard this privately—indeed, I may say that Mr. Th. Shepstone and his wife are my informants.

"I hope that there may be opportunities of urging the case of Cetshwayo upon some friends of ours in the present Government."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *July* 31, 1881.

. . . "It saddens me to find even a Liberal Secretary of State pleading 'paramount considerations of policy' against the claims of right and justice. So far from the false settlement

[1] *Digest*, pp. 777, 781.

[2] Yet Sir H. Bulwer, referring, in August 1882, to Sir T. Shepstone's opinion two years before (viz. "I look upon the restoration of Cetshwayo as certain to produce most disastrous consequences"), says, "I have reason to believe that Sir T. Shepstone has not changed the views he then expressed. He certainly has not modified them."

having been carefully considered, it is well known here that it was a hasty measure, hurriedly carried out by Sir G. Wolseley, who wanted to get away to the Transvaal and Sikukuni, on the advice of Sir G. Colley. . . . I fully believe that the Boers would not at all object to Cetshwayo being restored to Zululand under proper conditions.

"What right has J. Dunn to call out a large force—whether armed with *guns*, or not, remains to be seen—to put down a revolution in one of the kingdoms which is quite independent of his own? And will the British Government really allow this white Kafir to tax the people placed under him, not for their good—to make bridges, roads, &c.—but merely to shovel thousands of pounds annually into his own pocket. It is perfectly monstrous; and this to be allowed by a Liberal Government."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *August* 7, 1881.

"The Transvaal business, as you will have heard, is settled, and I think that we may be satisfied that the natives have been duly considered in the Convention, except that Sir G. Wolseley's two annexations (of Sikukuni's country, and the western portion of the disputed territory, which he took away from the Zulus after Sir B. Frere had given it to them) have been included in the Transvaal. . . . Since I wrote last Sunday, the Attorney-General has told me personally that the only thing to be done to settle Zululand was to send back Cetshwayo. He said this openly in presence of another official, who expressed his entire agreement with that view.

"I am delighted to hear (by telegram) of your splendid list of eighty M.P.'s, and I fully hope that by continuing the pressure, aided also by the course of events, we shall get some share of justice meted out to Cetshwayo, though, as in the case of the Transvaal, no credit will be due to Lord Kimberley. The point now seems to be to insist upon Cetshwayo's being brought to England.

"You will hardly believe that the case of the poor native

sentenced to three years' hard labour at Durban, about whom I sent a cutting a fortnight ago containing the petition for his release from eight of the nine jurymen who convicted him, as they were now convinced by evidence they produced that he was wholly innocent, remains as far as I know *in statu quo*." [1]

The Bishop's *Digest* at this date deals with a large number of communications addressed by white adventurers in Zululand to Natal newspapers, for which they acted as "own correspondents." These narratives of events happening under the rule of the thirteen kinglets, amongst whom the country had been parcelled out, he compares with statements made to him by Zulus, and with the reports of the Resident. As we have already seen, the Bishop was indefatigable in scrutinising all available evidence of the real nature and tendency of occurrences under the settlement, but no attempt will be made here to follow him into the details given in his 2000 pages. A large quantity of matter taken from them will be found given in Miss Frances Ellen Colenso's *Ruin of Zululand.* It is necessary, however, to refer briefly to the leading events of the period preceding the second partition of Zululand enacted by Sir H. Bulwer towards the end of 1882.

It was with regard to these events that the Bishop wrote in November 1881 :—

"In point of fact, each of the appointed chiefs, Dunn and Hamu, has killed already men, women, and children, within the last few weeks in Zululand, and, in J. Dunn's case, with the express sanction of the English authorities, to an extent unheard of during the five years of Cetshwayo's reign. And Zibebu also has done his share of such massacres, for the purpose of maintaining Sir G. Wolseley's settlement." [2]

[1] The man was ultimately released.

[2] Cetshwayo himself said at a later date :—"The blood that has been shed [since the settlement] is to the blood shed in my reign as a pond of water to an ant in it."

On the 31st of August, 1881, Sir H. E. Wood, who was temporarily administering the Government of Natal, summoned a meeting of Zulu chiefs at Inhlazatshe in Zululand. That he intended in what he did and said upon this occasion all that, from his point of view, would be likely to conduce to the beneficial working of Sir. G. Wolseley's settlement, cannot be disputed. But this settlement was the work of those with whom Sir G. Wolseley took counsel, and these men were the last persons in the world likely to give effect to the conviction which was shared by conscientious men of all parties in England, that our invasion had been a cruel injury to the Zulus. Sir G. Wolseley himself was subsequently credited by the Bishop with having devised his scheme of settlement with a view to the better government of the Zulu people. This idea was, however, instantly repudiated by a military officer of high position to whom it was mentioned, and who assured the Bishop that Sir G. Wolseley's only object was to bring the military occupation of Zululand and the war expenditure in South Africa to as rapid a conclusion as possible. The fate of the Zulus was then practically in the hands of such politicians as Mr. J. Dunn and Mr. J. Shepstone, by whose advice the General was guided. The Bishop could not fail to see, from the outset, that these supporters of Sir B. Frere's views would aim at one thing above all others. The name and influence of the ex-king must be obliterated. The Zulus must be taught to forget him and to despise and degrade those of his immediate relatives and adherents who continued to show loyalty to him. The evidence collected by the Bishop shows that this policy was throughout consistently adhered to by the officials concerned in governing Zululand.[1]

[1] The restoration of Zibebu during the past month (November 1887) to the corner of Zululand from which, in 1883, he dealt death and destruction among the Zulus loyal to Cetshwayo, may be proved to be due to the perpetuation of the same policy.

It is also due to Sir E. Wood to say that in explaining his views to the Zulu chiefs he was wholly in the hands of his interpreter. The following is a well authenticated report of the language addressed on the General's behalf before a large assemblage of chiefs and people, to Ndabuko, Cetshwayo's full brother:—

"Your offence, Ndabuko, is that you went down saying that you were going to ask for the 'Bone'[1] Bone of what forsooth? Did we not kill that scoundrel (Cetshwayo) who was disturbing the land?"

The chief Zibebu went straight from this meeting to plunder and destroy the kraals of Cetshwayo's brothers and their adherents, while the chief Hamu, with European aid, soon afterwards accomplished the massacre of the Qulusi tribe as described below:—

"The action of these chiefs," said the Bishop, "was directed expressly against those of their subjects who went down to Maritzburg to pray for the 'Bone.'"[2]

The horrible events which followed Sir E. Wood's harangue to the chiefs, cannot be denied or questioned; and these events were regarded by the Zulus as the direct result of words supposed to be uttered by the General. This was also the view of Europeans. Thus the *Natal Mercury* of October 22nd, 1881, says:—

"We have received the following letter from a trustworthy Zululand correspondent:—'October 13th.—I send a line at the last moment to say that things are going from bad to worse at railway speed. Up to the arrival of Sir E. Wood the chiefs did not fully realize that they were really independent at all. Now they do, and, if I mistake not, like a beggar on horseback, will ride to the devil sharp. Hamu

[1] A figurative way of referring to the ex-king.
[2] *Digest*, Vol. II. p. 276.

has begun by killing a large number of the abaQulusi people. My information is derived from native sources, and may be somewhat exaggerated. It is, that the killed at Isandhlwana were few compared with those killed by Hamu a few days ago. Zibebu also, and Ndabuko, are, I am told, on the point of coming to blows; and if they do, that will be worse still, for Ndabuko will find supporters throughout the length and breadth of Zululand.

"'Ndabuko, the full brother of the ex-king, is the *protégé* of the Bishop of Natal. The Bishop, I find, has again sent one of his agents (Umajuba by name) calling for another deputation. The deputation is now on its way to Natal, and that, I understand, against the express refusal of the Resident to allow it.'"

On seeing this statement about himself, the Bishop wrote to the papers to say:—

"The above statement is absolutely false. I have sent no agent to Zululand, either lately or at any former time, calling for any deputation.

"I know nothing of any native called Umajuba. The two deputations came entirely of their own accord, and were as wholly unexpected by me as they were by the Government."

Upon questions of fact within his knowledge we need nothing but the Bishop's word; and a citation of the following passage which concludes the above letter may seem superfluous, as the subject-matter of it may perhaps lack interest for some readers. But it is essential that some indication should be given of the nature of the conflict which at this time was beginning to tell upon the Bishop's strong bodily frame. He had in truth a powerful array of influences working against him. As far as communications between the British Government and Zululand were concerned, the Natal Native Department, whose method of working has been pretty clearly exposed in the preceding four chapters, were, with Mr. Osborn, the Zulu Resident, the eyes and ears of the Colonial Office. On their side

were ranged the colonial newspapers. The editor of one of these, Mr. J. Robinson, who had since 1873 played the part of a most bitter and uncompromising opponent of the Bishop, was also correspondent of the London *Times*. At the head-quarters of Zibebu and Hamu, the patrons of some of them, and elsewhere in and about Zululand, dwelt the men who contributed such items of news as that given above. The conclusion, which they jointly and severally wished to inforce was that the Bishop invited Cetshwayo's party to make up deputations to the Government which should have the appearance of representing a general national feeling, and that, even if the Bishop's denial of this accusation was to be accepted, the ex-king's party acted on their own account. The Bishop cared about the falsehoods directed against him in the Natal press only in so far as they might mislead the Home Government, and on this account he closed the letter just cited as follows :—

"Further, I observed that you published recently in your columns a letter from chief J. Dunn, in which he states that 'There is no truth in the statement about eight of the appointed chiefs praying for Cetshwayo's return. This the British Resident can attest.'

"In reply I beg to state that on the first occasion (May 1880) when a deputation came down to make the above prayer, one of them, Nozaza, brought with him his chief, Seketwayo's 'letters patent,' that is to say, the document signed by Sir Garnet Wolseley, appointing him to be chief, as a guarantee that the man in question was a confidential messenger, and that the chief was a party to the prayer. And, as he certainly would not have come forward *alone* to make such a petition, this fact, by itself, guarantees the *bona fide* character of that deputation as having been sent, as they stated, by five of the appointed chiefs, afterwards increased to eight, to make the prayer in question.

"And the fact that the same confidential messenger, Nozaza, was sent with the recent deputation shows that this also

came to express the genuine wishes of the eight chiefs as they stated, whatever attempts have been made to discredit it.

"I will add that if the chiefs under pressure have been brought to deny that they sent such deputations—Seketwayo among the rest—it only shows how unmeaning are such denials.

"I have taken the proper measures for setting the true facts before the authorities."

The British Resident himself, Mr. Osborn, became convinced by October 8, 1881,[1] of the need of appointing a paramount chief, as the only means of putting a stop to

"the continuous state of unrest and rebellion against the present appointed chiefs, with the attendant 'eating up' and bloodshed;"

the existence, he added, of such a central power as they were deprived of in their late king

"being considered by the Zulus, as it is in fact, the only means of securing and maintaining peace and good order within the country."

The instructions of the Home Government to Sir H. Bulwer in February 1882 were that if any representation should be made to him from Zululand that the chiefs and people desired that the country should be reunited under a paramount chief such representation would require careful consideration.

"But in any case," added Lord Kimberley, "it must be remembered that the British Government cannot put aside the engagements into which it has entered with the Zulu chiefs as long as the chiefs on their part fulfil their obligations, unless in pursuance of the clearly expressed wish of the chiefs and people themselves."

On reading the above, the Bishop wrote as follows, the references being to pages of his *Digest*:—

[1] See his Report of that date.

"It is obviously of the utmost importance, in order to satisfy Her Majesty's Government, that the facts should be clearly set forth as above (pp. 189–211, vol. ii.), as to eight of the appointed chiefs having taken part in the different deputations of May 1880, July-August 1881, and April 1882, and as to the extent to which other appointed chiefs have 'fulfilled their obligations,' *e.g.* chief Dunn (pp. 261–271), Zibebu (pp. 280–292), Hamu (pp. 299–306)."

The Bishop's references are guides to a multitude of harrowing statements, official and other, concerning the bloodshed already noticed.[1] Chief Dunn had taken up arms to help a neighbouring chief to put down a pretender to his chieftainship. Although the warfare which followed, and in which between 200 and 300 men, women, and children were killed on one side and three or four men on the other, had the sanction of the British Government, Dunn's action at the outset, which, in the opinion of the Bishop, must have precipitated matters and rendered a peaceful solution of the difficulty impossible, was in violation of the conditions of his appointment.

The destruction of the Qulusi tribe by Hamu was also a merciless massacre of fugitives. In both cases white scamps assisted, and one of them states that, "out of an army of about 1,500, but few escaped," while "our casualties are eight killed and thirteen wounded." The women and children had upon this latter occasion been sent away into Transvaal territory, and so, with three exceptions, escaped.

The Qulusi tribe was one of the finest in Northern Zululand. They were devoted adherents of Cetshwayo, and hence obnoxious to Hamu. It would seem that he believed that he was acting throughout with the permission of Mr. Osborn, the Resident, and undoubtedly this had been given in the *negative* form.[2]

[1] See p. 568.

[2] Blue-book, C. 3182, p. 118.

Zibebu's worst crimes were yet to come; but he "did his share," as the Bishop says, in these murders, the descriptions of which, and not the coarse abuse that was heaped upon his head through the columns of the Natal newspapers, tortured the Bishop's heart.

The knowledge of what was taking place in Zululand was rendered peculiarly painful to him by his insight into the real meaning of the events, and his personal acquaintance with Zulus who had taken part in the various deputations to Pietermaritzburg.

TO DR. JORISSEN.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *August* 15, 1881.

. . . "Now I trust that I may congratulate you and the Boer leaders on the settlement of the Transvaal question, which I do most heartily. And I want to ask you if nothing can be done for poor Cetshwayo, who, as you know, is doomed, by Lord Kimberley's last reply to his petition for release, to life-long captivity. . . . I want to know if the Boers, when, as I presume, they accept in Volksraad the terms of the Convention, would not be generous enough to couple with it an expression of the wish that as Sikukuni has been released,[1] and Langalibalele will be (so Lord Kimberley has promised in Parliament[2]) as soon as the Basuto troubles are over, so Cetshwayo may be restored. It would be a grand thing for the friends of the Boer cause in England, and would greatly strengthen their hands, by showing their friendly feeling towards the natives, if such a thing were done in spite of all the charges which have been made against them in this respect. . . . I am very sure that the Boers have no *dread* of the Zulus; and now that the boundary is defined, I do not see the least ground to anticipate future disputes on that account."[3]

[1] By the Boers. He was murdered soon after.

[2] Langalibalele was not released until April 1887. See p. 405.

[3] The *Natal Mercury* states (November 3, 1881), on the authority of the Transvaal *Volkstem*, that, "when the article of the Convention rela-

TO F. W. CHESSON, ESQ.

"*August* 21, 1881.

"The point now seems to be . . . to insist upon Cetshwayo's being brought to England. Mr. Gladstone has no doubt been imposed upon, otherwise he would never have stopped the mouths and blinded the eyes of the eighty M.P.'s by talking of Cetshwayo's being allowed 'much more freedom' at Capetown! What possible arrangements can be made for this? As far as I can see, the promise is a mere farce, like Lord Carnarvon's about Langalibalele. I should be grieved to think that Mr. Gladstone, for whom I have great respect, should be knowingly a party to this. But what he says about Langa is equally absurd. What possible danger could there be in bringing him back to Natal. . . . To us, who know the real circumstances, it is perfectly *childish* to talk of Cetshwayo's undertaking *not* to return to Zululand, or Langa's disturbing the natives on our borders."

TO HIS SON FRANCIS.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *October* 16, 1881.

. . . "J. Dunn sent down a week ago a request to be made 'Supreme Chief,' that is, king in Zululand. And I strongly suspect that Sir Evelyn Wood will support the request. But I fully hope that Sir Hercules Robinson will wholly disapprove of it, as he is acting towards Cetshwayo in the kindest possible manner."

tive to the release of Sikukuni was under discussion in the Volksraad, his Honour, P. J. Joubert, 'added that nothing would please the [Boer] Government more than to learn that the English Government had found it expedient to release Cetshwayo as well, as he also had never done anything against the Republic except by instigation from outside.'" And again, on November 22, "that the Boer Executive had requested the British Resident at Pretoria to despatch a telegram to Lord Kimberley conveying a request for the release of Cetshwayo as soon as possible, and to have his rights restored to him, on the ground that so only 'matters in Zululand and with the Zulu nation can be established on a satisfactory and sound basis, and that it is only by this act of justice that England can regain confidence.'"

To F. W. Chesson, Esq.

"Bishopstowe, *November* 5, 1881.

"To-day I received a *quasi*-private letter from Sir E. Wood, asking if I would be willing to serve on a Commission which he is about to appoint—with the Chief Justice as president, and the Attorney-General as vice-president—to consider certain native questions.[1] Of course I expressed my willingness, and I *hope* that some good may result from this.

"But to-day also, to our great joy, came Beje, and fifteen others, who had been released yesterday, through an order which they were told (before they left the gaol) came from the Queen, *i.e.* of course from the Secretary of State."[2]

To his son Francis.

"Bishopstowe, *December* 10, 1881.

"I have had a visit from 'Father Rivington,' who has been holding a 'Mission' for Dean Green at Maritzburg and Durban. He came professedly out of mere charity to

[1] This Commission had nothing to do with Zulu matters, but dealt merely with the domestic affairs of the natives of Natal. It entailed a good deal of work and fatigue for the Bishop in the long drive in and out to attend the sittings on several days of the week besides his Sunday expedition. But he did not allow it to put a stop to his work for the Zulus.

[2] The Bishop's eldest daughter, Harriette, refers to this event as follows in writing to her brother in England:—"Beje and Co. *are out*, and are now at Bishopstowe, that is sixteen of them. One had worked his time out (one year—a mere boy), one had escaped, two had died in gaol, and one had been murdered—run to death by the policemen on the way down. That makes up the twenty-one. They are all suffering more or less from *ukufa kwe Tronk* [illness caused by imprisonment] one so badly that he has . . not yet got *here*. They are turned out . . . with nothing on in the world but their *umutyas* [girdles] and . . . one blanket, one coat, and two shirts, and £1 belonging to one of the party, returned to them; *nothing* of either food or clothing from Government to get home to Zululand, sick men, crawling up, and with two ferries to cross (the rivers being full) each needing 6*d.* a head. It makes one's blood boil. We are giving them 6*s.* and blankets. The state of things in Zululand is simply heartrending."

speak with me, as he always prayed for me ('Jews, Turks, infidels, and heretics'), and was grieved to find me shut off from the great body of Christendom. Yes, I said, as Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer were at the second Reformation, or as the Apostles were cut off from the orthodox Jews at the first, together with their Head, who 'had a devil' and 'deceived the people.'"

TO F. W. CHESSON, ESQ.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *December* 17, 1881.

"The Native Commission met last Wednesday and Thursday. . . . My seat being next to the Attorney-General, I asked him how it was that no American missionary was put on the Commission, to which he replied, 'Well, I did put down the name of one in Sir G. Colley's time—Pinkerton—but he has since died.' This shows that the Commission was not merely *contemplated*, but actually worked out in detail, by Sir G. Colley, instead of by Sir E. Wood as is generally supposed; and most probably the 120 questions which the President read to us, as questions to be put to the witnesses *vivâ voce* or otherwise, were altogether or mainly prepared by Sir G. Colley before the Transvaal troubles began. And *this* fact, I believe, accounts really for my name being put on the Commission, and not any special kindness of Sir E. Wood, though in speaking to my friends he has laid stress on the appointment as evidence of his regard or friendly feeling towards me. It was plain, from Sir G. Colley's letter to me in reply to my own communication about natives buying land, &c., . . . that he *did* intend to place me on the Commission, and I feel sure that he actually did so in his draft preparations."

TO MRS. LYELL.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *January* 2, 1882.

'I thank you very much for your kind present of the *Life, Letters, and Journals of Sir Charles Lyell*, of which only

the second volume, through some mismanagement in our post-office, had reached me when our last mail left, though the first volume turned up afterwards, when I made inquiry about it. I need hardly say that I shall read them with the deepest interest as a precious memorial of the dear friend who showed me so much kindness when I greatly needed it.

"I am still, I am sorry to say, fighting with the Government here, as of old. This time it is Sir E. Wood, who is strongly opposed to Cetshwayo's restoration to Zululand, and has done here, and will do, I am sure, in England, whatever he can to prevent the wise and humane views of the Cape Governor and Government taking effect with the Secretary of State on Cetshwayo's behalf. . . . There can be no doubt that Sir E. Wood has been overruled by Lord Kimberley on several points—especially by the order which the Resident has evidently received, we suppose from England, to order the restoration of the cattle which had been 'eaten up,' from Ndabuko by Zibebu and from Mnyamana by Hamu, under the authority (I cannot doubt, though they are trying now to repudiate the responsibility) of the Resident—in other words, of Sir E. Wood himself.[1] . . . We

[1] It must be remembered that the ukase which forbade in Zululand the discussion of Cetshwayo's possible return, and on which Sir E. Wood was doubtless acting, was, for obvious reasons, unpublished and utterly unknown to the Bishop. In this instance official caution overreached itself, as it left the Bishop free to advise the Zulus to make known their wishes to the Resident. If any corroboration were required of the abundant evidence that Zibebu's abominable conduct, which has certainly been consistent throughout, has had from the outset the secret sanction of British officials, it is afforded by the latest utterance of Sir T. Shepstone, who in a memorandum dated February 17, 1887 [Parl. Blue-book, C. 5143, p. 31], actually puts forward the statement that Zibebu and his followers owe their present downfall "*to this chief's loyalty to the British Government*," affirming that "the ability, energy, and courage which Zibebu exhibited *when he overthrew Cetshwayo* have made his name a terror to the Zulus," and that "he would most certainly take advantage of the first opening that might present itself to endeavour to recover his position, provided his action did not clash with what he might consider to be his loyal duty to the British Government." Sir T. Shepstone then proceeds to suggest that something should be done to "conciliate Zibebu's loyalty" as "his influence [causing *terror*] on the side of the Government would be *worth a*

can only hope that the measures taken by Mr. Chesson and our friends in England will thwart his endeavours, and that the injured king, and Langalibalele also, will before long be sent back, in spite of the raging hostility of some of our colonists, with whom Sir E. Wood is immensely popular. As we are now in the very crisis of the struggle, you will not wonder that our minds are anxiously watching by each mail for signs of what is being done in England, or likely to be done in this matter as soon as Parliament meets."

TO F. W. CHESSON, ESQ.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *March* 12, 1882.

. . . "Sir H. Bulwer has just dissolved the Legislative Council, and will presently summon a new one to take into consideration the question of responsible government, . . . which is now offered under certain conditions not yet published. I doubt very much if it will be accepted, as there are many here who do not think the colony is ripe yet for it, though it may be when Zululand is settled, and the railway is completed to Newcastle, some four or five years hence. Not a word has leaked out yet about Cetshwayo's destiny."

Among the most discreditable incidents of the war with Cetshwayo was the rifling of the grave of his father Mpande, to which the following letter refers:—

TO F. W. CHESSON, ESQ.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *April* 2, 1882.

"Last Thursday I attended . . . the inquiry by General Drury Lowe and H. Shepstone about Mpande's grave. . . . The result was that the Commissioners, I believe, were convinced that the deed was done about three days before the capture of Cetshwayo, by soldiers (from ten to twenty),

considerable armed force." That Sir T. Shepstone should deem the employment of such an influence desirable is significant of the state of the Zulus at present.

not secretly or at night, but at midday, in full view of the camp, at a distance of five or six hundred yards, with the ground perfectly open between, so that what was done must have been known to very many officers and men, and, according to the witnesses, it was freely talked of in the camp by soldiers, who said, 'We have done it to take the head home to the Queen.'"[1]

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *April* 10, 1882.

. . . "I am grieved indeed to hear of the death of our friend Dr. Muir, which is a loss to us, and especially to myself personally, as he sympathised warmly with me on theological matters, though I don't think he cared much for Zulu politics, even when stretching out his hand to relieve the needs of the famished Zulus."

The publication by telegram of the Prime Minister's reference to Zulu wishes coincided, curiously enough, with the arrival in Pietermaritzburg, in spite of all adverse influences, of a deputation which more than fulfilled his conditions. It consisted of 646 chiefs and headmen, with their attendants—2000 persons in all—including representatives of all ranks from every quarter of Zululand.[2]

TO F. W. CHESSON, ESQ.

"*April* 16, 1882.

"An important occurrence since I last wrote is that of the arrival of a very large deputation from Zululand, headed by three . . . of the appointed chiefs—I mean by their representatives—Seketwayo, Faku, and Somkele—to ask for the restoration of Cetshwayo. As usual they have sent ahead messengers to report that the great men are on their way, and from them we must have heard of whom the party consists. I have taken measures to secure that they shall not come to Bishopstowe, but go at once to Maritzburg

[1] See p. 489. [2] See p. 541.

to the authorities.[1] Fortunately, Mr. Osborn is still here, though he was about to return to Zululand to-morrow. And they have already gone into town and seen Mr. Osborn, and announced the coming of the deputation. He was very much displeased at their coming without his permission; they had sent to ask for a pass before he left Zululand, and he had told them to wait till he returned. But when he heard that the three appointed chiefs were bringing down the others—who, by one of Sir G. Wolseley's conditions, are free to come without a pass from the Resident—he . . . told them to come again to-morrow."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *June* 18, 1882.

"We are rejoiced to hear that Sir Wilfrid Lawson has promised to bring on a motion in favour of Cetshwayo in the House of Commons, in which he will be supported, . . . I sincerely trust, by a number of true-hearted Englishmen on both sides of the House. . . . (Please excuse any defects in this letter, as I am writing under difficulties, having suffered for some days past under a rather sharp attack of 'influenza,' fever, with bronchial affection, sleeplessness, &c.; which, although passing off, has left me not very strong for using my head in letter-writing at this moment.) . . . As regards Sir H. Bulwer, I am, of course, utterly disappointed. He is not the man I hoped to find, whose love of truth and sense of justice would compel him to overcome his violent prejudices against Cetshwayo and in favour of Sir G. Wolseley's settlement when the facts of the case were clearly laid before him. . . . Sir H. Bulwer loses sight of the fact that, in giving the advice I did—viz. to let the wishes of the Zulu people, and especially of the appointed chiefs, be made known to the authorities by peaceful means—I have probably done the very thing which has most helped to keep the Zulus quiet through these weary months of waiting for 'justice' from England. . . . But then I did also what has

[1] To avoid offending official susceptibilities.

not only been confirmed *ex post facto* by the words of Mr. Gladstone, but was (as I believe) in full accordance with the wishes and views of the High Commissioner for Zululand, Sir H. Robinson. . . .

"Do not believe a word of what you may hear about the Zulus having expressed a wish to be governed by a white Resident, &c., *without the restoration of Cetshwayo.* They wish nothing of the kind. . . . It is clear now that Cetshwayo has been sacrificed in the wild attempt to . . . force responsible government upon the colony, with entire control of natives inside and treatment of the Zulus according to the wishes of [some of] the colonists, . . . which offer, however, the better voice of the colony, pronounced by the recent election, has happily rejected."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *July* 2, 1882.

. . . "I expect that this will reach you only a day or two before they (Cetshwayo and his companions) arrive. And then I quite agree with you—setting all philanthropy aside—there can be no other rational policy but that of restoring him under proper conditions to Zululand, unless the English Government is prepared to undertake the consequences—in expenditure of blood and treasure—of complete annexation of Zululand."

TO THE SAME.

"DURBAN, *July* 17, 1882.

. . . "Since I have been here, I am more than ever convinced that what the Shepstones are all aiming at is the *annexation* of a large part of Zululand, fully one-third of the country I should say, and including John Dunn's district—in fact, the territory between the Tugela and the Umhlatuze. Of course, H. Shepstone will have a splendid opportunity of convincing Cetshwayo, on the way home, of the necessity of his accepting the arrangement as the *only* means of his being restored to Zululand.

Bishop Colenso and his Grandson

1862

I doubt if Sir H. Bulwer has recommended it—at least, the Shepstones have led me to suppose that he has not in any way consulted Sir T. Shepstone.

After taking from Zululand, under Sir G. Wolseley's settlement of the (English) Transvaal boundary, the portion which the Boers had appropriated and the Commission had given back to the Zulus, it will be rather hard to take from them a further section of one-third of their whole territory, as now proposed. You may remember this very proposal was thrown out by Sir T. Shepstone in his interview with the Zulu indunas at the Blood River."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *August* 27, 1882.

Your letter of July 27 (to my daughter) has just reached us. And by the same mail we got a 'White-book' (C. 3293) containing a most extraordinary despatch from Sir H. Bulwer, dated May 25, which I think Lord Kimberley himself must have judged at its true value. It is indeed surprising that Sir H. Bulwer should have based such a serious attack upon me on the statements of two Zulus, *whose names are carefully suppressed*, and of two Natal natives, who are also left *anonymous*. As these four natives, especially the last two, under the protection of Sir H. Bulwer himself, can hardly have feared the vengeance of the rival *quasi*-authority against this Government that is often set up by the Bishop of Natal' (p. 5), I can only conclude that the names are withheld on purpose that I may not find out who they are, and ascertain whether the last two informants are, as he says (p. 4), 'both of them trustworthy men.' How could he know that? Only from Mr. John Shepstone, who brought forward his own induna, Nozitshina, and other 'trustworthy men,' at the Matshana inquiry, to testify solemnly to the truth of certain statements made by himself, with respect to which the Commissioner, Colonel G. Colley, reported that 'Matshana . . . came in good faith, and that the accusations against him,

. . . which are made in Mr. Shepstone's statements, are entirely without foundation.'[1] Yet this is the official upon whom Sir H. Bulwer must wholly rely in such matters as the above.

"In point of fact, as you will see, these four natives do not say that they had seen with their own eyes or heard with their own ears the supposed messengers said to have been sent by me. And I need hardly say that the rumours they had picked up as to my doings are to a great extent utterly unfounded and false, and such, I think, as should not have been forwarded to the Secretary of State, until an opportunity had been given to me of explaining or contradicting them. However, as Cetshwayo is to be restored, I do not at present think of taking any notice of this despatch, unless any remarks in the *Mercury*, &c., should compel me to do so."[2]

TO HIS SON FRANCIS.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *September* 10, 1882.

"Robert[3] came up yesterday (Saturday) for the second Sunday to vaccinate. I am staying at home to-day, being under the hands of Dr. R. J. C. (It is nothing serious.) Hence I have in my ears in the study all day the din and hubbub of a great number of people and the wailings of their babes. Last Sunday he vaccinated 199, and to-day he has done 410. Those who were vaccinated last Sunday are doing very well, except the Hlubis and others whom he treated with Government lymph—a small supply sent up to Bishopstowe, which seems to have been faulty in some respect, as only in one out of ten cases has the operation succeeded. *His own* supply of lymph has been thoroughly successful.

"I sent in to the office of the Vaccination Board appointed under the new law, gazetted August 29, for 500 copies of

[1] See pp. 411, 412.

[2] The Bishop investigated the matter however to the end, and thoroughly exposed the Governor's informants, whom he identified. See *Ruin of Zululand*, vol. ii. p. 357.

[3] His elder son.

the scheduled form, . . . and I found that the Board was to hold their *first* meeting yesterday (September 9)—I suppose stirred into action by my application—and this with the small-pox at our gates, and no time to be lost in vaccinating such multitudes of people, white and black!

"Sir H. Bulwer *was* to start on Friday last for his tour, not into Zululand, but, through the north of the colony, taking Rorke's Drift on the way, where Mnyamana is to meet him.

"Your reply to Sir B. Frere was first rate."

TO MRS. F. COLENSO.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *September* 24, 1882.

"I need hardly say that, after our late experience of Sir H. Bulwer's doings, we doubt very much that any good will come out of his visit—not to Zululand, but—to Rorke's Drift, in order to settle the Zulu country. The latest report about him informs us that he is encamped on the Natal side of the [Border river] and Mr. Osborn on the Zulu side; and what information of any value as to the real feelings of the Zulu chiefs and people can be obtained in this way?

"We have a *magnificent* comet in sight every morning about an hour before sunrise."

The answer to the Bishop's question is that Sir H. Bulwer and his advisers, the little knot of permanent officials and their dependents with whom the Bishop had been in conflict since 1873, did not desire to recognise any expression of the real feelings of the Zulu chiefs and people.

Small-pox was at this time raging at Capetown. It was of great moment to the credit of the English nation that no underhand manœuvres should be resorted to, in order to delay the restoration of the Zulu king. But there were ominous rumours which seemed to show that a deliberate plan had been formed to land Cetshwayo at Capetown, in order that he might be detained there and then sent on to Natal, where he would undergo a further detention in quaran-

tine. The Bishop was slow to believe even in the possibility of such dastardly intrigues and such un-English conduct; but his fears of a double detention were removed. Although the king was taken into the midst of the small-pox and left in danger for months,[1] he was ultimately landed on the coast of Zululand.

TO F. W. CHESSON, ESQ.

"*October* 2, 1882.

. . "We are exceedingly sorry that the poor king has been ordered to be landed at Capetown, and taken back to Oude Molen, while the steamer which brought him is on her way up with all his fellow-passengers for Natal, who, the *Nubian* having had no contact with the pest-stricken city, will be landed here at once without being quarantined. It is a most cruel and inhuman decision . . . . to arrange this terrible disappointment for him. . . . Of course, whenever Cetshwayo is sent to Natal, he must now be quarantined, which, for one in his position, will in itself be a terrible trial. Why could he not be sent up here at once and put in charge of the military, who would have put up a good tent for him, and taken care of him till Sir H. Bulwer had hatched his report?"

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *October* 29, 1882.

. . . "It seems to me that (Cetshwayo) is kept under stronger surveillance than ever—I suppose through the action of Sir H. Bulwer when he came out, which has not yet been set aside—though Cetshwayo is now a free man and a king. I say this because the only letter we have received from him since he returned has had to pass through the custodian's hands first, then through those of the Cape S.N.A., then through the Cape Governor's, then through Sir H. Bulwer's,

[1] He had been vaccinated in England; but the outbreak was a very severe one.

in consequence of which, though dated October 9, it did not reach me till October 26. It is possible that the small-pox may have caused some of this delay; but obviously he is not allowed to have free intercourse with us for fear of 'intrigues.'"

TO HIS SON FRANCIS.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *December* 3, 1882.

"H. and I went to town Friday; and, just as we were about to leave for home, Mr. Tom Reynolds met me and asked if I had seen the telegram which had just arrived. I went at once to the *Witness* notice-board, and read 'Sir H. Bulwer is ordered to reinstate Cetshwayo without loss of time.' Thank God for that! It gave us new life, you may believe, for we are quite sure in our own minds that Sir Henry Bulwer has been doing all he can to delay Cetshwayo's restoration, if not to prevent it altogether even at this late hour. A month ago the Cape authorities (the Mayor first, and more recently the Government) have announced that the (small-pox) epidemic is over. But our people have not relaxed the very stringent quarantine laws here, and I fear that if he arrives within a week or two he will be detained in the outer harbour three weeks. Let us hope for the best, and that commercial pressure may in this respect help the king."

The two years which had passed away since the catastrophe of Isandhlwana had been a discouraging time, the dreariness of which was rendered still more dark by the disaster of Majuba Hill. At last there seemed to be a prospect of happier and more peaceful days; but the sky was again to become overclouded. The principles by which the white rulers acted in their dealings with their darker neighbours remained the same; and a wretched experience was to verify again the old adage that the same fountain cannot give forth sweet water and bitter.

CHAPTER XII.

THE EVENING OF HIS LIFE AND WORK.

1882–83.

THE evening was come. The work of the day had been for the Bishop a long and hard warfare; and although he was as ready as ever to spend and be spent in the cause of truth and righteousness, the natural weariness of mere muscle and nerve led him sometimes[1] to express a desire for some rest. When his life's toil came a few months later somewhat suddenly to its end, those who knew and loved him best were led to think that his words had reference to a deeper rest and peace than any may look for in this world of trouble. But although the thought of this rest was always present to him, there can be little doubt that he yet hoped for a time of tranquillity during which he might feel the sense of refreshment and perhaps even of new vigour before his departure hence. It would be pleasant, if time and leisure were spared to him, to make a retrospect of the region which lay behind him, to recall old familiar scenes, and to see what remained, if not for himself, yet for others to do. The harder the battle of life, the more natural will this feeling be; and the Bishop may well have wished for a little of such well-earned repose, as he

[1] As he said in a letter, presently to be cited, "My *body* and soul are crying out for rest, *before* I go hence."

became gradually more and more conscious of the failure of bodily power.

But he was surrounded still by the elements of division and strife. Bishop Gray had committed the diocese and the colony to the bitter controversy, in which those who love the freedom and quiet of the Church of England are drawn out against the upholders of ecclesiastical independence—in other words, of sacerdotal tyranny. It is hard, indeed, to see in what quarter Bishop Gray's policy and course of action could produce the fruits of peace. To that policy, the Dean of Grahamstown, Dr. Williams, could not reconcile himself, more than the Bishop of Natal. The Church Council of Natal was summoned to meet in 1882, and the Bishop had invited Dr. Williams to this, the last session of that Council over which he was to preside. Dr. Williams, unable to come, replied by a letter in which the following sentences occur :—

"I should have had no little satisfaction in hearing your lordship thanked for the noble, patient, dutiful, and exemplary stand which you have made for so many years, through evil report and good report, for the liberty of thought which has made the Church of England, at home or abroad, such as it is to-day, the nursery and guardian of a rational tolerant Christianity, which knows how to embrace parties, and be patient of speculation, while witnessing to eternal truths, valuable alike to the educated and the lowly, to genius and mediocrity, to the lights of the age and to the willing crowd.

"I should have been glad to hear the voice of one more Christian assembly in South Africa, raised against the clumsy and libellous weapon of private, unauthorised, and impotent excommunication, claiming to be authoritative. . . . I should have been glad to see any prospect of the door being opened . . . . to a reconciliation of both parties on the footing of comprehension and not exclusion, both in Natal and the Cape Colony. And lastly, I should have

prized the opportunity of confessing with regret, but without shame, that in former years and with less experience I had more confused notions of the Constitution of the Church of England and of its value, and had inclined to the wish that it should be governed by parties and majorities like the State, and that certain views and critical inquiries, such as those which have made your own name famous, should be crushed out by votes rather than by time and by confutation if they are wrong,—but also of adding that I have lived long enough to reach the conviction, long ago, that such aspirations are against the interests of a rational and potent Christianity, as much as they are opposed to the spirit of our national Church. One principle, however, I always maintained, and never swerved from, from the day I first contemplated colonial church life; and that is, that, exactly such as the mother Church of England is at home, so should the daughter Church be in her colonies, and that separation or independence should never be thought of."

The Dean wrote under the pressure of "severe and protracted illness," which ended in his death not long after the Bishop rested from his own toil. But like the Bishop, he was resolved to maintain the order of the Church of England as against that of the Church of South Africa. The case might be not so clear in Grahamstown; but the question was whether property set apart for the uses of the Church of England could be diverted to the purposes of other religious bodies.

TO THE DEAN OF GRAHAMSTOWN.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *May* 14, 1882.

. . . "I shall be very much surprised if you are right in supposing that Bishop Merriman will be judged capable of holding or acting in respect of properties in question, so long, at all events, as he adheres to the Church of South Africa, which forbids on pain of deprivation any of its clergy performing the marriage service for a divorced person,

however innocent. And last week Dean Green stole a march, I expect, upon the main body of Macrorie's clergy by getting *their* resolution to the above effect amended (in, I imagine, a small house of clergy, as many who met originally had gone home for their Sunday work and had not come back) by the addition that all such marriages shall be judged to be *adulterous*. This is impudence truly. The law of the land is to be over-ruled, and wretchedness sown in families, at the pleasure of these arrogant ecclesiastics.

I doubt, as I told you, whether you can maintain your claim to refuse access to the Cathedral to a Bishop of the Church of England, if you were under such a Bishop in the diocese of Grahamstown. But I cannot believe that the Privy Council will decide that Merriman is a Bishop of the Church of England, or can exercise the powers and claim the rights of such a Bishop against a lawfully appointed Dean or minister."

Dean Williams, in his turn, was anxious to have once more the help of the Bishop of Natal at Grahamstown; but to this request the latter found himself reluctantly constrained to reply in the negative.

TO THE DEAN OF GRAHAMSTOWN.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *September* 10, 1882.

. . . . "As to the point of my going to Grahamstown, it is, of course, utterly out of the question that I should do so before October 10, when I hope to see you here, and we can then talk over any future plans. But I must warn you not to expect too much from me—*non sum qualis eram*—and even since my visit to Grahamstown, two years, bringing me to nearly sixty-nine years of age, and two years pretty full of anxious care and hard work, in respect of various matters, have taken, as I feel, a good deal of strength out of me. I have neither the physical power, nor, at this time of life, the inclination, to take the place of leader in the

struggle of sacerdotalism against the liberties secured by law in the Church of England. My body and soul are crying out for *rest*, before I go hence. And I feel as if I could not *bear* even the exertion of making such a trip as I did two years ago.

You must not, therefore, please, pledge me to visit Grahamstown, as you propose; and you yourself will be aware that a change of sees is out of the question under existing circumstances. It appears to me that what you have to do is to get the *laity* of the Grahamstown diocese, as far as possible, to address the Archbishop, pointing out to his Grace the difficulties of the present position,—how the churches and incomes of the Bishop and clergy belong to the Church of England, and cannot be alienated to, or allowed to be claimed by, the Church of South Africa,—how the vacancy of the see allows of a Bishop of the Church of England being appointed,—and requesting his Grace to appoint one, or else to advise what steps should be taken to obtain one under the present emergency. This will at any rate draw out the Archbishop's views, and I should not be surprised if he worked in a friendly way with such appellants. You will have noticed, of course, that in reply, I suppose, to Bishop Jones's inquiry, the Archbishop says that he recognises the South African churches as 'in full communion' with the Church of England, so that its clergy and laity are welcomed in England as members of the English Church; but the same is true of the American Episcopal Church. The Archbishop does not say that a clergyman of the South African Church, *e.g.* ordained by Bishop Macrorie, would be able to marry a couple or be presented to a living in England.

"I feel sure that, until Bishop Jones and the South African clergy have distinctly committed themselves to a reassertion of the principles which have separated them from the Church of England according to the recent judgement, it would not be well or right for me to intrude into the diocese of Grahamstown, even if all the other hindrances were out of the way. But I should have no scruple in giving Dr.

Davies a license to officiate as a Presbyter of the Church of England within the diocese of Grahamstown, pending the appointment of a new Bishop of Grahamstown bound by the standards of the Church of England and also by the legal interpretation of them. I have a strong conviction—though I cannot, of course, be certain—that Archbishop Tait would work for the appointment of such a Bishop one way or other."

The next letter refers to the question of the letters patent [1] granted to the Bishops of the three sees of Natal, Grahamstown, and Capetown. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council had over-hastily concluded that all were alike invalid. It was found that this remark, if it applied to the others, did not apply to those of the Bishop of Natal. The coercive jurisdiction which was supposed to be conferred by these letters was a matter for which the Bishop of Natal neither cared nor wished; but at least it could not be endured that such power should on the strength of these letters be claimed by prelates who at the same time repudiated the supremacy of the Crown, and rejected the interpretation of the formularies by the Sovereign in Council.

TO HIS SON FRANCIS.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *January* 12, 1883.

"In the *Guardian* of December 13 there is an important letter from Lord Blachford (formerly the Permanent Under-Secretary at the Colonial Office) upon Colonial Bishoprics, which is to be followed by another. In this first letter he brings down the history of Colonial Bishoprics just to the time of the Privy Council judgement (pronounced by Lord Westbury), which mistakenly assumed that *my* letters patent were invalid, as well as Bishop Gray's, because Natal as well as the Cape Colony had a representative Legislative Assembly at the time when they were issued. This, as you know, was erroneous; but as the main question was

[1] See p. 167, and also Appendix A.

not touched by the error, it passed for fact without being corrected in England, and very probably Lord Blachford will assume it to be fact in his next letter. I want to lose no time in contradicting any such false assumption in the present crisis of South African Church affairs, and the more so as even Mr. Gladstone's secretary, in his reply to me about Langa, addresses me 'Right Rev. Sir,' instead of (as he ought to have done under my letters patent) 'my Lord Bishop.' I therefore post to you a copy of the judgements of the three judges of the Supreme Court of Natal, in which the mistake of the Privy Council is pointed out, and the complete validity of my letters patent is affirmed by the majority of the Court, and the decision, never having been appealed against, stands as law in this colony at this moment. Should Lord Blachford either adopt the current mistake (as he already has done towards the close of his first letter), or should he altogether ignore the decision of our Supreme Court, I wish you would send to him the copy of the judgements, in which I have marked some of the more important clauses, 5, 6, 7, 8, 31, 39, to which you might draw attention, both as a son of the Bishop of Natal, and as having formerly practised at the Natal Bar, and being therefore cognisant of the proceedings in question, and express your hope that he would call attention to the fact of this judgement having been pronounced, and standing at present as law in Natal."

Dean Williams had, as we have seen, indulged the hope that the evils under which the Grahamstown diocese was suffering might be removed by the translation of Bishop Colenso from Natal. On this point the Bishop could not allow him to indulge in expectations which must be vain.

TO THE DEAN OF GRAHAMSTOWN.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *March* 19, 1883.

. . . "I must repeat what I said before, that you must really dismiss all idea of *my* going, if elected, to Grahamstown. I

am too old (in my seventieth year), and I begin to feel the infirmities of age. I am not equal to such a conflict as must be manifestly waged by any new Church of England Bishop at Grahamstown. I have my heart in the work as strongly as ever; and I should deem it a grand position to be elected to if I were ten years younger. But it would be folly for me to undertake it now, conscious as I am of failing physical powers. Nor can I even use my head as I did in the days of yore, though, thank God, I am still able to do some work with my brain, though I feel weaker on my legs.

"Dismissing, then, this idea once for all, the question remains, 'What are you to do?' There is no doubt, I imagine, that under peculiar circumstances, such as ours are, *one* Bishop can consecrate a Bishop. Thus Bingham writes, *Ant.* I. p. 48, a section about 'ordinations by one Bishop allowed to be valid, though not canonical;' and he goes on to say that 'Siderius, Bishop of Palæbisca, was ordained by one Bishop; yet Athanasius not only allowed his ordination and confirmed it, but, finding him to be a useful man, advanced him, as Synesius says, to the metropolitical see of Ptolemais. Paulinus, Bishop of Antioch, ordained Evagrius his successor, without any other Bishop to assist him.' And as the only condition which the law, as now declared by the Privy Council, would require of such a Bishop in order to his being a Bishop of the Church of England would be that he should have declared his acceptance of the laws of the Church of England, so far as applicable to the colony, 'together with the interpretations thereof declared from time to time by the Privy Council,' I presume that, on making such a declaration, a Bishop so ordained would be recognised by the law as entitled to the income provided for the Church of England Bishop in Grahamstown. Without at present committing myself to any *promise* to consecrate a Bishop for Grahamstown, should I be asked by yourself and your people, and perhaps other clergy and people, to do so (for in case of there being any probability of such a request being made to me I should wish first to consult my legal and other friends at home), I may say that I do not see at

present any sufficient reason for declining to consecrate, if you can find anyone suitable to the office and willing to be so consecrated."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *June* 11, 1883.

. . . "You must remember that our people here have to do everything for themselves—supporting ministers, building churches, &c.—getting no help from any Society, and that they were set free from the Church of South Africa before the recent judgement, which practically concerns only their *future*, in respect of the appointment of a Bishop after me, whereas it affects the *present* as well as the future of the dioceses of Capetown and Grahamstown."

The following letter is the last which relates to the subject of his life's chief work :—

TO THE REV. R. COMPTON JONES.

"*May*, 1883.

"At my time of life, and distracted as I have been from critical studies by the political events of Zululand, in which I have felt it my duty to concern myself (much against my personal wishes), I can hardly expect to be able to compose and publish another critical work, though I still take a deep interest in such labours, and at intervals, amid great interruptions, I have pursued my researches. As, however, in my published volumes I have maintained that the Elohistic narrative (Genesis i.—Exodus vi. 5) is the *oldest* portion of the Pentateuch, I wish to leave on record the fact that I have been compelled, by a thorough investigation into the linguistic evidence, to abandon this view, and to regard the Elohistic narrative as a 'deposit' of the later 'priestly stratum.' . . . But it appears to me still to stand by itself, *i.e.* broken off at Exodus vi. 5, and separated from the Exilic and post-Exilic priestly matter, and to be of older age than Ezekiel, to whom Exodus vi. 6–8 appears to be due, and perhaps even to be older than Deuteronomy, which would

account for Deuteronomy x. 22, Exodus i. 5, Jeremiah iv. 23, which seems to be a reminiscence of Genesis i. 2, Deuteronomy iv. 32; compare Genesis v. 1, &c."

In other words, the Elohistic narrative took shape at some time before the reign of Josiah, during which, if not in the reign of Manasseh, the Book of the Law, commonly known as Deuteronomy, was composed. The difference is one of detail, which does not in the least affect the main conclusions reached by the Bishop in the course of his inquiries into the origin and growth of the Pentateuch.[1]

For further researches into this ground there was to be no leisure; and there were immediate and more pressing cares which from the beginning of this year absorbed all his thoughts.

Writing on January 1, 1883, to Mr. Chesson, on the subject of Sir H. Bulwer's "settlement" of Zululand, the general features of which had been to some extent made known, the Bishop refers to the intended "reservation" of the country south of the Umhlatuzi, a district

"which may be regarded as nearly half of Zululand, and the very best part of the country now that the Boers have

[1] It may be well to mention here that Dr. Delitzsch, whose efforts to maintain the traditional notions of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch have been already noticed (I. 577, 580, 585), now in his *New Commentary on Genesis* rejects them all, pronouncing untenable his former position that the Decalogue and the Book of the Covenant were the work of Moses himself, and that the rest of the Pentateuch was put together by one of his immediate successors. He now holds that the Book of Deuteronomy, although containing some old matter, belongs, as a whole, to the reign of Hezekiah, and, in short, that the Pentateuch is a composite work, of which some part was not written for a thousand years after the supposed age of the Exodus.

It is, perhaps, still more important to mark the motive which has impelled Dr. Delitzsch to make these admissions.

"The love of truth, submission to the yoke of truth, abandonment of traditional views, which will not endure the test of truth, is a sacred duty, an element of the genuine fear of God."

got possession of the disputed territory which Sir G. Wolseley annexed to the English Transvaal, and which was subsequently made over to the Boers."

The Bishop then proceeds :—

"I need not say that the whole transaction is a breach of good faith and a disgrace to the English name, after the pledges that have been given that no part of the country should be annexed.[1] They will not, of course, use the name annexation ; but you and our friends, I hope, will not be deceived by this. —— is convinced that Sir T. Shepstone is at the bottom of the whole affair, and has all along been working *with* Sir H. Bulwer for the end now published. . . . It is possible that this mail may bring a letter from you telling us what will, or will not, be done in England to frustrate this outrageous attempt to dismember Zululand after the gracious words spoken by the Queen to Cetshwayo (as Mr. Gallwey, the Attorney-General, told me) : 'I respect you as a brave enemy, and now I trust you as a future friend.'"

In a letter dated January 9, 1883, an extract from which will be presently given, the Bishop warns his son to "look out for further trouble" if Sir H. Bulwer's plan for confiscating half Zululand should be really carried out. The partition was brought about, the troubles prophesied by the Bishop followed swiftly, and the loving fellow-workers in whose arms the Bishop breathed his last a few months later are as certain that these troubles hastened the close of his life as they are certain that they involved the death of the poor chief whose cause he had from first to last with unswerving resolution upheld.

Every phase of the conflict in which the Bishop was engaged up to his last hours on earth may be followed in the

[1] The solemn pledges repeatedly given to Cetshwayo were, it would seem, as meaningless as Lord Carnarvon's promises to the AmaHlubi tribe. In Cetshwayo's case the British Government promised that "no more country should be reserved than was necessary to enable us to fulfil our obligations to the chiefs and people unwilling" to be subjects of Cetshwayo. For Lord Carnarvon's promises, see pp. 404, 405.

pages of his *Digest*. But the officials, who succeeded in frustrating the purposes for which he had so unselfishly worked, had at their command resources which we cannot properly appreciate without reading despatches which never reached his eye. Conspicuous among these is the long despatch, dated January 6, 1886, with which Sir H. Bulwer wound up his terribly disastrous administration of the affairs of Zululand. In this despatch, which is a final defence of his own policy, he utters his last words against Cetshwayo and explicitly charges the king's "sympathisers in Natal" with having "led him fatally to his ruin." The misrepresentations and evasions in the historical sketch which is made the vehicle of this charge may be completely disproved by the help of the Bishop's *Digest* and letters. It is enough to say, however, that in this paper the Governor of Natal passes over without even the slightest allusion the following important and undisputed facts.

It is not disputed that the murderous tyranny of Hamu and Zibebu during the three years of Sir G. Wolseley's settlement had excited against them feelings of deadly hostility in the minds of powerful tribes living within and upon the borders of their territories.

It is not disputed that Zibebu had his men drilled, and an organisation more or less complete, although the condition of his appointment ran, "I will not permit the existence of any military system or organisation whatever in my territory." He was, in fact, allowed to arm and prepare his men, under Sir H. Bulwer as High Commissioner, for ten months before the restoration, whereas Cetshwayo was forbidden to establish any "military kraal or military system."

It is not disputed that Zibebu had also command of firearms and ammunition, and his men knew how to use them, while this advantage was not permitted to Cetshwayo.

But, worst of all (and this fact also is notorious), these two

chiefs were egged on and assisted by white freebooters, who, although only a handful of men, could not fail, with the help of arms of precision and horses, to render the result of the contest—in other words, the victory of their patrons—a foregone conclusion.

There remains the further fact, which Sir H. Bulwer's own emissary, Mr. H. Shepstone, acknowledges, that Zibebu's new boundaries were drawn so as to include

"not only the land occupied by him and his own people, but a large tract of land occupied by other headmen and their people, who were never subject to Zibebu, and who were required, unless they would submit to be ruled by him, to leave the country occupied by them, and which belonged to their forefathers before them."

These people were among Cetshwayo's most ardent supporters.

Sir H. Bulwer has yet to explain, moreover, how it was that, while he adopted readily any suggestion that Cetshwayo was disposed to disregard the conditions of his restoration, Zibebu was left free to act as he pleased, and was not even declared to need the restraint of a British Resident.

The following is from the pen of one who was well behind the scenes among English politicians, and never failed to express himself in studiously moderate language. The words were addressed to a correspondent in Natal :—

"There is . . . a strong feeling here about Sir H. Bulwer's re-settlement of Zululand. The Liberal party is filled with dismay at the weakness of the Government in yielding to the influence of a man who was known to be hostile to their policy. What Sir Henry Bulwer fails to understand is that, while there are a hundred questions connected with South Africa which the British public are content to leave to men like him who belong to the official class, this is a subject with regard to which the nation has developed something

like a conscience. When Parliament and the country made up their minds to restore Cetshwayo, they intended the restitution to be complete, and had not the faintest idea that Sir H. Bulwer—a man whose official career is marked with the strangest inconsistencies—would be allowed to enact a new partition of Zululand. It now remains to be seen whether public opinion or official narrowness and conceit is destined to win the day."

The following letters relate to the way in which the "restoration" was really carried out.

TO HIS SON FRANCIS.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *January* 9, 1883.

"We trust that the king has passed Durban in the *Britain*, and will reach Port Durnford this evening and land to-morrow (the white day of the new moon, whereas this is the black day). But, strange to say, though different telegrams have reported that he left Oude Molen last Thursday, January 4, and was to sail that afternoon, we have not yet heard that he has actually embarked and left Capetown, or rather, we suppose, Simon's Bay. . . . It is also rumoured (*Mercury*) that the civil and military heads of the expedition are at variance, and that a telegram from England will be needed to settle the point in dispute. However, the reports of John Dunn from Zululand state that Sir T. Shepstone himself with about 100 of the troops (450 altogether) have actually gone to Port Durnford, which they would not have done, we think, were his arrival not imminent, as the neighbourhood is said to be unhealthy for troops. We shall soon hear, I suppose, whether Sir H. Bulwer's and Lord Kimberley's attempt to confiscate the whole of Zululand south of the Umhlatuzi (more than a third of Zululand, and the best part of it now that the disputed territory has been given up to the Boers) will really be carried out—in which case, look out for future troubles."

In a letter of January 14, 1883, the Bishop speaks of the

"mystery of iniquity" which is being wrought out in Zululand, and subsequently says:—

"I now shall discharge my duty to Cetshwayo by forwarding a statement which he has desired me to send to his friends in England, that they may all know the way in which he has been treated by the authorities out here, and more especially the fact that he has been made, under pressure and menace of perpetual exile, to sign away the land of his people without their consent, which he had no right to do. No doubt he agreed when in England, that room should be found in Zululand for any Zulus that might wish to be separated from his rule. But who, and how many are they? As far as we know, no thorough inquiry has been made on this point. . . . . But it is now proposed to bring under English rule at least one-third of Zululand, . . . with the express object of providing an outlet for the (assumed) superabundance of our native population."[1]

TO HIS SON FRANCIS.

"*January* 21, 1883.

"You will see how well Dr. Seaton comes out in the reports he has made to the *Mercantile Advertiser* of Durban (and the London *Standard*). He began evidently with some prejudice against the king; . . . but he seems to have been quite overcome by the actual facts, when he had personal knowledge of Cetshwayo and of the character of his reception by the Zulus, in spite of the measures taken to prevent any warm demonstration by the Zulus on his landing."

TO F. W. CHESSON, ESQ.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *January* 21, 1883.

. . "On February 7 there is to be a grand demonstration at Durban on the occasion of laying the foundation stone of a new Town Hall . . . . it is plain to us that it is meant to

[1] The recent Report of the "Natal Native Commission," speaks very doubtfully, the Bishop adds, as to this supposed superabundance of the Natal native population.

be a political demonstration in support of Sir H. Bulwer . . . on which, however, Mr. Escombe's presence will be a damper. I shall certainly not be asked to attend; and if I were I should be obliged to decline, as I shall then be in my seventieth year, and feel myself too old for public dinners, speeches, &c. . . . .

"I have heard from a military source that part of a regiment is to be kept permanently, or at all events for a considerable time, in Zululand. It cannot be wanted for the protection of the king, and can only be meant to support the annexation. And I need hardly say that any attempt to use force to coerce the Zulus in the annexed districts either to move over the border to Cetshwayo's territory—*i.e.* lowlanders to go and live in the Highlands, forsaking their own pasture lands which they have occupied for generations—or to pay taxes to the British Government, will be attended by disastrous consequences.

"*January* 22.

"Since writing the above, Notshuke, Langalibalele's son, ... has come to say that he was called into town by Mr. Gallwey, who told him that he had seen his father at the Cape, and he was very well, 'and had he heard the rumours about his coming back? Well he was coming back—not immediately, but say after five months.' This shows what Sir H. Bulwer is doing—delaying the poor fellow's return as long as possible—of course, with reference to his own Zulu policy, when there is not the least reason in point of fact why he should not be brought back *at once.*

"I think with you that it is of the utmost importance that Cetshwayo should have always a respectable trustworthy white man at his side to conduct his correspondence with the Resident and Natal Government *in writing*, so that there may be no chance in future of his communications being misrepresented as they have been in the past. But on no account should a missionary be employed. I do not know one of them that could be trusted for such a duty. Mr. Grant would be willing to go, and would answer the purpose very well; but I fear that he would need, having

a very large family, too large an income from the king, at all events, in his present circumstances. But I shall not lose sight of the matter, and when the king next sends a messenger to me, I shall strongly advise him on the point."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *January* 22, 1883.

. . . "It is very important to notice the difference between the conditions to which Cetshwayo assented in England . . . . and those which have been enforced upon him at Capetown, the result evidently of Sir H. Bulwer's cogitations. . . .

"I may as well jot down the answers . . . . which may be made to any one who may express surprise at the Zulus not having flocked in much greater numbers to welcome their king. . . .

"(1) The time of Cetshwayo's landing (January 10) was kept a close secret from the Zulus and from the white people also . . . . to the very last.

"(2) They could not go to Port Durnford in such a state of uncertainty, where they might have had to wait days, or even weeks, without food.

"(3) They have been so often disappointed as to the time of his return that they began totally to disbelieve it.

"(4) Even we ourselves could not feel sure of it, knowing the temper of Sir H. Bulwer, and we thought it quite possible that he would contrive some pretext for putting off some months longer.

"(5) Those who did come to Port Durnford to meet the king were ordered off by the authorities, and, of course, advised others not to go.

"(6) Mr. J. Shepstone was employed in Zululand a month before Cetshwayo landed, and as he rode about with J. Dunn and slept at his house, there can be little doubt that he was during that interval busying himself in preparing the people not to go to meet the king on landing.

"(7) The people were afraid of the soldiers, who were not sent in such force *merely* as an escort."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *February* 5, 1883

. . . "No one here expects that peace can be maintained long under the absurd 'Settlement' that has been made by Sir H. Bulwer.

"I hope that you will see the report of the Cape Native Commission. It contains an examination of Cetshwayo, whose replies are admirable and give (even to us) new and most interesting information.

"Hlubi, I believe, would at once submit to Cetshwayo if our Government advised him to do so, and I shall not be surprised if Zibebu, left to himself (*i.e.* not prompted by J. Dunn, &c.), does the same. If not, war, I fear, is inevitable at no distant date."

TO COLONEL EDWARD DURNFORD.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *February* 11, 1883.

"I have read through with the greatest interest and with complete satisfaction your memoir of your brother, which must, I think, produce a profound impression in England, and especially on the minds of all honourable military men."

TO F. W. CHESSON, ESQ.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *February* 19, 1883.

"I shall send by this mail forty copies of one, or perhaps two, sheets of printed matter, viz. the story of the Zulu messengers (who went back to-day), annotated chiefly with extracts from the reports of Dr. Seaton and Carter. The latter's . . . report would be of no importance, now that we have Dr. Seaton's, were it not that the editor of the *Mercury* will no doubt have sent it on—perhaps somewhat polished and retrenched—to the London *Times*. I hope, therefore, that these sheets may enable you to understand the character of the man, and, if necessary, to correct, from Dr. Seaton's reports, any falsehoods which may be likely to take effect in England. Mr. Carter asserts in one leader, after his

return from Zululand, that Dr. Seaton is a 'personal friend of Bishop Colenso,' in order, of course, to disparage, if possible, Seaton's whole report as influenced by me. I have contradicted this statement, . . . the fact being that I know nothing whatever of Dr. Seaton, and have no recollection of having ever spoken to him or seen him in my life; though it is just possible that I *may* have met him some years ago at luncheon at a friend's house. I have also contradicted Carter's statement, as reporter and editor, that I have had a white 'emissary' present in Zululand on this occasion, and also Natal natives, 'known emissaries from Bishopstowe.'

"I inclose an important note, as I dare say that Mr. J. Robinson will try to make capital in England of the lying statement that Cetshwayo had ordered Mfanawendhlela's[1] crops to be destroyed. We hear nothing of what Mr. J. Shepstone is doing in Zululand; but I have little doubt that he has been riding about in the 'Reserve' trying to persuade men to come away from Cetshwayo under English rule, so as at least to find some excuse for Sir H. Bulwer's action in the number of *iziqele*, as the Zulus call men who withdraw from a person or party or cause to which they had been formerly attached."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *February* 27, 1883.

'I have to take a wedding in ten minutes, so must be brief and hurried. But I wished to add a few additional facts which I heard last night from ——. (I give his name as my authority; but of course you will not *publish* it.)

'(1) M. Oftebro (Carter's interpreter) is a most bitter adversary of Cetshwayo, and lost no opportunity of pointing out to Carter anything that could tell against the king.

'(2) Carter's account may be regarded as Osborn's, who coached him throughout, and is utterly opposed to Cetshwayo's restoration.

[1] One of Sir G. Wolseley's chiefs. The Bishop's conjecture was justified by the telegrams that followed in the London papers.

"(3) Zibebu was sent for by his 'whiteman' in the hope of getting up a row.

"(4) When Seaton's statement appeared, that 'from the Special Commissioner downwards every attempt was made to minimize the signs of welcome for Cetshwayo,' Sir H. Bulwer desired William Shepstone to go to the editor of the *Advertiser* and ask if he meant to include Sir T. Shepstone. . . . The editor next day said to the special correspondent, 'I inserted a leader in praise of Sir T. Shepstone to smooth matters down.'

"(5) Carter represents the feeling of the *heads* of the expedition."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *March* 6, 1883.

"I have little doubt that the setting up Zibebu is Sir H. Bulwer's own doing, whereas the 'Reserve' affair will be found to be carrying out Sir T. Shepstone's idea. That telegram is a mass of falsehoods, all drawn, however, from Carter's reports. It was really almost providential that, besides Mullins, Dr. Seaton went up for the *Standard*."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *March* 11, 1883.

. . . "I hope that you will have noticed that whereas Cetshwayo (1) has to pay £800 a-year for a 'British Resident' to be a constant check upon him, (2) is not to allow any trader in his country, unless approved by the Resident, who will probably be instructed *not* to approve of a *friendly* trader such as Mr. John Mullins, (3) may not ally himself with Swazis, Boers, &c., without leave from the Resident (*i.e.* Sir H. Bulwer), his former subject Zibebu, a 'common man,' as the Zulus call him, is left perfectly free of any check by the Resident on his proceedings, in respect of traders, or other matters, and at the meeting for the Restoration was accompanied by a troop of forty or fifty mounted men, so that the Editor of the *Times of Natal* says that Zibebu is an independent king, and Cetshwayo only a chief, in accordance,

I suspect, with the intention of Sir H. Bulwer. The whole arrangements in respect of this settlement are perfectly monstrous—hideously unjust, and utterly false to the promises made by Mr. Osborn last September. . . .

"I have strongly advised Cetshwayo to secure the services (if only for a few months) at the present crisis of a trustworthy Englishman to act as his secretary in official communications and correspondence with his friends in Natal or elsewhere. . . . I think it to be of the utmost consequence that the king should have such a secretary at his right hand just now.

"The practice of postponing month after month the trial of prisoners committed for trial before the Supreme Court (of Natal) ought, as it seems to me, to be brought to the notice of Lord Derby."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *April* 15, 1883.

"When notices of the present disturbances appear in the London *Times* from its Durban Correspondent (the editor of the *Natal Mercury*), they will be charged, I have little doubt, upon the king, as they are at this moment in the *Mercury* and *Times*, without a particle of proof. It is impossible, of course, to contradict their furious accusations until we get authentic information of what really has taken place. As I have said on former occasions, it is easy to snatch a temporary triumph by reporting hastily an erroneous or false statement from some anonymous and ill-informed correspondent; but it takes time and patience to ascertain the truth and demolish the falsehood.

"At the present moment, however, there is no evidence whatever to show that Cetshwayo has had anything to do with these disturbances. They seem to be merely the natural outcome of that most unwise portion of Sir H. Bulwer's settlement, by which he not only set up Zibebu as an independent king without even a Resident to watch or guide his doings, to be a constant source of irritation to the northern Zulus (as appears from their speeches at the

restoration), but actually extended his former territory to include the warlike tribe of Masipula[1] (Mpande's Chief Counsellor, and then, till his death in 1873, Cetshwayo's), and a large portion of Mnyamana's people, who all now find themselves put most unexpectedly under the rule of Zibebu, which they detest, being ardent supporters of the king."[2]

As the Bishop had anticipated, the London *Times* received from Durban a telegram of some length, stating that the "king's regiments" had attacked Zibebu, but that he had defeated them,

"pursuing them to the border of his district, beyond which, in pursuance of his engagements to the Government, he would not go."

This message, like many others from the same source, was a plausible one, and was designed to support the official theory, according to which Zibebu[3] was loyal and

[1] See p. 450.

[2] Masipula's tribe was put under Zibebu for the first time by Sir H. Bulwer's settlement, and the Sutu whom Zibebu had turned out of his district the previous year, and who had taken refuge and planted their crops among Masipula's people, thus found themselves brought back again under Zibebu's rule. The following confirmation (already given in part) of the Bishop's views seems wholly conclusive, coming as it does from the pen of one who was certainly no friend to the Zulu king. Mr. Henriquez Shepstone was sent by Sir H. Bulwer into Zululand at the beginning of May 1883, and wrote in one of his reports:—"I am not aware of the conditions under which the Reserve for Zibebu was made; but it strikes me that very little consideration could have been paid to the way in which the country was occupied in laying off the boundaries, as, from what I can learn, the country laid off for Zibebu includes not only the land occupied by him and his own people, but a large tract of land occupied by other headmen and their people who were never subject to Zibebu, and who are now required, unless they will submit to be ruled by him, to leave the country occupied by them, and which belonged to their forefathers before them." As to Mr. Osborn's responsibility for the adjustment of Zibebu's boundaries, see *Ruin of Zululand*, vol. ii. p. 382.

[3] See *note*, p. 580.

"amenable" throughout, while Cetshwayo was a rascal. The Bishop received at this time, from the lips of messengers whom Cetshwayo sent to him, a detailed report of the fighting, and this a colonial newspaper published. Its appearance was the signal for a column of coarse abuse, directed against both the Bishop and the king, from the pen of Mr. Carter, the editor of the *Times of Natal*, and the Bishop met the attack as follows:—

TO THE EDITOR OF THE *Natal Witness*.

"SIR,

"The *Times of Natal*, in its leader of to-day, with reference to Cetshwayo's account of the recent fighting in Zululand, published in yesterday's *Witness*, says that it has 'the best authority for announcing that it is a deliberate concoction of untruths from beginning to end.'

"On some important points, however, the king's statement has been confirmed beforehand by reports already made by correspondents of the *Times of Natal* and *Natal Mercury*.[1] Thus the *Times*' Correspondent, writing on April 9, says that the disturbance was begun by Zibebu, who 'had cut down all Ndabuko's crops and driven the people away out of his territory,' and 'afterwards, as far as I can hear, attacked and killed a lot of Mnyamana's people.' So the *Mercury's* Correspondent, on March 17, states that 'it was rumoured that Hamu and Zibebu were going to unite to attack the king.' And the *Times*' Correspondent, on March 27, says: 'The people wait anxiously to hear what Mr. J. Shepstone will have to say to the proposed offensive and defensive alliance with Zibebu and Hamu, for this matter has also been referred to him'; the reply to which proposal is not given.

"Further, the two reports of the recent proceedings which appeared last Saturday—one in the *Times* and the other in the *Mercury*—are evidently from the same writer, who

[1] Writing from Zululand itself.

identifies himself with Hamu by saying, '*We* shall take care to locate them . . . so amongst *our* people,' and speaking of '*our impi.*' And these letters teem with evidence that Zibebu has been 'in conjunction with Hamu attacking Cetshwayo in his own country;' which the *Mercury* doubts, since such an act 'would prejudice him seriously in the eyes of the Imperial Government;' while the *Times* says: 'We believe that Zibebu will commit no such suicidal act as that of making an aggressive movement against Cetshwayo.'

"The *Times*' Correspondent, April 9, states that Mr. J. Shepstone had replied to an application from Hlubi about making an alliance with Zibebu, that 'he was not at liberty to form an engagement to fight outside his own district.' And it must be presumed that Mr. Shepstone, in like manner, instructed Zibebu not to form an alliance with the king's rebellious subject Hamu, and on no account to attack Cetshwayo, or invade his territory. Instead of this, we find that Zibebu did ally himself with Hamu; that, immediately after the return of his brother Fada and Hamu's messengers from Mr. Shepstone, Zibebu attacked Cetshwayo by cutting down his brother's crops within his (the king's) territory; that on the day of the fight Zibebu's brother went (with young Mr. Eckersley) to Hamu, and stirred him to action, whose *impis*, either separately or united with Zibebu's, have ravaged the king's land nearly up to the Inhlazatshe [a mountain]. Such proceedings must have been in direct defiance of such orders, as above, of the High Commissioner, presumably delivered by Mr. Shepstone, and would show that Zibebu was an utterly unfit person to have been set up as an independent chief on the king's borders. In fact, his conduct could only be excused if he had received no such orders, but, on the contrary, had received authority from Mr. Shepstone for what he has done."

The following is extracted from a letter written to the Bishop by William Ngidi ("the intelligent Zulu"):—

"UMSINGA, *April* 15, 1883.

'I hear many bad reports from Zululand. It is said that there has been terrible fighting there. But what is true is that Cetshwayo has nothing to do with the *impi*. . . . There is much about which I could write to you, but I omit it because it does not run on all fours. But of this be sure, that the source and spring of all this that you hear of, and of all this which is being done, is that which I have mentioned; you will not find any other whatever. That kind of action is what we call 'knocking people's heads together.' He is knocking their heads together, setting them across with each other that they may dislike one another, and then he may enter in among them and make an end of them. . . . I quite hope that now you know that the Zulus are set at loggerheads by the cunning of white men, who want to eat up their land. My heart is very full of grief, I cannot find words to express it, for this splendid old Zulu people."

It would be impossible for any to say that the conduct of the English Government towards the Zulu chief at this time was straightforward and ingenuous. It had not been so before the days of Isandhlwana and Ulundi; and it is not easy to see that there had been any real improvement since that terrible time. The so-called restoration of Cetshwayo had been made the excuse for a series of intrigues, evasions, tricks, and downright wrongs, inflicted in a way which could not fail to irritate most sorely a high-spirited and imperfectly educated race. It was practically impossible to see what good ends the English rulers could hope to gain with their tortuous policy; and the only man whose counsels, if followed, would have avoided or averted all the disasters of the recent years was charged with attempting to set up a quasi-authoritative power in opposition to the Government, and with doing his best to hinder the public good. On the other hand, if Cetshwayo could not have access to this one man, he was cut off from all hope; and

there seemed to be little doubt that there was a set scheme for depriving him of such access. The messengers who arrived on April 7 had been three weeks on the road ; and these men confirmed the fact that an armed watch was kept along the Umhlatuzi river to stop any passing to or from the king without permission from the Resident. It could not therefore be said either that Cetshwayo was a free man, or that our relations with him were those of peace. Meanwhile it was said that the reserved portion of the land was intended largely for *Natal* natives, some of whom had come in as refugees in Mpande's time.

TO F. W. CHESSON, ESQ.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *April* 24, 1883.

"Of course, this would be very good if the Reserve was scantily populated. But the contrary is the case, as Cetshwayo says 'there are more real Zulus living along the borders of John Dunn's country than are living elsewhere in Zululand. That is the best piece of the country. The original Zulus live along here.' Accordingly we find a number of powerful chiefs in this district expressing the warmest attachment to the king. Is the attempt to be made to crowd a number of Natal natives among these old inhabitants? And will they not inevitably quarrel with the new comers, and fight for their rich pasture and mealie grounds until subjected by some dragooning process and compelled to pay taxes to the British Government, . . . or else, by the same process, driven across the Umhlatuzi to fill to repletion Cetshwayo's diminished territory—just *one-half* of the territories held by him before the war, instead of the greater part of them, as the Queen's speech states . . . or else find refuge in his 'uninhabited' and uninhabitable swamps, twenty miles long by ten miles broad?"

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *April* 28, 1883.

"At last we are enabled to send important information as to the state of things in Zululand, furnished by the king himself

through a messenger who managed to come down by a different route from that usually taken by messengers sent to Bishopstowe, and thus escaped Mr. John Shepstone's policemen . . . [The message thus brought] is a very satisfactory statement, which enables us to roll back the mass of lying abuse which during the last three weeks has been poured upon the head of the poor king by the Government organs incessantly, . . . and so violently that it is clearly the policy of the Government to let Cetshwayo's name be blackened as much as possible as the breaker of promises, the 'raiser of dust,' &c., before any correction can arrive from his friends, who must spend time and labour in demolishing falsehoods which can be propagated by his foes without check from a sensitive conscience,[1] and based upon the first scrap of rumour sent to them by worthless white men, perhaps interested, and certainly hostile to the king. . . . This evening another letter has reached me from Cetshwayo—a very piteous one, as you will see. . . . It is clear that Zibebu's and Hamu's *impis* have gone ravaging into the very midst of his territory, while he, poor fellow, considers himself bound by his promises to keep himself quiet and not to send an *impi* against them. . . As you see, the king says, 'Give me back the land to the south of the Umhlatuzi, and all will come right.' It is there, in fact, that a great part of his strength lies, with which he must support his position.

"Sir T. Shepstone is evidently sent to England by Sir H. Bulwer to urge the annexation of *all Zululand*, in which I should think he will utterly fail with the present or any other Government. But you remember that he had the ear of Lord Carnarvon when I was in England about Langalibalele, who remains, of course, a prisoner still, in spite of all the hopes held out to him. But if the country is *not* annexed, the only remedy is to put the Reserve back under Cetshwayo, when he will be strong enough to keep his own; and though I am confident that he will have no wish to retaliate, the present actions of Zibebu and Hamu must leave them, I should say, out of consideration in this respect."

[1] See p. 610.

The following extracts are taken from a letter addressed by Cetshwayo to the Bishop, February 26, 1883 :—

"I am writing to you to tell you of my kingdom and how it is ruined. I do not see that I am set free unto this day. For my people lament greatly. They say that those across the Umhlatuzi are being persecuted on account of their having come to me.

"Another thing which is a great trouble to me is that I see nothing of my cattle, which are in the hands of those who took them. I am destitute. We are eating nothing, and my only hope is in you, that you will make an effort for me, that I may recover my cattle. You alone are my father in whom I trust to help me. You see all this which I am saying to you ; I say it to you privately (in a whisper only), that you may be able to help me, speaking for me to the authorities concerning my cattle and the country. For all the people wish for me ; but I have no space in which to put them.

"Again, when Sir Th. Shepstone laid down the laws he told the Zulus to set up for me temporary huts. But Mr. John Shepstone is fining them for this, saying where they have been delaying, and that they defy him. . . . The thing that I have to tell you particularly is this, that certain of my people living on the south side of the Umhlatuze have been hurt (bodily) by Mr. J. Shepstone's policemen. . . . There is no happiness for me in this state of things, none whatever ; . . . even at night I get no sleep for it. . . . I do not believe that any native has been harassed as I am. . . .

"I shall rejoice greatly if you can help me in this matter. This letter which I write to you, let it be for your knowledge and for mine only. And now I greet you much and your family.

"*A Postscript.*—My father, here is another affair. The people are stabbing one another with assegais again as they did before. Hamu sent out his *impi ;* it killed among the AbaQulusi. There died the induna Nozitshada, and

three lads, together with two women. There are also two wounded. Their huts also were burnt. I do not know how many have been burnt in their huts. I tell you of this at once, because I know that it will be said presently that this is my doing, whereas I have nothing to do with the ruin of the country."

The following letter shows still more vividly the state of dire perplexity to which, in spite of agreements solemnly made in London, the Zulu king was reduced :—

FROM CETSHWAYO TO THE BISHOP OF NATAL.

"*March* 16, 1883.

"I am at a loss to know where to put the Zulu people, and I am at my wits' end. My trouble is greater than that which I felt when imprisoned. I might say that I was better off when I was in bondage than now. And I complain greatly of Mr. John Shepstone. All this trouble is brought about by him. But I ask now, such a law as this, is it an English law? Did it come from over the sea? Has ever a thing been done among yourselves such as this which is done to me? To me it seems as if I were out on the hillside. It is as it was before ; for then he would not agree that I should be brought back, and now he is eating me up in the dark by stealth. . . . Ask for me, I pray, the country in which I am to live—where is it? For my people are wandering about (homeless) with me. They are homeless, and why? Because, whereas it was said that they do not wish for me, they are now without a place to live in through wishing for me. What now is the meaning of this? Speak for me according as you see it, and inform those who are with you over the sea that I am digging up roots by the river,[1] while my cattle are with John Dunn. I am not asking for those which were taken in the war time. No! I mean those taken afterwards from the people in Zululand. And I say that I cannot be at all satisfied, and the Zulu people too cannot be satisfied with this law which has been made by Mr. John Shepstone."

[1] Meaning that they have no food.

FROM CETSHWAYO TO THE BISHOP OF NATAL.

"*April* 6, 1883.

. . . "I should say, to begin with, that Fada (Zibebu's brother) went to Mr. J. Shepstone to ask to be allowed to make an attack upon me (*i.e.* on my people), and verily he gave them leave. And on Fada's return to Zibebu they set out and attacked my people. A messenger came to tell them, while these were here with me, that Zibebu's *impi* was at their homes and cutting down their crops. I told them that they should let things be, to make it plain that it is Zibebu who is the raiser of dust. They refused, saying that they were going to see for themselves after their crops. I forbade it, and afterwards I sent to Mr. Fynn to report to him that the people were going; and he made no reply to me, till the people went off at night without my knowledge. Next morning I sent again to tell him 'the people are gone: let us send people after them, some of his and some of mine.' He refused, saying that he had no one to send. So then I sent my own messengers to call them back from fighting. When they arrived, they found the fight going on, and Zibebu slaughtering them.

"Now I say that all this destruction of the country is the work of Mr. John Shepstone, the result of Fada's going to him. Also Hamu has been at it again, and has killed three people. This, too, I reported to Mr. Fynn, who sent his own man, Gabajana, to Hamu to stop him. Gabajana says that he found there with Hamu Fada, Zibebu's brother, and Zibebu's whiteman, who had also taken part in the fight on Zibebu's side. I see, therefore, that Hamu is in alliance with Zibebu. But, nevertheless, I keep quiet. Yet I know that presently it will be said to be my doing, whereas they are set on to fight by Mr. John Shepstone, both Hamu and Zibebu. . . . It is he who gives them authority to fight with me; it is he who arms them with boldness to attack me. I pray you by all your help to me hitherto and by the kindness of your heart towards me, that you would help me now and send all these words of mine

across the sea to Mr. Gladstone and to Lord Kimberley, and to him who has entered on Lord Kimberley's office. And let the Parliament[1] know, and let the Queen herself be told that she may interfere to protect me in this misery in which I am."

[1] There were some members of that Parliament who, if we are to credit the following report, which appeared in the *Times* of April 25, 1883, derived a good deal of amusement from the account given by the Colonial Office of Cetshwayo's troubles :—

"Mr. Algernon Egerton asked the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the Government had received any confirmation of the report that there had recently been severe fighting between the troops (!) of Cetshwayo and those of some of the chiefs in the reserved territories.

"Mr. Ashley.—The news we have received is to the effect that the Usutu party—that is to say, the young and violent section of Cetshwayo's followers—made an attack upon Zibebu on his own territory, in the north-eastern corner of Zululand. Cetshwayo professes that it was done without his knowledge, but I doubt very much whether this is the truth. (Laughter.) The House may remember that when this chief, Zibebu, was for various cogent reasons left in possession of the territory over which he had been the appointed chief, it was understood that he was both able and willing to hold his own ; and this turns out to be the case, because this attack of the Usutus has been most successfully repelled, and I hope that their defeat may be a lesson to them. ('Hear, hear,' and laughter.)

"Lord R. Churchill asked if the attention of the Under-Secretary had been drawn to a telegram from a correspondent of the *Daily News*, who was usually well informed, to the effect that Zibebu had attacked Cetshwayo.

"Mr. Ashley.—I am glad that the noble lord has given me the opportunity of saying that the correspondent in question is never well informed. (Laughter.) He acts as special correspondent to the *Daily News* . . . and it has been his practice for a long time to telegraph false news. (Laughter.)" [The Bishop characterised this statement as "monstrous."]

The news of Cetshwayo's escape a few months later seems to have been received in the same spirit :—

"Mr. R. Yorke.—Can the Under-Secretary for the Colonies say whether Cetshwayo is dead or alive?

"Mr. Ashley.—Yes, sir ; we have received a telegram this afternoon from Sir H. Bulwer. He says :—'Osborn has received information that Cetshwayo is now in the Reserve. (Loud laughter.) A reliable witness says he has seen him alive.' I think we may argue from that that Cetshwayo is still with us. (Laughter.)"—*Daily News*, August 10, 1883.

On April 16 and again on April 27 and on other days, Cetshwayo wrote in the same strain. The letters may be monotonous; but they exhibit a state of anarchy over which the Zulu king was allowed no control. It had been brought about, and it was beyond all doubt deliberately maintained, by Englishmen who were pledged by the word of their Sovereign to protect and strengthen him. It was manifest in fact to the Bishop, and to many others on the spot, even to Cetshwayo's foes, that the smallest show of moral support on the part of the officials by whom he was surrounded would have rendered the king's restoration an unmistakeable success. It was made equally clear to all, including the several parties in Zululand, that the destinies of the king, his family, and adherents, were in the hands of officials, who, in furtherance of their special policy, were bent upon his discomfiture and upon the triumph of those opposed to him. To Cetshwayo's letters the Bishop sent the following reply:—

TO THE ZULU KING.

"EKUKANYENI, *April* 29, 1883.

"We have received all your letters and messages, and have sent them all on to England as you have asked us to do.

"You may rest sure that we shall always report at once all that we can hear of truth, both about you and about Hamu and Zibebu, if the latter is still alive.

"You do right to tell Mr. Fynn all this matter, and to listen to his words. We still think that he is true, and that he is your friend, and doing what he can to help you.

"There is nothing wrong in your calling the people in your own territory to protect you. Speak to Mr. Fynn about this also.

"Somtseu said that all who wished to be under you are permitted to come over from the Reserve to live in your land, and bring their property with them.

"Please to remember us kindly to Ndabuko and to Mnyamana

and to Shingana and our other friends. We, too, like you, are at our wits' end on account of this trouble of yours and of the Zulu people.

"SOBANTU."

Once again Cetshwayo was powerful for mischief, had he chosen to use his strength. Zibebu was not, as it was supposed, dead. But in spite of border police, police-guards, beatings and confiscations, the fighting men from the Reserve came to protect the Zulu king from a mixed attack by Hamu's and Zibebu's men led by *white freebooters*. But of Hamu's force one half deserted to Cetshwayo, and Hamu himself was compelled to seek shelter or a hiding-place in the bush, as his own men had blocked his escape to his caves. The whole of Zululand was in Cetshwayo's power. But even now he stood firmly to his promises in a manner which would have been admirable in the most civilised and Christian ruler.

TO HIS SON FRANCIS.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *April* 24, 1883.

"Do not believe any *Mercury* telegrams in the English *Times* about the fighting with Zibebu. We know nothing for certain up to this moment. But we *believe* that Cetshwayo has not been concerned in the matter—that Zibebu has been the aggressor—and that Zibebu has been killed. Of course, the Government knows all about it; but they keep the affair to themselves. Still their very secrecy implies that they have had news. I believe that Sir H. Bulwer has prevented any information reaching me for the last three weeks. But I may be mistaken: we shall know this certainly in a day or two."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *May* 6, 1883.

. . . "The best thing of all is that the king is adhering nobly to his promises, in spite of the persistent lying of the

Government organs. Zibebu began the recent disturbance, and as you will see by the sheets the king did his best to stop it; but Ndabuko, &c., when they saw their crops cut down by Zibebu, would no longer be held in."[1]

To F. W. Chesson, Esq.

"Bishopstowe, *May* 7, 1883.

"Last Thursday, at only two hours' notice, Henriquez Shepstone was sent off to Zululand. . . . That he went on no friendly mission to the king may be gathered from the fact that before he left Maritzburg he told Statham that Cetshwayo's account of recent proceedings, as published in the *Witness*, was a 'lot of —— lies,' and said that 'if Cetshwayo does not mind what he is about, he'll get an assegai into him one of these days.' . . . I am in my own mind convinced that John Shepstone has been at the bottom of all the late disturbances. . . . I believe that Cetshwayo is in no danger now from an open attack, since a great number of men have gone up from the Reserve to protect him; but they must be on the watch, or he may still be assassinated. . . . Hamu is a fugitive, . . . and will probably be killed before long. I have no doubt that Cetshwayo would wish his life to be spared. But how can he possibly, at such a time as this, hold in his people, furious at the wrongs just received at Hamu's hands? If this is true about Hamu and Zibebu, there will be an end, I trust, of fighting on this north-east portion of Zululand, provided no attempt is made by Sir H. Bulwer to set up in Zibebu's place one of his brothers hostile to Cetshwayo. . . .

"Mr. Grant writes that he hopes to start (with two European companions) some day this week for Zululand. I wish that he had gone two months ago.

[1] Although the tidings of Zibebu's death, reported in the first instance by the Natal papers, and not by the Bishop, turned out to be mistaken, he disappeared for some time from the scene; some of his wives actually returning to their fathers' homes as widows, under the assurance that he had been killed.

"I cannot say that I have more confidence than yourself in Mr. Escombe's scheme of members of the Legislative Council being nominated by the Government to protect the natives. . . . I have had to advance Mr. Grant £50 for his expenses, which *perhaps* the king may be able some day to repay."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *May* 14, 1883.

. . . "We *hear* that Mr. Osborn himself complains that Mr. John [Shepstone] has . . . [represented] the feeling of most of the Reserve people as hostile to Cetshwayo, whereas he found it strongly—indeed, almost unanimously—with him. In short, Sir H. Bulwer has made . . . a complete mess of the whole affair, Cetshwayo's friends being overwhelmingly strong in that very district (the Reserve) in which he would insist on looking at him through a pair of green spectacles, and pronouncing their protestations of attachment to the king to be merely ebullitions of temporary feeling called out by intrigues fostered from Bishopstowe. . . . I leave you to imagine what will take place next month (June) when taxes (14*s.* a hut) are to be collected from these people."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *May* 28, 1883.

"Please notice what is said on p. 560, and also in the printed matter sent by this mail, about the supplies of ammunition which Zibebu has received—J. Colenbrander (Statham tells me) had received 1,000 rounds before further supply to him was stopped;—about white men joining Zibebu, as two of Zibebu's white men and seven of John Dunn's fought in the first great fight of March 30; of Zibebu 'mounting and arming' his men, while the poor king is bound hand and foot by his promises, and Mr. H. Shepstone tells him, in effect, to sit still and be stabbed! which would be very convenient, no doubt, for Sir H. Bulwer and Mr. John [Shepstone]."

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *May* —, 1883.

"I have heard something within the last day or two . . . which makes me suspect that in the next Blue-book Sir H. Bulwer will be found to have stated, in order to disparage my evidence on Zulu matters, that Mr. J. Mullins is my constant correspondent, and that from him I derived my first information about Mr. J. Shepstone and his men beating the Zulus.

"I wish you to be in the position, if anything of this kind is said, to be able to give it a flat contradiction. I have had no communication whatever with Mr. Mullins—though of course I should have been glad to receive any from one so well acquainted with Zulu affairs—since he came down after the Restoration, when I met him accidentally in town on February 1. If Mr. Vijn ['Cetshwayo's Dutchman'] should be named as another of my 'emissaries,' I have had no communication with him since he wrote to me, before the king's return, to ask if I would say a good word for him to Cetshwayo, to favour him as a trader, as he feared that his prospects may have been injured by the part he took in the king's capture—which I positively refused to do."

TO HIS SON FRANCIS.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *May* 29, 1883.

"To-day we received S——'s note, with a copy of your letter to Lord Derby, which I thoroughly approve except the praises of myself and my doings. As it is possible that Lord Derby, finding no record of the matter in the Colonial Office, may ask for your authority as to the Queen having 'thanked' me with reference to my action in the affairs of Langalibalele,[1] I may as well tell you what really happened (as I have no doubt told you at the time) in London.

"Dean Stanley informed me one day—I think in December 1874, when I took leave of him and Lady Augusta—tha

[1] See p. 393.

'Her Majesty had desired' him to express her approval of my action in the matter of Langalibalele.' This was, of course, after the Secretary of State, Lord Carnarvon, had communicated to me, on December 2, the decision of the Government."

"I ought at this very moment to be on my legs returning thanks for 'The Clergy of all Denominations' at the Mayor's dinner, upon the re-opening of the Town Council Chamber, which has been enlarged, &c. But I declined the invitation, partly because my 'legs' are not as strong nor my voice as clear, as in the days gone by; but also because I was afraid that there might be some disturbance made in the presence of the Governor, which would not have been desirable.

'As to Sir H. Bulwer and Mr. John Shepstone, the *Times* of May 1, which Mr. Chesson has sent to me with Mr. Ashley's reply quoting Sir H. Bulwer's denial of the 'beating,' shows that they have delivered themselves into our hands. You will see by the printed sheets we have sent that the evidence against them is overwhelming. The idea of Mr. J. Shepstone's 'interposing to stop a fight between two factions,' when the only parties concerned were, on one side, himself and his police, and, on the other, the Zulus, who were all of one mind!"

TO THE SAME.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *June* 11, 1883.

"I had not the least idea of Mr. C——'s feelings as regards either myself or the natives. If he saw my six printing boys at work he might modify his views a little as to the laziness of our natives. And among the white people he would find, on closer acquaintance, a good number who are not "scoundrels," and do not regard the natives as mere animals.

"Sir H. Bulwer has got himself into such a predicament by denying utterly the truth of Statham's statements that an independent inquiry must, I think, be ordered into the state of things in Zululand. . . . I met yesterday, in town, Mr.

Dakker, who lives, I think, in the disputed territory, who told Mr. Egner in Dutch (which Mr. Egner interpreted to me) that he left his home on May 28, bringing therefore the latest intelligence from those parts—that the Zulus (all except Hamu's people) say that Zibebu is dead—that all his native tenants, and almost all those of his neighbours, have gone off to fight for Cetshwayo—that Mnyamana's *impi* has shut up Hamu in his cave and surrounded Hamu's force, and that much more blood will be shed before long. Possibly Cetshwayo and Mr. Grant may not wish to send a message until they can report something decisive about Hamu and his *impi*. Or may their messengers have been intercepted and stopped or sent back, as Hozana undoubtedly would have been, if J. Shepstone's policemen had fallen in with them? However, we must wait a few days longer, before coming to any conclusion on this point."

TO F. W. CHESSON, ESQ.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *June* 15, 1883.

"I have just received yours of May 17. I hope that the letters and printed pages which will have reached you shortly after you wrote that letter will have long ago relieved your anxiety on several points, *e.g.* they will have satisfied you, I think, (1) that Cetshwayo has had nothing whatever to do with the first or with the second fighting, (2) that the disaster in respect of the second has been enormously exaggerated by the editor of the *Mercury*, the Durban Correspondent of the London *Times*, who telegraphs that 'Cetshwayo lost 6,000 men,' (though he judiciously admits that 'Cetshwayo's loss is possibly overstated'). The *Advertiser*, in its account of an interview with a white man just arrived from Zululand, reports him as saying that the *Mercury's* Zulu news affords 'both amusement and annoyance' to its white readers in Zululand—'the first because of the *utterly absurd rumours* that it gives about Zululand, and the latter because old correspondents and subscribers to the *Mercury* do not like to see their old friend so com-

pletely at sea as to the real facts of the case.' And these 'utterly absurd rumours' have been, ever since the Restoration, forwarded as 'true facts' by the editor of the *Mercury* to the London *Times*. . . . But the above losses no more suffice to show that the king's forces are inferior to those of Hamu and Zibebu joined together than the loss at Isandhlwana followed by that at the Intombe demonstrated the inferiority of the British army compared with the whole Zulu *impi*."

This was the last letter which the Bishop was to write to Mr. Chesson. In his efforts to get justice done to a miserably ill-used man and a grossly injured people his zeal and energy were in no way abated. He was as ready as he had ever been to spend and to be spent in promoting the cause of truth and righteousness; but his bodily vigour was impaired to a far greater degree than was at all realised by himself, or even, perhaps, by any others. A gleam of hope seemed for the moment to rest on the prospects of the unfortunate king who had found in Sobantu almost his only earthly helper. Mr. Grant had reached his kraal, had received from him the warmest welcome, and had been assured of his power to maintain peace and order in his country as well as to resist any force that might be brought against him. A few days later the Bishop's eldest daughter, Harriette, throughout many years, and more particularly since the troubles of 1873, his most devoted assistant, of whose zeal and judgement he had often spoken with just pride, had to send to Mr. Chesson the tidings that her father's work on earth was done. In a letter written June 24, the latter pages of which are devoted to details of Zulu affairs, taken up bravely where her father left them, she says:—

"I am sending you some Natal papers with many particulars, and I will tell you a little myself. On Thursday week he

was particularly bright and seemed well, went into town and attended to his Church business, . . . and I think that that was the day on which he wrote his last letter to you, though the mail was not to leave this till the Sunday night. . . . At any rate, by Sunday he was too unwell to write, and we sent for the doctor. He got weaker and weaker, but still took an eager interest in his work, dictating to me notes to be inserted in the printed sheets, and asking for the news from the daily papers, though on the Tuesday he said he did not care to hear the leaders in the *Times* and *Mercury* full of abuse. On the Tuesday night he wandered slightly in his mind, or rather spoke half asleep, recovering himself always after a few minutes. He often fancied we were doing up the mail, and asked if I had copied this or that thing for Mr. Chesson, or that he was speaking with Mr. —— or Mr. ——; but our voices would always recall him if we tried to answer him. When my brother came up from Durban the next morning, his father was quite conscious and glad to see him; but his speech was then failing, and indeed all that morning he was just fading away from us. The end came very peacefully just before 2 P.M." [on June 20].

His son, Dr. Colenso, who reached Bishopstowe from Durban on the morning of the day during which the Bishop died, writes:—

"Last week, whilst he was in Durban, I learnt from a chance remark, and then from a return of an old lumbago pain and a quickening of the pulse, that my father was unwell, and found him suffering from an attack of remittent fever, which, from his habit of endurance and uncomplaining nature, would otherwise have escaped my notice. I treated him for it, but could not persuade him to remain in Durban, and thereupon sent a message to Bishopstowe that he was to take quinine until quite strong. It appears now that he had been suffering from a rapid pulse, and therefore probably

from fever, for some two or three weeks. On Tuesday, hearing that Dr. Scott had been called in attendance, I sent a telegram to him inquiring how my father was. His answer that the weakness was increasing alarmed me, and determined me to start by the next train. It was the first intelligence I had that he was seriously ill. I left by the 2.10 A.M. train, June 20, with the worst forebodings, receiving before I started another telegram in answer to mine, which contained no better news, but requested my attendance. On arriving, I learnt that my father had been taken ill on Friday, after having been in the gayest of spirits the previous evening. I found that Dr. Scott had seen him on Monday and Tuesday. I found him very weak, with no fever, and sleeping a good deal. He knew me, and spoke to me at once, rousing up and desiring that everything should be told to me. All that could be done by us to combat the extreme weakness and prostration was done, and at about noon Dr. Scott arrived. He pronounced his pulse to be better, but his general condition worse. It must, indeed, have been much worse, for on the previous day he had insisted on dressing and walking into the study, and had the newspaper read to him, whereas when I came he was so weak that he could hardly sit up with our arms around him. Shortly after Dr. Scott left he became suddenly worse, and at about 1.42 P.M. he gradually and peacefully passed away, preserving to the last an unclouded mind, and recognising and speaking to us, and although his speech became more and more difficult and indistinct it was perfectly coherent to the last. Up to the end his brain was busy with his work, political and religious; and it was only during Tuesday night that, owing probably to a narcotic he took, he was at all troubled with delusions (occasional wanderings, of which, between whiles, he was aware)."

The perfect quietness of these last hours is only what we might look for in the closing scenes of such a life as his. Mrs. Colenso writes:—

TO THE REV. SIR G. W. COX.

"I cannot tell you of any parting words. Only the day before did I and Harrie [Harriette] know there was imminent danger. The last night he wandered very much in his mind, kept addressing people who were not there, sometimes talking about a successor for Dr. R——, sometimes about some 'papers to be sent to ——' on Zulu matters. I do not think his mind was dwelling on his own prospects. He said to me the last time he got into his study, 'I should be so glad of a little rest.' I thought at the time he alluded to his two or three sleepless nights. Now I think it meant more. I cannot regret that we were not more alive to the situation these last few days. It would (it might) have distressed him, and what did he want with death-bed scenes, who was worn out in God's service? Rest was his great need."

His second daughter, Frances, who had been staying with her brother, Dr. R. J. Colenso, at Durban, hurried upon hearing of her father's increasing weakness, but arrived too late. As the Bishop returned from Durban she had passed him in the train, interchanging necessarily a passing greeting only; but before he left Bishopstowe to visit his son he had, in his last conversation with her, suggested that she should write a "sort of sequel" to her *History of the Zulu War*, relating all that had happened since. With what utter unselfishness he had acted throughout the long series of events marking the recent history of British rule in Southern Africa she was indeed aware. Writing to Mr. Chesson, June 30, she said:—

"He died for the cause in which he has fought so long, the cause of justice, truth, and mercy, for truly it was the overwork in that cause, and the sorrow of seeing it still trampled under foot, that wore away his strength and took him from us. But I believe myself that he was victorious in death

and that the good he sought to accomplish will now be brought to pass, because he has died for it, sooner than he could have accomplished it living."

The sequel of which the Bishop spoke was given to the world a year later. Some of it had been already written, according to his desire; and the volumes on *The Ruin of Zululand* remain to tell a miserable tale of national wrongdoing. They are her last earthly work. Battling bravely to the very last moment with the disease which was consuming her strength, Frances Colenso has passed away, leaving behind her the remembrance of her indomitable bravery and unswerving truth. It is well to know how she expressed her thoughts of her father. Her judgement is summed up in a few words:—

"My father's interest in the Zulu question sprang from higher motives than even patriotism and a regard for his country's name and honour. His mission in the world was to follow in the steps of his Master, and to labour for the truth and for humanity, wherever he saw the need arise. Circumstances only made him the special champion of the African races. Wherever it had pleased Providence to place him, there he would have fought the same good fight—there he would have laboured, and would have died, as truly he now has died, for the truth against all falsehood, for justice against tyranny, for pity and mercy against cruelty and revenge."[1]

So ended the earthly journey of one whom the friend who of all men should have known him best denounced as maintaining the accursed doctrine that God has nothing to do with nations or politics.[2] Had Mr. Maurice been spared to see the latter portion of the Bishop's career, he would have learnt a wholesome lesson indeed; and it is quite certain that he would have looked upon it with thankful and hearty rejoicing. Elsewhere we have had utterances of opinions of a very different sort. It has been taken for granted in some

[1] *Ruin of Zululand*, preface, vol. i. p. 7.

[2] See Vol. I. p. 208.

quarters that of the work undertaken by the Bishop in behalf of the native chiefs and their tribes the disapproval of the colonists generally furnishes a sufficient condemnation. They must, it has been said, know their own interests; and in all cases affecting these interests *Vox populi vox Dei.* Even if there were no dissentients the assertion must be questioned; but the agreement of the colonists never was so complete as it has been supposed to be. In all the proceedings of the Bishop there is virtually one contention only—that the Zulu chief and his people had not been treated with justice by the British Government. Writing, July 28, 1883, shortly after the Bishop's death, Mr. W. Grant says:—

"Our treatment of that people has indeed been cruel and disgraceful, the last act crowning all others. I do trust that all those who advocated the restoration of Cetshwayo will insist upon a full inquiry into the treatment to which he has been subjected since his return, and terminating in his death and the slaughter of his family. I have not yet received direct messages, which I am sure to, but it appears that the published accounts are fairly correct."[1]

We have also seen that, in the sad series of events about which he had spoken most warmly, the Bishop had never thrown any severe blame on the general body of the colonists. He had spoken of them as misled by those who should have been their guides, but he had never regarded them as animated by deliberately wrongful purposes in their dealing with the natives. His removal from the scene of his long toil seemed at once to reawaken in the colonists generally the consciousness of this fact.[2] The truth is that few, if any, even of those who opposed him most, could in their hearts deny his transparent honesty, and that he acted as he acted solely

[1] Mr. Grant was mistaken—Cetshwayo was not killed, but he was wounded, and some of his family were killed.

[2] See p. 532.

from the desire that even-handed justice should be dealt out to all. It was this quality which pre-eminently impressed the natives who were brought in contact with him, or who felt the effects of his beneficence.

"The thing," they said, "which we admired in Sobantu was that he resisted all attempts at deceiving (imposing on, or betraying) other people. He resisted everything of this sort, and for this we all admired him greatly."

These words, spoken by Cetshwayo's brother in Zululand in 1883, were written down by a half-civilised native, and sent without any correction by Europeans to Miss Colenso. It might have been supposed that the Zulus would have dwelt most on his labours in their behalf; but they are impressed almost exclusively by his love of truth and his impartial effort that right should be done to all.

The following letter is copied from the *Brighton Herald*, in which it was published in August 1883, with the statement that it had been sent from Pietermaritzburg to his friends in Brighton by the Rev. Walter Witten, son of Mr. E. W. Witten, medical missionary of that town. After describing the course of the Bishop's illness, Mr. Witten wrote :—

"On Wednesday afternoon, I met Moses, Mubi, and several other Kafirs from the station. They said to me, 'Is there any other man that will care for us natives as the Bishop has?' 'No,' I said, 'there is not such another man living as the Bishop; he is the grandest, truest man that ever lived.' I could not speak more, and the poor fellows groaned and turned away.

"The last time the Bishop spoke to me, about a fortnight ago, was to offer me a kindness. I was walking out to Bishopstowe with my things, and the Bishop saw me and pulled up his carriage and told me to put my things in and get in myself. I thanked his lordship, but did not accept his kind offer, as I wanted to call at several places in

Maritzburg. Had I only known it was my last opportunity of talking with the Bishop, how gladly and eagerly would I have seized it. This morning the natives came trooping into the station from all round, and, about eleven o'clock, Miss Colenso came out with her brother, Dr. Colenso, and spoke to them. She was very brave, and bore up wonderfully; but it was a trying scene. I shall never forget it. All the natives wept bitterly. She came into the chapel, where we were standing, before she addressed the natives, and shook hands with us, as also did Dr. Colenso.

"Yesterday (Friday) we buried the Bishop, not in the cemetery, but in the Cathedral, within the altar rails, in front of the altar. The whole Cathedral was draped in black. Not a spot was uncovered, except the windows and memorial tablets on the walls. Flags were hoisted half-mast high all over the town, and every man, woman, and child in Maritzburg was in deep mourning. The body was brought in from Bishopstowe on a gun-carriage, with an escort of Royal Artillery and soldiers, and an immense number of carriages. At the entrance to the town we all put on our surplices and stoles, and headed the procession up the streets. There were only six of the Bishop's clergy present. Then came the Artillery with the body, and then a carriage with Dr. and Miss Colenso inside, and after that all the other people in carriages and on foot. The streets were packed with people, all in mourning. Such a sight I have never seen: there are grander spectacles in England, no doubt; but I have never before seen all the people of a city moved to tears as on this occasion. At the Cathedral the choir met us, also in mourning, and led the way to the altar. Each clergyman read a part of the service. . . . The Bishop's two favourite hymns were sung during the service,

"'O God! our help in ages past,'

And

"'Through all the changing scenes of life.'

At this part of the service there was not a tearless eye in the Cathedral; men and women alike wept freely. . . .

"When a man can inspire such personal love and attachment in the hearts of friends and foes alike, surely all must acknowledge that there 'dwelleth the love of God in him' in no small measure. A more God-like, Christ-like man never lived, and never will live: grand, honourable, patient, kind, generous, and true as steel."

It is right to say that Mr. Green, who, as Dean of Maritzburg, had been the right-hand man of Bishop Gray throughout the crusade against the Bishop of Natal, spoke of the latter in a sermon on the Sunday after his death with considerable moderation.

"Last June," he told his hearers, "now a month ago, I had occasion to write to him; he replied in terms of very warm regard, saying, in respect of something I had written, 'which act of charity may God return tenfold into your bosom.' May this prayer for me, whom men might think he could not feel kindly towards, be returned a hundredfold to him."

These words were necessarily followed, as they had been preceded, by expressions of a nervous anxiety lest by so speaking he should be supposed to make light of the duty of maintaining and fighting for what he took to be the Catholic faith. On this score, at least, Mr. Green might defy suspicion; but his utterance may be regarded, nevertheless, as a sign that his ecclesiastical prepossessions had left room still for something like kindly feeling. He had been with the Bishop a member of the Native Commission,[1] and at the close of its sittings he wrote to tell him that at the daily celebration of the Holy Eucharist at St. Saviour's he presented his name before God, praying that the Holy Spirit might guide him into all truth.

"From your manner of speaking to me," he adds, "at the Committee table I drew the conclusion, which I would fain

[1] See p. 574.

adhere to, that you would enter into my feelings in so remembering you. The last occasion on which I wrote to you was when my little boy was suddenly taken from me; then I had to acknowledge most kind expressions of sympathy from yourself and Mrs. Colenso. Being unable to forget that, I must now ask you kindly to remember me to her."

In his reply the Bishop made use of the expression quoted by Mr. Green in his sermon, adding that he could fully understand his spirit and enter into his feelings in this daily remembering him before God in the Holy Eucharist. In truth, though the Bishop was sorry for his antagonists, he had never felt any resentment towards them. But there is, to say the least, a singular implication of superiority in Mr. Green's announcement, as though his remembrance of the Bishop had a certain virtue, and would carry more weight with the Eternal Father of all than a similar remembrance of himself on the part of the Bishop.

At the first meeting of the Convocation of the province of Canterbury after the death of Bishop Gray, Dean Stanley said :—

"What I am about to read is an extract (apparently the commencement) of a sermon preached in the Cathedral church of Natal, on September 22 of last year (1872), by the Bishop of Natal. It was sent to me by one of the congregation, and I now venture to read it, without the Bishop's knowledge or sanction :—

"'Before I proceed to consider the special subject of this day's discourse, it is impossible that I should pass over in silence the event which the last mail has reported to us—the decease of the Bishop of Capetown, once our Metropolitan, and possibly the first and last Metropolitan Bishop who will preside over the Church of England in these parts. We cannot, it is true, forget that for some years past a painful separation has existed between the late

Metropolitan and the members of the Church of England in this diocese—a separation for which we cannot hold ourselves to be blamable, but the history of which this is not the time to recall to our memories. It is enough that we all are sure that the departed prelate had, throughout his long and troubled course, one single object mainly in view—to advance what he deemed to be the cause most dear to God and most beneficial to man; and that in labours for this end, most unselfish and unwearied, in season and out of season, with energy which beat down all obstructions, with courage which faced all opposition, with faith which laid firmly hold of the Unseen Hand, he spent and was spent, body and soul, in His service. To him we owe that the foundations of the Church of England were laid in this diocese—that the first clergy were appointed, the first churches begun, the first mission work of our Church started, and the bishopric established and endowed. And what has been done here is only an example of what has been done elsewhere, by his untiring, self-sacrificing zeal, throughout the vast district originally placed under his charge. In one word, we all "know that there is a prince and a great man fallen this day in Israel." For myself, I remember that he was once my friend and my father, and that we took sweet counsel together; and the fact that since then he has felt it to be his duty to censure and condemn my proceedings has only added a special solemnity to this event which has removed him into a sphere where even now he beholds the truth in the clear shining of God's light, and whither God in His mercy grant us grace to follow him, by being faithful to the truth, as we behold it.'"

Having read these words, Dean Stanley added:—

"Those who communicated the passage to me assured me—what I trust no one here will doubt—that no one present there could fail to be impressed by the deep and genuine emotion with which the words were spoken. It is a testimony alike to the Bishop of Capetown, who could inspire such sentiments, and to the Bishop of Natal, who gave

utterance to them. And when he, the first missionary Bishop of Africa who translated the Holy Scriptures into the language of the natives, shall be called to his rest, I trust that there will be found some prelate presiding over the see of Capetown just and generous enough to render the like honour to the Bishop of Natal."

I am not aware that Dean Stanley's kindly wish has been realised.

It will be enough to preface the following extract with Miss Colenso's words concerning it. She writes:—

"It has escaped the fire at Bishopstowe because the Bishop valued it so much as to keep it apart from the shoal of papers belonging to that epoch, and finally placed it in his despatch-box with his will, where we could not fail to find it and understand its comfort. I had not seen it before, that I can remember:—

"'Mary and I are nursing each other in my bedroom. She chooses my room. She says she can better realise her father's face as he lay dead here than in any other room, and she likes to lie and think of it. . . . Truly the Gospel taught purely makes life blessed and death beautiful. The last mists of conventionality and paganism seem to have been cleared away from it for me by the Claybrook sermon.[1] I thought of it incessantly from the day I read it to George. It seemed as if it made me just ready for what was coming. When you see Bishop Colenso I wish you would tell him for me that, thanks to him, I can now nurse my child as I nursed my husband, with hardly an over-anxious thought, and that I wish when death comes to take from him any one very dear to him God may give him as much peace as He has given through him to me. I can't wish him anything better.

"'M. BOOLE.'"

The following letter received from a Sinhalese Christian

[1] See *Natal Sermons*, Series I. p. 356; also *supra*, vol. i. p. 254.

may to some appear as absurd as the questions of the intelligent Zulu who is said to have converted the Bishop. There are others who will think otherwise.

"RAMAPANDA, CEYLON, *March* 15, 1884.

"DEAR MADAM,

"I was agreeably surprised to receive the pamphlet containing three of the last sermons of good Bishop Colenso you had the kindness to send me. Please accept my best thanks for it. But for his lordship I should have renounced Christianity some time ago. Having for a long time found it difficult to believe certain passages of S.S. [Sacred Scripture] and in certain doctrines of Christianity as taught by its ministers, I, as a last resort, had recourse to your good husband, whose fame was known throughout the world, and whose explanations, both by letter and a printed copy of his sermons, which he had the kindness to send me, removed from my mind all the difficulty and anxiety I had felt. I am now thankful to be able to say that I endeavour to worship God in the Spirit as it was in Christ. . . . If we had a few ministers like him, millions who yet keep aloof from embracing Christianity might be easily brought over to us. What a field for working there is for such men among my countrymen the Sinhalese, who are all Buddhists.

"DAN. J. LAYAMANE."

In the year 1878 the Bishop had answered some questions put to him about the Book of Job by the Astronomer-Royal, Sir G. B. Airy. Although they had been together at Cambridge during most of the Bishop's residence there, they had never met. Had the Bishop been Smith's Prizeman in 1835 instead of 1836, he would have had Mr. Airy as his examiner. But, although they had no personal acquaintance with each other, the Astronomer-Royal could throw himself heartily into the Bishop's work, and shortly after his death he wrote to his son :—

"I wish I could perfectly express my veneration for the character of Bishop Colenso,—the one man who could fearlessly publish the truth on the most important subjects (to whom intellectually I owe more than to any other person in my life), and the one man who could make an exertion in the cause of political justice which no other person would make."

There had at one time been some idea of transferring the Manchester New College to Oxford, instead of to London, and of inviting the Bishop of Natal to become the head of it. That notion was speedily given up; but when the Bishop's earthly toil was done, the trustees at their annual meeting, June 28, 1883, expressed by resolution their

"high appreciation of his work as a Biblical scholar during the last twenty-one years; deep respect for his unswerving love of truth, and his candour, calmness, and patience in controversy; for his faithful labours and humane sympathies as a missionary of Christ; and our admiration of his repeated and solemn appeals for the removal of ecclesiastical tests which enervate the thought and trouble the conscience of the clergy, cripple the advance of true learning, and intercept the natural union of Christian minds in love for each other and piety to God."

"I never saw Colenso," wrote an aged Lancashire clergyman,[1] "and I felt more joy for him than sorrow for others or myself when I heard of his departure. He is now where due praise and honour will be given him by millions of his equals."

[1] The Rev. T. P. Kirkman, Rector of Croft, Warrington. Mr. Kirkman himself is a thinker as truthful and fearless as the Bishop. His son is mentioned, Vol. II. p. 204.

APPENDIX A.

LETTERS PATENT.

See pages 167, 592.

THE question of the validity of the patents to constitute legal sees, and to give the Bishops coercive jurisdiction over their clergy, turned on the condition of the colonies at the time when the patents were issued. If they were "Crown colonies properly so called"—that is, colonies which had nothing in the form of a representative legislature —then the Crown had in these colonies full power to mark out a diocese and define the Bishop's jurisdiction by means of letters patent. There was no question at all that this had been the condition of the Cape Colony at the time of the original foundation of the see of Cape-town, in 1847. When Bishop Gray resigned that see in 1853, the letters patent which appointed him Bishop of the present see were found to be not valid, because in the meantime the Government of the Cape Colony had been handed over by the Crown to a representative assembly. The argument of the Bishop of Natal made it very clear that at the time when his own see was founded, in 1853, the colony of Natal was a "Crown colony properly so called," although the matter had been rendered uncertain owing to the carelessness of those who drew up the original letters patent, not of the see, but of the colony. Lord Romilly, it seems, had suspected this, and used language which clearly pointed to the existence of this suspicion. In this case there could be no question as to the Bishop's jurisdiction over the clergymen whom he had been compelled to deprive; but the further consequence would at the same time follow, that an Established Church of some kind or other would exist in the colony.

"If there be," said Sir Roundell Palmer, "any meaning in the term 'Established Church' at all, it means that Church the law of which is established as a part of the law of the land, either for *all* or *some* purposes."

On these words the Bishop remarks:

"I am well aware that, with not a few, both within the Church of England and without it, the notion of any Church being 'established' in this colony is a great bugbear, and all kinds of evils are dreaded from it."

But in fact it would mean, and it would come to nothing more than this:

"that there would be a law, the law of the Church of England, by which the members of that Church would be governed here exactly as they are in England so far as the circumstances of the colony will allow, and there would be a judge appointed by the Queen, with a lawful court in which to administer that law."

One of the judges of the Supreme Court of Natal had spoken of the phrase 'Royal supremacy' as only another mode of saying that the Sovereign of England has exclusive sovereignty within the dominions of the Crown of England. The Bishop insisted that the expression meant very much more than this. It meant

"that the laws of the Church of England are made by the Sovereign, like any other laws of the land, 'with the advice and consent of Parliament, and not by convocations and synods—in other words, not merely by the will of the clergy; that the clergy of the Church are only public officers, and derive their authority from the whole body represented by its head; that the chief officers, or Bishops, whether with or without jurisdiction, must in all cases be appointed by the Queen, and are only removable by her authority for any breach of the laws as established for the Church of England and interpreted by her Supreme Court of Appeal, and not as they may be explained, enlarged, and sought to be inforced by the arbitrary will of an irresponsible Metropolitan."

This, and this only, would be the meaning of an Established Church in Natal or in any other colony; and although such an establishment would be a source of great good, yet the hopes of

the Bishop had not risen so high as to lead him to look for this. He says:—

"I had long ago acquiesced in the decision that all 'coercive' jurisdiction had been taken from me as well as from the Bishops of Capetown and Grahamstown. And though fully aware for some time past of the grounds on which I might claim to exercise it, I had no wish to put forward that claim, if your Lordships had seen it right to maintain the judgement of the Master of the Rolls, which secured to me all needful power, through the civil courts of the colony, of inforcing that obedience to the laws of the Church of which I am the chief minister which is absolutely essential to the peace and welfare of the whole body." [1]

It is unnecessary to say that in his whole action the Bishop of Natal was fighting for the cause of order in the Church of England. Bishop Gray and his partisans would, of course, have it that he was simply fighting against the Church of Christ; but it remained to be seen then, as it remains to be seen still, whether within the limits of its dominions the Crown will allow the law of the Church of England to be set aside by certain persons who style the order of the Church of England in any given colony as schismatical, and insist that the Church is represented only by their own so-called Church of South Africa, or of any other district. Defying all regular authority, one of Bishop Gray's supporters claimed, by virtue of his orders as a priest in the English Church, the power of ministering in any church in the colony, and had the hardihood to appeal to the Thirty-sixth Canon in support of his claim. The absurdity of this plea was exposed by the Bishop in his supplementary argument before the Supreme Court (November 7, 1867). Admitting that he had rendered canonical obedience to the Bishop of Natal before his so-called condemnation and deposition, this same clergyman declared that since that time he had refused to submit himself to him in any manner in spiritual things. But, as the Bishop pointed out, this was in itself a defiance of the judgement of the Privy Council, which declared all those proceedings null and void, and called on all whom it might concern to govern themselves accordingly. His plea, therefore, was nothing more nor less than an allegation that he had violated the law, and that he should continue to do so. The distinction drawn between

[1] *Argument*, &c., p. 52.

things spiritual and ecclesiastical did not, in fact, exist in the Church of England. In the Thirty-sixth Article the two words are repeatedly interchanged in a way which clearly implies the invalidity of such a distinction. Nay, more, the term "ecclesiastical" must include the term "spiritual," as the greater includes the less, since Her Majesty's supreme authority "in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes" is often described as her authority in "causes ecclesiastical."

> "In virtue, therefore, of the Queen being 'Supreme Governor of all Her Highness's dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes as temporal,' the Order in Council made on my behalf must be understood to mean that the judgement or sentence pronounced by the Bishop of Capetown against me is to be treated by Her Majesty's judges in the court of law, and by every loyal subject at home and in the colonies, as null and void in law in respect of all 'spiritual' consequences as well as temporal." [1]

Whatever, then, Bishop Gray might say to the contrary, this judgement of the Queen in Council was virtually a declaration of internecine war between the Church of England and the society styling itself the Church of South Africa.

In this interpretation of the Order in Council the Natal Supreme Court substantially agreed. Dean Green had stated that, having once regarded Dr. Colenso as Bishop of Natal by Divine permission, he had, at a given time, ceased to acknowledge him as such. Conceding to him full liberty thus to change his mind, Chief Justice Harding remarked that, having admitted this change,

> "he cannot belong to the voluntary association, namely, the Anglican Church in this colony, of which the plaintiff is the head, and lay claim to use the property of which the plaintiff is trustee, and which is subject to the rules of the Church of England, when he sets the plaintiff's authority, and the rules vesting that authority in him, at defiance. . . . So soon as the defendant ceases to observe the rules of that Church, and on the contrary acts in defiance of those rules and of the decision of the Queen in Council, he ceases to be intitled to any rights in respect of those churches which he possessed under those rules."

[1] *Supplementary Argument*, p. 9.

For like reasons, drawn out with great minuteness, Mr. Justice Cope held that the court was bound to deprive the defendant, Mr. Green, of his office, and of the other functions which he assumed to hold or to be possessed of in this colony as a priest of the Church of England, in defiance of his lawful Bishop, and that, as marking its sense of such conduct, and as an additional penalty for the defendant's so doing, the court must condemn him in the costs of the suit. From this judgement Mr. Justice Phillips dissented, holding the Bishop's letters patent to be invalid, on the ground that at the time when they were issued the colony of Natal was not "a Crown colony properly so called." The Chief Justice had declined to confirm the Bishop's proceedings and the judgement delivered by him against Mr. Green and the other defendants; but for this refusal Mr. Phillips held that no explanation was necessary.

"To him it was as clear as possible. The Chief Justice held that the Bishop's letters patent were perfectly valid, and that, having been granted when this was a Crown colony, they were as effectual as if the powers assumed to be conferred by them had been embodied in an ordinance. This being the case, it was unnecessary to confirm the Bishop's sentence. If the opinion of the Chief Justice as to the validity of the letters patent were incorrect, the confirming of the Bishop's sentence would have been a further error. If the opinion was a correct one, it would be error to confirm that which had no need of support."[1]

[1] Judgement delivered by the Judges of the Supreme Court of the Colony of Natal on January 9, 1868.

APPENDIX B.

DESPATCH FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES.

See page 201.

"DOWNING STREET, *January* 30, 1868.

"SIR,

"You will probably have read in some of the English papers a report that it is in contemplation by some colonial Bishops to consecrate a Bishop to take charge of the diocese of Natal, on the assumption that Dr. Colenso has been deposed.

"You will not be surprised to hear that Her Majesty's Government look upon this intention with great apprehension and regret. And in case you should learn that the consecration is intended to take place within your government, I shall wish you to use all the influence which legitimately belongs to you to prevent it.

"And I think it proper to add, that if, after being warned of the views of Her Majesty's Government, any ecclesiastical officer holding a salaried office during the pleasure of Her Majesty were to be a party to any such transaction, Her Majesty's Government would consider it their duty to advise the Queen to cancel his appointment.

"I have, &c.,

(Signed) "BUCKINGHAM AND CHANDOS."

APPENDIX C.

LETTER TO JOHN MILLER, ESQ., M.L.A., MAYOR OF PORT ELIZABETH.

See page 214.

"BISHOPSTOWE, *September* 21, 1868.

"SIR,

"I observe in the Cape journals that the Bishop of Grahamstown has published his reply to an address which has recently been presented to him by yourself and other members of the Church of England in Port Elizabeth, objecting to the consecration of another Bishop for the diocese of Natal while my letters patent remain unrevoked, and assigning various grounds for so doing. As there are some points in the Bishop's reply which require correction, and with respect to which you could not be fully informed, I think it my duty to make the following remarks upon the six reasons by which he supports his dissent from the views expressed in the address in question :—

"I.—The Bishop says:

"'That the tribunal which tried Dr. Colenso on the charges preferred against him was a tribunal competent, and the only tribunal able in the first instance, to examine and decide on these charges according to the fundamental principles of the constitution of the Christian Church, to the analogy of similar proceedings in the Church of England since the Reformation, and in particular to the letters patent under the provisions of which the Bishops of the English Church in South Africa have been hitherto appointed, and which, although they confer no coercive jurisdiction, yet must be regarded as defining conditions on which their appointments were received.

"(1) As a Bishop of the Church of England I am subject to the laws of the Church of England, and not to what Bishop Cotterill and others may regard as 'fundamental principles of the constitution of the Christian Church.'

"(2) There is but one instance on record of 'similar proceedings in England since the Reformation' which can be appealed to in support of Bishop Cotterill's view (that of Bishop Watson of St. David's, in Archbishop Tenison's time), and in that case, even if it sufficed to show that in *those* days the Archbishop could deprive his suffragan (which is disputed—*e.g.* the Archbishop of York said in his speech in Convocation, *Guardian*, February 12, 1868, 'I must say that the lawyers greatly doubt it; and there has certainly been no case since the Reformation thoroughly free from suspicion to guide us'), proves certainly that the suffragan had a right of appeal to the Sovereign, which appeal was in my case expressly excluded by the Metropolitan, who said, at the end of the proceedings, 'I cannot recognise any appeal except to His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury,' and only allowed that as a favour 'in this particular case.'

"(3) The letters patent under which I 'received my appointment,' older by fifteen days than those of Bishop Gray, made no reference whatever to any jurisdiction belonging to the Metropolitan, but distinctly provided that I should be 'subject and subordinate' to the Bishop of Capetown '*in the same manner as*' any suffragan of Canterbury '*is under the authority of*' the Archbishop of Canterbury. Now, that such 'authority' did not involve any right of *jurisdiction* on his part, and, at the time when we both 'received our appointments,' *was perfectly well known by Bishop Gray himself not to involve it*, any more than the oath of *canonical obedience*, is sufficiently shown by the following facts:—

"(i.) Bishop Gray, in his original patent, was made 'subject and subordinate to the Metropolitan See of Canterbury and to the Archbishops thereof in the same manner as any Bishop of any See is under the same Metropolitical See and the Archbishops thereof'; and, further, he was ordered to 'take an oath of due obedience to the Archbishop of Canterbury for the time being as his Metropolitan'; and yet, on December 26, 1852, about a year *before* we received our patents, the late Archbishop of Canterbury wrote to the churchwardens of Graaff-Reinet, at the express instance of Bishop Gray himself, to say:

"'*As Metropolitan, I have no jurisdiction, nor right of interference with the diocese of Capetown, except in the case of a formal appeal from a judicial sentence.*'

(ii.) In like manner the present Archbishop of Canterbury wrote a letter in October 1867, in reply to an address from the Rev. H. Moule and other clergy, calling upon him as Metropolitan to take cognisance of certain teaching of the Bishop of Salisbury alleged to be heretical, in which he says:

"'Your address proceeds from an erroneous view of the duties of an Archbishop. As Bishop of his own diocese, he is precisely on the same footing with each of his episcopal brethren in the province. Although he be *primus inter pares* for certain purposes, yet that primacy gives him no more right to interfere with the conduct of such Bishops in their dioceses than they have with his, until his action as Metropolitan be invoked for the purpose of admonishing or coercing one of his suffragans, through his court, *on appeal in regard to an injury inflicted on some party by that suffragan in the exercise of his administrative authority in his diocese.*'

"(iii.) From the above it is plain that the two Archbishops, and the Bishop of Capetown also, knew that an English Metropolitan has no jurisdiction over his suffragans, whatever may be the reason for this. But it would seem that the 23rd clause of the Church Discipline Act, passed in 1840, makes it *now* impossible for the Archbishop of Canterbury to suspend or deprive or excommunicate a suffragan, whatever may have been the state of things in Archbishop Tenison's time, for that clause enacts:

"'No criminal suit or proceeding against a *clerk in holy orders* of the United Church of England and Ireland (including, therefore, bishop, priest, or deacon) for any offence against the laws ecclesiastical shall be instituted in any ecclesiastical court otherwise than is hereinbefore enacted or provided';

and no provision whatever is made in this Act for the trial of a Bishop. If, therefore, my letters patent, which prescribe that I am to be 'subject and subordinate' to the Bishop of Capetown 'in the same manner as' any suffragan of Canterbury is to the Archbishop, 'must be regarded as defining conditions on which my appointment was received,' they bind me *not* to recognise the power of jurisdiction

which Bishop Gray has claimed to exercise, and that, not because it is not convenient for me to do so (as Bishop Gray has said), but because it is *unlawful* for me to violate the conditions expressly laid down in my commission.

"When, therefore, the Bishop of Ely says:

"'There was every reason at first to suppose that the patent was good and that the Bishop of Capetown was [right in] acting under it, and that there would be no difficulty in judging the Bishop of Natal;'

or when the Bishop of Gloucester says:

"We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that this shows the Metropolitan of Capetown to have been treated with very serious injustice: he was sent out clothed with powers assigned to him by advice of the responsible officers of the Crown, and he finds, when he tries to put them in exercise, that they are actually worse than no powers at all';

I answer that the Bishop of Capetown had no right whatever to expect to be clothed with such powers; and it is plain from the above that he *knew* he had no right to them when he received his patent; he knew that my patent placed me under himself in the same manner as he himself had been previously placed under the Archbishop of Canterbury, and he had himself required the Archbishop to disclaim the idea that his office as Metropolitan, and the oath of obedience taken to him, invested him with any such powers over his (former) suffragan of Capetown. If the terms of my patent or my oath of canonical obedience had involved the recognition of his jurisdiction, I should have been morally and legally bound to acknowledge it, whether his patent was legally valid or not; and I should have been perfectly ready to so. But, as the case stands, it is I that should have 'been treated with very serious injustice' if the rights granted in my patent had been utterly violated by the insertion in his subsequent patent of the injurious clause, respecting which Bishop Cotterill wrote to me as follows on November 15, 1858:—[1]

"'With regard to the patent of the Metropolitan See . . . it shows how loosely these matters are arranged, that both the Archbishop

[1] See Vol. I. p. 338.

of Canterbury and the Goverment (I mean the officials at the Colonial Office) knew nothing about *that formidable visitation clause* until I called their attention to it.'

"II.—The Bishop says :—

" 'That whatever may have been the technical errors or legal defects in the proceedings, yet (in the language of the late Report of the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury on the subject) substantial justice was done to the accused.'

"It is no doubt true that a certain number of Bishops of the Province of Canterbury, some of them strong partisans of the Bishop of Capetown, have stated their opinion that 'substantial justice was done to the accused.' But let us look a little more closely at this decision. The Report was not made by a 'Committee of the whole House,' as Bishop Gray has incorrectly stated in his letter to Mr. Fearne, for the Bishop of London speaks of 'your Grace and *those others of your lordships* who are not members of the Committee,' and the Bishop of Bangor begins his speech, 'Not having been a member of the Committee.' Accordingly, the *Church Times* of February 29 says that

" 'a Committee, consisting of the following names, was then appointed: the Bishops of London, Winchester, St. David's, Oxford, Llandaff, Lincoln, Norwich, Gloucester and Bristol, Ely, Peterborough, Rochester, and Lichfield.'

"Of these *twelve* names we are not told how many were attached to the Report; but we know that the Bishop of London refused to sign it, and it is certain that the Bishop of St. David's would do the same. Nine Bishops altogether, including two not on the Committee (Salisbury and Bangor), appear to have openly indorsed it, though two of these Bishops (the Bishops of Ely and Lincoln), as the Dean of Westminster has shown, and as will appear below, did not by any means fully assent to it. Of the remaining *eleven* Bishops of the Province of Canterbury it may be doubted whether many—if any—could be found who, however much they may condemn my writings, would be willing deliberately to state their belief that 'substantial justice was done to the accused.' At any rate we know the following facts :—

"(i.) The Convocation of the Province of York has not indorsed the above opinion.

"(ii.) The Bishop of London has refused to affix his signature on the following grounds:—

"'I consider the trial to have been altogether set aside by the decision given by the highest court of the Empire, that it was null and void in law.

"'Independently of my views as to the general invalidity of the trial I entertain grave doubts whether, in conducting the proceedings, Bishop Gray did not, in several important points, so far depart from the principles recognised in English courts of justice as to make it highly probable that, if the trial had been valid and had become the subject of appeal on the merits of the case to any well-constituted court ecclesiastical, the sentence would have been set aside.'

"(iii.) One of the oldest and most experienced Bishops in England, the Bishop of St. David's, in a recent charge, has characterised the proceedings against me as 'accompanied by a complete emancipation from the rules and principles of English law and justice,' as 'most violent and arbitrary,' as 'an intolerable wrong,' in respect of which 'justice was outraged,' and 'an usurped jurisdiction exercised"

"'by the mockery of a trial in which the party accused was assumed to acknowledge the jurisdiction against which he protested, and was condemned in his absence, not for contumacy, but upon charges and speeches which had the advantage of being heard without a reply.'

"(iv.) The Archdeacon (Hale) of London presented in Convocation the following *gravamen*:—

"'That the Queen's Majesty is supreme Governor in these her realms over all persons or all causes, as well ecclesiastical as temporal.'

"'That it is not lawful for any Bishops to withdraw themselves from that supremacy and establish a jurisdiction by citing persons to appear before them, according to forms of law not recognised by the laws of this country.

"'That the sentences of courts held under any such assumed jurisdiction are not the less unlawful because their effect is said to be

spiritual; neither is the power of such courts less formidable because it is said to deprive the accused of spiritual privileges and not of temporal rights.

"'That it is no part of the duty or authority of the Convocation of this Province to take cognisance of, or give validity to, sentences of excommunication passed in any ecclesiastical court within the Queen's dominions, much less to the proceedings of a court not recognised by law.

"'That, since *the Bishops appointed by the Crown in South Africa appear to be, in respect of their subjection to any superior authority*, in the same condition as all or some of the Archbishops of the United Church of England and Ireland, *amenable to the authority of the Crown alone*, and it being evident that the peace of the Church is disturbed in that country not only by erroneous opinion, but by the improper assumption of authority in the government of the Church, the case appears to be one that demands the interference of the Crown, and calls for the exercise of that power of visitation which the Statute has conferred upon the Sovereign of this kingdom for the redress of disorder and the correction of error in the Church.'

"(v.) Even the Bishop of Lincoln, though he signed the Report, stated publicly his opinion on some points as follows:—

"'The Metropolitan of South Africa had it in his power to proceed either under the old canons, by which it appears that the mode of trying and deposing an heretical Bishop was by a Synod, or according to the procedure of the Church of England [? in *former* days], by which the accused Bishop was to be summoned before the Metropolitan and his assessors. Whether it was intended in the first instance to combine the two modes, or whether it was an after-thought, does not appear on the face of the case, nor does it much matter; but the trial before the Synod appears, in my opinion, to have been a failure, for *there was wanting the first essential of a judicial trial, the due citation of the accused.* The Bishop of Capetown assembled a Synod, and then and there obtained the consent of his [two] suffragans; but it is not even pretended that Dr. Colenso had a citation to it. He was summoned to appear before the Metropolitan of Capetown only. It is said that this is a mere technical objection, and that practically it makes no difference, as he was summoned to appear before the same parties in either case;

and the Bishop of Llandaff yesterday took the objection, if I understand him rightly, that in the early days of the Christian Church it is most probable there was no regular form of citation, that we know little of their forms, and that they were not likely to distinguish between the Metropolitan and the Synod. But he seems to have forgotten that at that early period there was but one court before which an individual could be summoned—the Synod; and therefore it was not necessary to particularise the tribunal. . . . Suppose I was unhappily to be tried for heresy or some other grave offence, and was summoned before the Metropolitan, I might consider that I had good reasons for refusing his jurisdiction, and refuse to appear. But if I found myself then tried before a Synod of Bishops, whose jurisdiction I did not dispute, without *warning given to me, and without opportunity of being heard in my defence*, I should possibly complain that great injustice had been done to me. Whatever the mode in which an accused Bishop is tried, an opportunity should have been given to him of saying whether he will submit to be tried or not, and no such opportunity was given to Dr. Colenso, nor were the Bishops themselves summoned to a Synod. [N.B.—Is it then true that the idea of the "Synod" was "an after-thought"—that none of the absent Bishops were really "summoned to the Synod" in proper time at all?[1]] Therefore I cannot, *so far as this part of the process is concerned, honestly say that substantial justice has been done.*'

"Most true it is that it can hardly be deemed 'substantial justice' to try a man by a court to which he had never been summoned, and of the very existence of which he had no notion whatever, and was, in fact, entirely ignorant until its judgement reached him. One would have thought that there would scarcely be a difference of opinion among the whole bench of Bishops on this point—that not one of them could have 'honestly said' that,

"'as far as this part of the process [the trial before the Synod] was concerned, substantial justice had been done.'

"And so says Dean Stanley:—

"'With regard to the question of trial by the Synod, the greatest difference of opinion prevailed among the Bishops. The very question upon which we called upon them to give an opinion—viz.

[1] See Vol. I. p. 335.

the canonicity of the condemnation of the Bishop of Natal—is one on which the Bishops return no opinion at all. They merely express a division of opinion in their numbers. "Some of us consider" so-and-so; "others of us consider" so-and-so. We are left in complete doubt which Bishops took one side and which Bishops took another side; and no conclusion is arrived at on that very material point whether the deposition of the Bishop of Natal by the Synod was canonical or not. Then, as to the general conclusion, they state that the whole case is "extremely difficult"; "that there are in it various complications," "grave doubts in reference to points of law yet unsettled;" that is to say, they regard the question as one of the most complicated, unsettled, and doubtful which it is possible to imagine. It is hardly possible to find words more forcibly to express the absolutely unsettled and doubtful character of the whole proceedings on which they finally give their judgement. I am somewhat surprised, I confess—after learning, first of all, that there is an entire division among themselves as to the canonicity of the judgement, and secondly that, with regard to the whole question, they consider it "extremely difficult," "complicated," "doubtful," and "unsettled"—that they should proceed to any conclusion at all. I venture to say that in any English court of justice, in a case where such doubts, difficulties, and complications were alleged to exist, no one would have the courage to say that "substantial" justice was done to an accused person. Such reasons given for such a conclusion are totally out of the question in an English court of justice, or on any principles of English justice.'

"Yet what says the Bishop of Ely?

"'Supposing that patent not to be good, we fall back on the principles of the primitive Church and of the early canons. I confess that there I find a greater difficulty. I have looked a great deal at the canons, and it appears to me that the difficulty of determining how a Bishop is to be deposed is very great indeed. . . . The deposition of a Bishop was, I venture to think, held by the primitive Church as a matter of the greatest importance and difficulty. Excommunication, which seems the more important of the two, was not considered so important as deposition, because excommunication may be taken off. . . .' But if you once depose a Bishop from his see, and put another in his room, there is no place

left for repentance; and therefore it was that the early Church took such very great pains to define the principle, and to make very difficult the deposition of a Bishop. . . . The earliest general canons of the Church seem to have insisted that there should be a whole Provincial Synod, or, if not that, still twelve Bishops present. It was on that account that it was necessary in the Report that some difficulties should be stated as to the proceedings of the Bishop of Capetown as regards the Synod. The difficulty was whether the whole Synod of the province was summoned, whether the Bishop of Natal was cited before the Synod, and whether the number assembled would meet the requirements of the canons. There lies the difficulty with regard to the so-called spiritual deposition. The question is whether the canons of the primitive Church were fully complied with in this particular case. Having stated that difficulty, I am prepared to say this—that I think they were complied with as far as they possibly could be complied with under the circumstances of the case'!!!

"And the Bishop said this, knowing that the accused was not summoned, or even cited, to the Synod at all; that he was only cited to appear 'before the Most Reverend Lord Bishop of Capetown and Metropolitan,' whose claim thus to exercise jurisdiction over him he felt bound, and, as the result showed, was actually bound, by his duty as a loyal subject, *not* to acknowledge, and therefore did not appear in person before him, and, of course, not at the Synod—to which, also (it is highly probable), other Bishops of the province were never duly summoned, and of which, at all events, the accused knew nothing whatever, until he found himself condemned and sentenced by it! And this is what is called 'substantial justice'! Surely the 'canons of the primitive Church' required, as a first essential of justice, the citation of the accused.

"But the Bishop of Lincoln went on to say:—

"'As to that part of the process in which the Bishop of Capetown availed himself of the laws and practice of the Church of England (as he had a perfect right to do, because it was the mode specified in his instructions and letters patent), I think no flaw of any importance is to be found in the proceedings. Every form was duly observed, the accused was duly summoned and appeared under protest, the case was argued fully and fairly. It has been stated that evidence was admitted which ought not to have been

admitted, inasmuch as a private letter of Dr. Colenso's was produced and received; but that letter was hardly really private, and was written by Dr. Colenso in explanation and defence of his published writings, and he himself afterwards set the question at rest by publishing it *in extenso*. I believe that on all important points a decision was arrived at consistent with justice and truth, and that here therefore substantial justice was done to the accused.'

"The above conclusion of the Bishop of Lincoln, for whom personally I entertain the highest respect, has, I confess, astonished me. With regard to the private letter, I have already explained, in a letter to the *Times*, that the Bishop is labouring under a mistake. He is speaking of a letter from myself to the Bishop of Capetown, beginning 'My dear Brother,' and ending 'Yours affectionately,' in answer to one from himself, in which he had complained of some portions of my *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, but beginning and ending with like terms of friendship,—a strictly 'private' letter, therefore, not written for the public eye, least of all intended to be any defence against serious charges, made deliberately against me, with reference to my work on the Pentateuch as well as that on the Romans,—a letter which—not I, but—Bishop Gray published *in extenso* (and ought, I think, in fairness, to have published at the same time his own letter to which it replied), though I did not object at all to this. What I did object to was the fact that Bishop Gray, sitting as judge, had supplied the prosecutors with two other private letters of mine, written as from one friend to another, which he says he has preserved in his 'Registry,'—letters of which I retained no copies, and the extracts from which are so given, apart from the context before and after, as to convey a totally false impression as to my meaning.

"But I do not now complain of this, or of any omission of 'forms, or any want of fairness in the hearing of the accusers. I admit that I 'was duly summoned and appeared under protest,' and that 'the case was argued fully and fairly,' as far as they (my accusers) were concerned. And yet I am utterly at a loss to understand how the Bishop of Lincoln, and other true-hearted Englishmen, can 'honestly say' that on this occasion 'substantial justice was done to the accused,' when they know

"(i.) That in his judgement Bishop Gray deliberately set aside a recent decision in the Court of Arches, the very court of the Archbishop to whom he allowed me to appeal, calling it 'a wrong to the Church.'

(ii.) That in *three* of the nine points on which Bishop Gray condemned me his judgement was in direct opposition to recent judgements of the Privy Council, and on a *fourth* to one of the Court of Arches; while on the five other points the English courts have never been consulted—not to say that no mention whatever was made of the ninth in the citation.

"(iii.) *That I have never been heard in my own defence;* for as to the letter, such as I have described it above, it is ridiculous to call that my defence, not to speak of its making no reference whatever to my work on the Pentateuch, on which five of the charges against me were founded.

"Bishop Ellicott, indeed, says:—

"'Let it not be forgotten that Dr. Colenso made a formal, though not by any means a complete, answer to the charges brought against him in the court of the Metropolitan and his asesssors—charges brought forward in a way which, I must declare my belief, reflected the highest credit on those who made them. Now, let anyone consult the volume which contains the record of the proceedings, and contrast the gravity and learning with which the charges were sustained with the flimsy nature of the defence actually put in (which, so far as the true merits of the case were concerned, was in fact no defence at all), and then say whether the accused met the case as it was his duty to have met it. I wish to let no word of harshness escape me. I am speaking on the side of those who would judge with moderation and temperance; but I must express my feeling that Dr. Colenso should have met the charges made against him with plainness and directness. Even if he had felt it consistent with his position to avail himself of any legal technicality in his favour in reference to the actual sentence, yet the course which an honest and fair-meaning man would have adopted in the first instance would be to meet the charge on its merits.'

"Bishop Ellicott's *fairness* may be judged of from his attempt to contrast (what he calls) my 'flimsy' private letter with the elaborate

arguments of my accusers[1]—arguments which I had never seen and never pretended to answer. But I think, as a Christian Bishop, if not as an old College friend, he might have hesitated before he insinuated against me a charge of dishonesty and double-dealing, because I did not choose to leave my work in England at Bishop Gray's bidding, and incur the expense and difficulty of a long voyage, with a large family, for the sake of going through the mere ceremony of a mock trial.

"For I did not appear in person on that occasion to defend myself before my self-constituted judge because I was convinced (as was afterwards affirmed by the Privy Council) that the proceedings were utterly unlawful. In so doing, of course, I took the risk of finding that my view was mistaken, and that his court was lawful, in which case I should have lost the advantage of defending myself in the first instance, and should have had to bear the whole brunt of the attack when the case came on for appeal. To whom, in such a case, appeal would be was also a matter of great uncertainty; but the course which I took would make that also plain. I was advised therefore to reserve my defence until the case came in due form, as was expected, before some competent English tribunal. Suppose, now, that the Bishop of Lincoln, having been summoned before a court whose authority he doubted, had chosen to appear under protest, and to make no defence, while 'the case was argued against him fairly and fully,' reserving what he had to say for a *lawful* court, if that should be declared unlawful, or else for a higher court of appeal—and suppose that, when it was decided that his doubt was well-founded, he was told that nevertheless, though he had made no defence, the sentence had been passed and 'might be rightly accepted as valid'—would he think that 'here substantial justice had been done to the accused'? Still less is any sign of 'justice' to be found in Bishop Browne's observation:—

"'As many Bishops were assembled as possible, and, as Bishop Colenso was intitled to appeal and did not appeal [appeal *when? before* the trial, or before sentence was uttered, as Bishop Browne's words seem to imply?—appeal *against what?* a nonentity, null and void in law?—appeal *to whom?* to the Archbishop in person, who had already prejudged the case, or to the Archbishop's court, which

[1] For these arguments see Vol. I. ch. vii.

could not and would not entertain it?], they entered into the question as calmly and deliberately as they could; and therefore I am quite prepared to acquiesce in the final close of the Report that has been presented to this House, viz. that "substantial justice was done," &c.'

"Perhaps the best explanation of these phenomena is that which is candidly given by the Bishop of Salisbury, who said:—

"'We should have been more ready to speak on the subject, more ready to vote on the subject, more ready to offer the expression of our sympathy to the great Metropolitan of South Africa, if we had not felt that Dr. Colenso had inflicted so grave and serious an injury on our Church that we could hardly trust our feelings to act with justice towards him.[1] The conduct of Dr. Colenso has, I fear shaken the faith of many members of our Church, and the consequence has been that persons who have been obliged to deal with cases where the faith of our members is shaken feel it difficult to deal with strict justice with regard to Dr. Colenso.'

"And here I would observe that this conviction of mine, as to the unlawfulness of Bishop Gray's proceedings in claiming to sit in judgement upon me, was not a new one adopted to serve a present purpose (as Bishop Gray has repeatedly insinuated, and been allowed by the Bishop of Grahamstown to do so without correction), but had been long held, not only by me, but by Bishop Cotterill himself, who for some years before my so-called 'trial' had been corresponding with me on this very subject, and had warned me that 'it was of the utmost consequence that we should not in any way admit the principle that the Metropolitan was *episcopus episcoporum*'; that 'the Metropolitan power rested on nothing but the Queen's patent'; that he 'had no right to interfere with either of us, except we overstepped the bounds of *English ecclesiastical law*'; that 'we must, in a spirit of love and meekness, but with much firmness, resist the Bishop of Capetown's claims'; that he 'had certain precedence and due reverence and obedience *according to law*, but we must stand on the position that our episcopal rights and authority were as good as his'; and who had expressed himself admirably as follows:—

[1] See Vol. I. p. 197.

"'The real question is between arbitrary power, such as a colonial Metropolitan might think fit to exercise, and power limited and directed by English law, such as an English Archbishop's would be. We know that in going to Canterbury we go to England and to the liberty of thought and conscience which England represents and protects: we have no such assurance in going to Capetown. I do not speak of the individual Bishop so much as of the fact of his court having no legal existence, and no law to guide it or control it.'[1]

"It will be seen that the Report of the Committee of Bishops applies only to the sentence of *deposition* passed at the so-called 'trial,' not to that of excommunication, which was subsequently issued. Bishop Gray, indeed, in a letter to the Rev. Mr. Fearne recently published in this colony, makes the following assertions:—

"The importance of this decision can hardly be overstated. The Church of England has, *so far as has been possible*, cleared itself before all Christendom from the charge of a supposed alliance with heresy, and has declared Dr. Colenso to be no longer *a Bishop in communion with herself*.'

"It is obvious that the first statement italicised in the above quotation is at once contradicted by the simple fact that the Convocation of York has not done anything at all in the matter; while the sentence, which was pronounced 'null and void in law' by the Privy Council, whose 'validity,' however, in the opinion of these Bishops, 'the Church, as a spiritual body, *might* rightly accept,'

"'adjudged and declared the said Bishop of Natal to be deposed from the said office as such Bishop, and to be further prohibited from the exercise of any divine office within any part of the Metropolitical Province of Capetown';

that is, while it affected to deprive me of my office in this Province, as Bishop of Natal, it did not attempt to strip me of my office as a Bishop of the Church of England, still less to cut me off from the communion of that Church. On both points, therefore, Bishop Gray's assertions are, as usual, extravagant and overdrawn, the mere wish supplying the fact. No act, no word, even of the southern

[1] See Vol. I. p. 345.

Convocation, has declared me to be 'no longer in communion' with the mother Church, and I can hardly think that many even of the nine Bishops who appear to have concurred in this Report (though, as we have seen, with two doubtful voices) would be ready to indorse *this* part of Bishop Gray's proceedings.

"For this 'sentence of excommunication' was issued, as the Dean of Westminster truly said in Convocation,

"'not on account of any heresies, not on account of any errors, but simply because the Bishop of Natal did not accept a sentence pronounced upon him, which sentence is declared by these Bishops themselves to involve questions so extremely difficult, complicated, grave, and unsettled, that they themselves would not venture to pronounce any opinion upon it.'

"Because I refused to accept this 'sentence,' which the Supreme Court of the realm had set aside, which I was bound by the very conditions of my patent *not* to accept, and which had been pronounced by one who distinctly repudiated an important decision of the Court of Arches, and refused to be 'bound by any interpretations put upon the standards and formularies by existing ecclesiastical courts in England or by the decisions of such courts in matters of faith,'—whose 'claims,' moreover, to exercise this 'arbitrary power,' not 'limited and directed by English law,' Bishop Cotterill himself had privately urged me, in the strongest manner, 'in a spirit of love and meekness, but with much firmness, to resist,'—I was 'excommunicated,' and the sentence of excommunication was issued (so the document expressly stated) 'in accordance with the decision of the Bishops of the province in Synod assembled,' which had passed a resolution in the following terms :—

"'This Synod is of opinion that, should the Bishop of Natal presume to exercise episcopal functions in the diocese of Natal after the sentence of the Metropolitan shall have been notified to him, without an appeal to Canterbury, and without being restored to his office by the Metropolitan, he will be, *ipso facto*, excommunicate, and that it will be the duty of the Metropolitan, after due admonition, to pronounce the formal sentence of excommunication.'

"But this Synod was *held* before I was condemned, and, *if* (?) the

Bishop of St. Helena was duly invited to attend, it must have been *summoned* some months previously, before I had even been 'tried,' when, therefore, I presume, I ought, as a Bishop of the province, to have been summoned also. In point of fact, besides Bishops Gray and Cotterill only Bishop Twells[1] was present, who was no Bishop of this province of the Church of England at all—'not of the province, nor even of the realm of England,' as the Archbishop of York said in his speech in Convocation (*Guardian*, February 12, 1868). Let it be noted, moreover, that at the Synod held previously in 1861, at which *all* the Bishops of the province were present, the three suffragans were unanimous in the opinion that 'the dioceses or charges of *missionary* Bishops'—I quote the words of Bishop Cotterill himself—'ought not to be regarded as a part of the province, *nor ought they to have a seat in the Synod of the province.*' In order, in fact, to express more clearly our judgement that these missionary Bishops ought not to be allowed to interfere in matters affecting the Church within the Queen's dominions, we refused to employ the expression 'Province of South Africa' which the Metropolitan had used in drafting the resolutions prepared for our consideration, and substituted everywhere 'Province of Capetown.' In deference, however, to the strong wishes of the Metropolitan, the matter was referred to the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, who advised that they should be allowed to sit in the Synod, but not to take part in decisions affecting the Queen's dominions. Here, however, we find Bishop Cotterill sitting in Synod with Bishop Twells, and passing, in concert with him and the Metropolitan, among various resolutions affecting the Church within Her Majesty's dominions, one which should have the effect of excommunicating a Bishop holding office under letters patent of the Crown!

"The Bishop of Salisbury indeed says:—

"'There is one point that has raised some difficulty in your lordships minds—namely, that which regards Bishop Twells. I understand that in 1861 *advice was given* to Bishop Twells not to take any active part with regard to the affairs of the Church within the Queen's dominions. But, if I mistake not, the whole relations of the Queen to the colonial Church since that time have been altered, and therefore the advice which was given under different

[1] See Vol. II. p. 221.

circumstances can no longer hold good; and the Metropolitan of Capetown most wisely threw himself back upon the historical precedents of the Church of Christ, and felt that there was no restriction which would prevent Bishop Twells from sitting in the Synod and acting as a neighbouring Bishop.'

"But the advice was not 'given to Bishop Twells,' but *to us*. It was not to the effect that he was 'not to take any active part' in our Synod, in matters affecting the Queen's dominions, but that we were not to allow him to do so. And, even if this advice might not 'hold good under different circumstances,' yet Bishop Gray had no right of his own mere motion to set it aside, and override our resolution, without the approval, or at least the consent, of his Synod. In point of fact, since Natal and St. Helena were, both of them, Crown colonies when the patents of the respective Bishops were issued, no change of circumstances had taken place with respect to those dioceses. When, therefore, the Bishop of Llandaff said,

"'It appears to me that the Bishop of Natal, having sworn due reverence and obedience to the Bishop of Capetown as his Metropolitan, and having assented to the acts and proceedings of that Synod, and having put his own name to the resolutions of that Synod, did under those circumstances really bring himself under moral and spiritual bonds,'

he seems to have lost sight of these three facts :—

"(i.) That my having sworn due reverence and obedience to the Bishop of Capetown did not imply any recognition on my part of his having any jurisdiction over me, as appears from the letters of Archbishops Sumner and Longley, already quoted.

"(ii.) That in 'assenting to the acts and proceedings of that Synod' I did no more than the Bishops of England do when they assent to the acts and proceedings of the Synod of Canterbury, without thereby recognising the Archbishop's jurisdiction.

"(iii.) That, when I 'put my name to the resolutions of that Synod,' Bishop Gray did the same, and among them to one referring the question, whether missionary Bishops should be allowed to sit and vote in the Synod of the province, to the Convocation of Canterbury, who advised as above, and Bishop Gray therefore 'brought himself under moral and spiritual bonds' not to follow a contrary course of his own mere motion.

"And so, when Bishop Ollivant went on further to say,

"'It is mentioned in the Bishop of Capetown's statement that *all the Bishops of the province were summoned.* . . . It has been stated that one of these Bishops was not a comprovincial. But I consider that under the circumstances Bishop Twells had *just as much right to be present, if he had been summoned by Bishop Gray, as any other Bishop*,'

this statement of Bishop Gray is (as usual) incorrect, since, as the Bishop of Lincoln observed, 'there is no pretence that I was summoned at all,' and Bishop Tozer, as Bishop Ollivant admits, 'was not formally summoned' but only 'invited.' But *when* was he invited? Was he invited at all to the Synod? Was he not merely invited to take part in the 'trial'? Was even the Bishop of St. Helena duly summoned for the Synod, *in time to attend it?* Was not the Synod, as the Bishop of Lincoln suggests, a mere '*after-thought*,'[1] which perhaps occurred to Bishop Gray some time after the Long judgment reached him in August 1863 (my citation being dated May 18, 1863), when it was no longer *possible* for him to have summoned or 'invited' Bishop Tozer? In short, is it true, or not, as some suspect, that in reality only Bishops Cotterill and Twells were duly summoned to it? These questions have been asked, and I ask them again; and they can easily be answered by the Bishop of Grahamstown, so that the truth may be known about the matter, whatever that may be. And as to the second italicised passage, no doubt Bishop Twells had 'a right to be present,' if summoned; but had the Bishop of Capetown a right, under the circumstances, to summon him?

"The whole matter may now be summed up in a few words.

"The Bishop of Capetown proceeded against me in two ways:—

"(i.) *Under his Letters Patent*,—which I believed to be unlawful, which were subsequently declared to be unlawful, and with respect to which Bishop Cotterill himself had written to me,

"'I am persuaded that, in the matter of judgement on a suffragan Bishop, the letters patent are directly opposed to the principles of Church law.'

[1] See Vol. I. p. 335.

"When summoned under this patent, I appeared under protest, but declined to defend myself, reserving my defence, if necessary, for a higher tribunal, to which, of course, the case never came. And by the court thus formed, at once *illegal* and *uncanonical*, I was condemned *unheard*.

"(ii.) *Before his Synod*,—which some of the Bishops regard as irregular and uncanonical, but to which, at any rate, I was not summoned, of which, indeed, I had not the slightest intimation, till two months after I found myself condemned by it, as before, *unheard*.

"It is difficult to conceive how any Bishop could say that, under such circumstances, 'substantial justice was done to the accused,' or how the first principles of English justice could be more distinctly violated.

"III. The Bishop says:—

"'That no other course of action for the trial of the accused, except that actually adopted, has ever been shown to be possible. The Report of the Lambeth Conference on the Natal question recommended that inquiries should be made with a view to further proceedings; but I understand that these inquiries have led to no result, and the present Report of Convocation speaks of "the apparent impossibility of any other mode of action." In fact, although the temporalities connected with such an office may be, and already have been, the subject of litigation, yet there appears to be no English court capable of pronouncing any ecclesiastical sentence whatever, to the jurisdiction of which a colonial Bishop would be amenable in the exercise of his office.'

"The last sentence holds good, since the passing of the Church Discipline Act, of any English or Irish *Bishop*, as it must have been true before that time of any of the four *Archbishops*; that is to say,

"'There appears to be no English court capable of pronouncing any ecclesiastical sentence whatever, to the jurisdiction of which he would be amenable in the exercise of his office.'

"But it is wholly incorrect to say that in such cases 'no other course of action for the trial of the accused, except that actually adopted [in my case] has ever been shown to be possible.' On the

contrary, Lord Romilly distinctly stated that there were *three* courses open to my accusers: 'recourse might have been had by petition to the Sovereign,' as Supreme Head of the Church of England; or 'proceedings might have been taken by *scire facias* in the Courts of Common Law,' for the purpose of raising the question of the 'moral character or religious opinions' of the Bishop of Natal; or, 'if no other court could be found to try the question, he himself would have been bound to do so'; and in each case, it is obvious, the final decision would lie with the Queen in Council. I need hardly say that I have repeatedly challenged my accusers to bring my alleged offences in one or other of these ways before a lawful tribunal, and that they persistently shrink from so doing, revealing thus sufficiently their own sense of the weakness of their cause. I may use, indeed, on this point, with a slight modification, the identical language which has just been employed by the Rev. Dr. Pusey,[1] in his letter to the Secretary of the Church Association (*Guardian*, July 22, 1868):—

"'I would then renew to you that same invitation which I have given at different times to others who have impugned my good faith at public meetings, or who have otherwise uttered calumnies against me. "You accuse me of teaching doctrine contrary to that held by the English Church. Substantiate your charge, if you can, in any court [or before any lawful tribunal]. If you do, I will resign the office which I hold by virtue of my subscription. I will oppose no legal hindrances, but will meet you on the 'merits of the case.'"

"'I will not conceal from you that I think that you run a risk in acceding to the invitation. I cannot think that any court [any lawful tribunal] could condemn me; and, if I were acquitted, your party could no longer use the language which it does against me. This is your concern, not mine. You must have looked at this in the face; for you could not, as honest men, make charges which you do not suppose that you could substantiate.'

"It will be remembered that the Committee of Bishops were appointed not only 'to inquire into the canonicity of my deprivation,' but also 'to examine the more recent writings of Dr. Colenso.' I rejoiced at this, believing that *bona fide* measures would now be

[1] See p. 136.

taken to bring the matter to a lawful issue. But the Report makes not the slightest reference to my books, and thus my accusers have again avoided the opportunity of obtaining a righteous decision, according to law, upon the merits of the case.

"IV. The Bishop says:—

"'That (again to use the words of the Report of Convocation), "although the sentence on Dr. Colenso, having been pronounced by a tribunal not acknowledged by the Queen's courts, whether civil or ecclesiastical, can have no legal effect, the Church, as a spiritual body, may rightly accept its validity."'

"The Dean of Westminster has said, with reference to the above passage of the Report:—

"'The decision at which their lordships have arrived involves a use of words which have absolutely no meaning at all.'

"And the Bishop of Lincoln said:—

"'We cannot confirm his [Bishop Gray's] acts without great and serious qualifications, since they are not confirmed by the law by which we ourselves are bound. The Bishop of Capetown condemned and deposed Bishop Colenso: our courts have pronounced that sentence null and void. He excommunicated him: but by our laws Bishop Colenso is not at this moment an excommunicate man. . . . We have been asked in many of the petitions to affirm the *spiritual validity* of the sentence; and these, I think, are the words used in a document signed by a large proportion of the Bishops. I could not sign that document, for the reason that these words were used in it; for I do not profess to understand what they mean. . . . The words, in fact, are ambiguous; but I believe that those who use them generally do so in the sense of "*ecclesiastical validity*." I put the question, not long ago, to a clergyman of standing and dignity in our Church, and a man of good common-sense; and his answer was, they meant that any spiritual act done by Colenso in his episcopal capacity should be considered null and void, as that of a Bishop not in communion with the Church of England. That, of course, would involve serious consequences in reference to confirmation and ordination; and in this sense it is certain that the deposition of Bishop Colenso is "spiritually invalid." A deposed Bishop is still a Bishop: any person confirmed by him is still confirmed, and being once

ordained by him is still ordained, and, if presented for institution in the Church of England, we as Bishops could not reject him on that ground.'

"And the Bishop of Ely said:—

"'I cannot help pointing out that there are certain points which ought to be set right, before we send out to the world the opinion of this Convocation. I have, in the first instance, an objection *in limine* to the distinction sought to be made between a *legal* and a *spiritual* sentence. I cannot conceive that there can be a spiritual sentence, which is not in some sense or other a legally valid sentence. If a Bishop or anyone else is censured in any way by *a tribunal which has a right to censure him*, and *according to the laws and canons which hold good in the Church of which he is a member*, then he is spiritually deposed; and if he is not deposed or censured by a tribunal which has the right to depose and censure, and by laws and canons binding on the Church, he is not spiritually deposed. And therefore "spiritual deposition" is identical with "legal deposition," if legal deposition be properly understood—legal meaning *canonical according to the laws of the Church of which he is a member*. It was at my instance, I believe, that, at the conclusion of the Report of the Committee, instead of speaking of Bishop Colenso being "spiritually deposed," or the deposition having "spiritual validity," the term is that "the Church, as a spiritual body, may rightly accept its validity."'

"The Archbishop of Canterbury, however, said:—

"'I have sometimes used an expression to the effect that I consider the Bishop of Natal to be spiritually deposed, and exception has been taken to the words. But *they do not materially differ from those in the concluding paragraph of the Report*.'

"If so, then these last words of the Report, it would seem, are as unintelligible as the Bishops of Ely and Lincoln have pronounced the other words to be—that is, as Dean Stanley says, they 'have absolutely no meaning at all.' And he adds:—

"'There they proceed to say, "may rightly accept its validity." I cannot help suspecting, when I look at the names of some of the prelates who have signed this document, that there must be an

intentional ambiguity in the use of that word *may*. I very much doubt whether all these prelates would commit themselves to saying that *they* acknowledge the deposition of the Bishop of Natal to be valid, in the sense that they believe the see to be vacant and that anyone may be consecrated thereto. I entirely disbelieve that those prelates meant that they accept in any sense the validity of the sentence. And I am therefore driven to the belief that, when the word *may* is there put in, it is meant to say, what is perfectly true, but what is also a perfect truism, that this Church, this body, *may, if it choose*, accept the validity of the sentence. It is true the word *rightly* is put in. But that is a very strange combination with the word *may;* and I am convinced that in the word *may* lurks a secret ambiguity, intended as an escape from the conclusion that apparently, though not really, the Report might at first sight seem to bear. I am satisfied that some at least of the prelates who have signed this Report do not accept the validity of the deposition of the Bishop of Natal in any such sense as to declare the see of Natal vacant; and therefore your confirmation of this Report will come to very little indeed, if you accept it in the sense in which it is sent down to you. All that you will decide is, that "the Church," whatever that means, "as a spiritual body," whatever that means, "may," if it chooses, "accept," whatever that means, but certainly not in its obvious sense, "the sentence," whatever that means, because of some sort of judgement having taken place, of which the Bishops themselves have said that it is "doubtful" and "null and void in law."' [1]

"But, if a meaning must be found for these words, it seems to amount merely to this, that any who please may refuse to recognise my episcopal office, may disregard my advice and admonitions, and reject my authority—as they may do that of the Bishop of Oxford or the Bishop of Capetown—*except where the law of the Church*, in other words, the law of the Realm, *requires them to recognise it*,—a simple truism, which it needed not the wisdom of the Committee of Bishops, after four months' consideration, to enunciate. Whatever 'the Church, as a spiritual body,' may rightly do in this respect, the Church of England, as a corporate body, as a visible entity, having form and substance, *cannot* 'accept the validity' of the said sentence. As a body recognised and established by law, it *must* recognise my

[1] See pages 180, 214.

office and authority, and respect the validity of my lawful acts—my baptisms, confirmations, ordinations—so long as I am recognised as Bishop of Natal by the Head of that Church. And so the Bishop of London said :—

"'So far as I can understand this very complicated matter, at this moment the Bishop of Natal is just as much Bishop of Natal as any one of your lordships is Bishop of his own diocese. It has been decided by the court before which the matter was brought that, in the eye of the law of England, Dr. Colenso is Bishop of Natal, and until that decision is reversed he is in the same position as myself or any other of your lordships at this table.'

"V. The Bishop says :—

"'That therefore the clergy and laity in Natal, who have accepted the validity of the deposition, are intitled to all the aid and encouragement which can be given them in this distressing position ; and, as they desire to have one to preside over them capable of exercising episcopal functions, the support which they solicit ought to be supplied by the Bishops of this Province, if there should be any legal impediment to its being supplied by the Archbishop of Canterbury.'

"It is true that there are *nine* clergy in Natal who reject my authority, including Mr. Green, now in England. But be it remembered that of these nine *five* have been intruded by Bishop Gray, three of them deacons recently ordained by himself, whereas nine others (of whom eight are presbyters) adhere to the discipline, as well as the doctrine, of the Church of England. So in the diocese of Salisbury, it is well known, a number of the clergy have lately protested against the teaching of their Bishop, as in their opinion thoroughly Romanising in its tendency ; and doubtless they would desire, if it were lawful, to be ruled by a Bishop whom they would regard as a more true representative of our Protestant Church. Yet would an English Archbishop be guilty of such a manifest violation of the first principles of Church order as to send another Bishop to officiate in the diocese of Salisbury without the permission of its Bishop, even if he were not restrained by law from so doing? Or did the Bishop of Salisbury himself pretend to send an 'orthodox' clergy-

man to discharge pastoral duties in the parish of one of his clergy, a well-known writer in *Essays and Reviews*, whom he prosecuted not long ago for heresy, whose condemnation he procured in the court of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and whom, perhaps, he, as a member of 'the Church as a spiritual body,' may regard still as heretical, though the law, as declared by the Supreme Court of the Realm, has decided otherwise? The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Salisbury know well that such proceedings, involving plain contempt of the order of the Church as well as for the law of the land, would not be tolerated for a moment in England, though, of course, in a colony disorderly and arbitrary acts, like that threatened by the Bishop of Capetown and supported by the Bishop of Grahamstown, may be done, and perhaps, from the expense and difficulty of instituting a legal process to prevent or remedy them, will be done.

"Or take the case of Archdeacon Denison, which has been compared lately in England with my own. . . . The Archdeacon has all along been one of my most vehement accusers, and indeed has usually led the attack against me, though in the late meeting of Convocation—perhaps under judicious advice—he kept rather in the background, and only supported the resolution which others brought forward.

"It is well known, however, that some years ago Archdeacon Denison himself was condemned as heretical, by the court of the Bishop of Bath and Wells, for teaching doctrines identical in substance with those put forth by the Bishop of Salisbury in his recent Charge, and since adopted publicly by the Archdeacon and others.

"Now, suppose that his present Bishop were to say to Archdeacon Denison:—

"'You have been condemned of heresy by a lawful court. It is true, you appealed against the decision, and the sentence was set aside; but this was only on a technical ground which you had pleaded. On the merits of the case you were left still—not legally, indeed, but—spiritually condemned. To use my brother of Gloucester and Bristol's words in another case, "The course which an honest and fair-meaning man would have adopted in the first instance would be to meet the charge on its merits." You neither did this in the first instance nor in the second. In the Diocesan Court you

threw every possible impediment in the way of the prosecution, your object being not to bring your doctrine at all to the test, but to prevent its being tried or tested in any way whatever. You even refused to acknowledge the authorship of your own sermons, on which the charge against you was founded, and compelled your accusers to incur the trouble and expense of proving it. At last, however, you were brought to account upon the merits of the case. Every form was duly observed; you were duly summoned and appeared; the case was argued "fully and fairly" on both sides. And the result was that you were condemned by a court consisting of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Dean of Wells, the Oxford Margaret Professor of Divinity, and Dr. Lushington,—a court, therefore, of which the majority were (as you would have desired) ecclesiastics, but which had also the benefit of lay counsel from one of their number, one of the most experienced ecclesiastical lawyers of the day, the late Dean of the Court of Arches. Against this sentence you appealed; but even then, on this second occasion, instead of "meeting the charge on its merits" as "an honest and fair-meaning man" would have done—more especially as you had actually been condemned by a lawful judgement, intitled to great weight from the character and position of the judges, and had now the opportunity of removing the impression which that judgement must have left in the minds of many, that the teaching in question was really heretical—you urged once more the petty technical objection, which had been overruled in the Bishop's court, viz. that a few days had elapsed beyond the limit allowed by law for the charge to be brought against you, the delay having been almost wholly caused by the efforts of your own friends to prevent legal proceedings. Of course, you had a legal right to do this, though the effect on the Church at large of your having thus availed yourself of a mere technical informality, to evade a final decision upon the merits of the case, is rather painful. But I need not be bound by the result of this appeal. There can be no doubt that "substantial justice" was done to you in the Bishop's court. You were condemned of heresy—a dangerous heresy, as some think—a very subtle heresy, which very many Protestants regard as involving the essence of Romish doctrine; and you were sentenced to be deprived of your preferments. As a member of "the Church, as a spiritual body," I "may rightly accept the validity of the sentence"; and I intend to do so, and

shall appoint at once a new Archdeacon for all who may choose to reject your authority.'

"May not all this be said in Archdeacon Denison's case with far more justice than what has been said in mine? True, he tells us himself in his letter of August 3 (see *Church Opinion*, August 8) :—

"'Hitherto no man in the Archdeaconry of Taunton has excepted to my jurisdiction, in the course of the twelve years which have elapsed since the Bath judgement, on the ground of that judgement or its issue, nor do I believe that any man is so silly as to except to it.'

"No one, of course, with the fear of an English law court before him, would be 'so silly' as to dare to commit disorderly and unlawful acts, such as those which Bishops Gray and Cotterill have done their utmost to encourage in Natal. But observe the *contrast*—not the resemblance—between the two cases.

"The Archdeacon of Taunton was condemned *after full hearing* on *both sides* by *a lawful* and *canonical court ecclesiastical*, acknowledged by *both* parties ; and on appeal he raised successfully *a technical objection*, and so avoided all revision of the judgement given upon the merits of the case.

"The Bishop of Natal was condemned *without being heard*, by *a court unlawful and uncanonical*, which *he did not acknowledge*, and *was bound*, as a loyal subject and by the very terms of his patent, *not to acknowledge*, and also by *a Synod to which he was never summoned or even cited.* But he *has raised no technical objections or hindrances ;* he avowed at once the authorship of his works ; he maintains that, in publishing them, he has committed no offence against the laws of the Church of England ; and, like Dr. Pusey, he has pledged himself again and again that, whenever brought before a lawful tribunal, he 'will oppose no legal hindrance, but will meet his opponents on the merits of the case.' And yet Bishops and others in Convocation can declare that the Bishop of Natal has had 'substantial justice' done to him, though they breathe not a syllable against the Archdeacon of Taunton ! and Archdeacon Denison can put himself forward to lead or support the attack upon Bishop Colenso, and insist on his having been justly condemned, deposed, and excommunicated !

"Bishop Gray, indeed, says in his letter to Mr. Fearne:—

"'The Bishop selected by us as your proxies, and afterwards confirmed by a majority of the Bishops of the province, will, I trust, now that the Convocation has spoken so decidedly, be received and welcomed by all who desire *to continue in the communion* of the Church of England.'

"Does he really mean to say that the nine clergy and the great body of the laity in this diocese, will no longer be regarded by him—holding office still under his letters patent, as Metropolitan Bishop in this South African province of the Queen's dominions—as being 'in the communion of the Church of England,' because they refuse to acknowledge his unlawful proceedings?

"But, in point of fact, Convocation has not 'spoken decidedly' at all upon the question. The Upper House has merely stated its 'opinion,' which the Lower House by a majority has adopted, that 'the Church, as a spiritual body, may rightly,' some time or other, 'accept the validity of the sentence.' There is no act of Convocation saying, 'and we do accept it.' As Canon Blakesley said:—

"'What has been sent down to us is not, in the proper sense of the word, the "judgement" of the Upper House, but merely a certain amount of information which may guide us in forming a judgement, or which may guide their lordships at some future time in forming a judgement. The Upper House does not, in addition to adopting the Report of its Committee, which is now put into our hands, go on to say, "though," in consequence of this, "the sentence having been pronounced by a tribunal not acknowledged by the Queen's courts, whether civil or ecclesiastical, can claim no legal effect, the Church, as a spiritual body, may rightly accept its validity, and we do accept its validity," which would be the proper form of giving a judgement; but it confines itself simply to this statement of opinion with regard to the legal bearings of the question, and leaves it for us or for themselves at some future time to determine whether they will, on the strength of this Report, proceed to affirm the deposition of the Bishop of Natal. This is an extremely important matter, because, as the Dean of Westminster said, no judgement of this House or of Convocation is valid except the whole of the forms are gone through. In order to do that which would be effectual in a matter of this kind, it

would be necessary that we and the Upper House should distinctly affirm the judgement of the Bishop of Capetown, that we should be summoned together for that purpose, that this should be reduced into an act, signed and sealed by the members of Convocation, and promulgated afterwards. No opinion which may be given as to this or the other fact is a judgement of Convocation.'

"VI. Lastly, the Bishop says:—

"'That there is nothing contrary to the law, in the consecration of a Bishop in this colony, without the Royal mandate, for these clergy and laity in Natal. Bishop Mackenzie was thus consecrated in 1860, by the Bishops of Capetown, Natal, and St. Helena, the opinions of the law officers of the Crown having been obtained previously."

"No doubt Bishop Mackenzie was so consecrated, and I myself took part in the consecration without any hesitation—and why? Because Bishop Mackenzie was consecrated for the natives of Central Africa, and was never meant to intrude into the diocese of a lawful Bishop of the Church of England. The case is very different when, as here, a Bishop is to be consecrated, who is expressly intended to head a schism in the diocese; though it may be that even such intrusion, on the part of a new Bishop, would not be 'contrary to the law,' however contrary to the order of that Church, of which Bishops Gray and Cotterill profess to be Bishops, so long as they hold Her Majesty's letters patent. If, indeed, the proposed Bishop were consecrated under Royal mandate, he would become a Bishop of the Church of England, and as such, both under Lord Romilly's judgement and under the recent decision of the Supreme Court of this colony, which has affirmed the entire validity of my letters patent, he could not *lawfully* officiate at all in this diocese without my permission. I must say, I shall be somewhat surprised if the Government of England can be coerced into doing such a wrong as to grant a mandate for the consecration of a Bishop who is expressly intended to violate the law, as it has now been declared in this colony. The Bishop of Capetown, however, tells us, in his letter to Mr. Fearne, that the Secretary of State for the Colonies

"'has himself *invited* his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury to

apply for a mandate for the consecration of a Bishop for this our voluntary association;'[1]

and he adds :—

"'It is not determined whether we shall proceed in this way or hold the consecration in Africa. I am myself indifferent as to which course is pursued.'

"Whereas elsewhere he says (*European Mail*, August 11) :—

"'It was very important that Mr. Macrorie should be consecrated in England. . . . The fact of Mr. Macrorie being consecrated in England would have its weight in Africa, and it would undo many false prejudices which prevailed there. Such a statement went down with many people, and it would be a very great advantage if their minds could be disabused by sending out a Bishop with the full sanction of the Crown and the Church of England. . . . Mr. Macrorie was to have been consecrated with the Bishop of Hereford, had not the law officers of the Crown thrown difficulties in the way. . . . The Queen gave Dr. Colenso the title of Bishop of Natal, and he had as much right to it as the Duke of Buckingham had to his [though Bishop Gray makes a point of never allowing me my rightful title, but always speaks of me as Dr. Colenso].'

"And Bishop Ellicott says :—

"'There is no ground now for asserting that the State intends to recognise Dr. Colenso in his spiritual position. . . . I hope and trust that those who are intrusted with superior power in this country will feel that he who is sent forth upon this mission should carry with him their fullest recognition and sanction of his spiritual authority.'

"A short time will show what the Government really intends to do under the 'enormous pressure' brought to bear on them, and whether, while contending so vigorously for the maintenance of the Royal supremacy in Ireland, they will tread it under foot in Natal, and actually sanction by a Royal mandate an act which contemplates direct and continual breaches of the law as it now stands declared in this colony, by the judgement of our Supreme Court, pending my appeal. If the mandate is refused, after being formally applied for,

[1] See Appendix B.

and when such powerful influences have been brought to bear upon the Government, the meaning of this would be clear, and you would be able to appreciate it. If the mandate is granted, we shall know *under what conditions* it has been granted, and whether these conditions include the pledge, given by Bishop Gray to the Secretary of State, that the new Bishop is not in any way to interfere with my legal rights. Of course, I should welcome him as a 'neighbouring Bishop' of the Church of England, if he comes out consecrated under Royal mandate merely for Zululand. If, however, he were not consecrated under Royal mandate, he would merely be a Bishop of a Church dissenting on some important points of doctrine and discipline from the United Church of England and Ireland, though it may be, for the present, in communion with it; and I should, in that case, be perfectly ready to welcome him as a Bishop of a Non-conforming Church, if he did not himself reject my fellowship. As such, he would be free to exercise his office for any who might gather round him; however irregular, rash, and disorderly would be the act of those who sent him, and who at any rate, it might be supposed, would have thought it right to await the decision of the Privy Council in respect of the two appeals now pending, by which it is probable that my legal status, as Bishop of Natal, will be more exactly defined, and the judgements of Lord Romilly and our Supreme Court be either set aside or confirmed. Bishop Selwyn, however, seems to intimate that these appeals will *not* be prosecuted. He says:—

"If we are to inquire what is the validity of the decision of the court assembled at Natal, we know perfectly well that an expensive process must be gone through in the hope, *the vague hope, of a satisfactory result.* We are not prepared to undertake that expensive process ourselves, and I believe that the colonial Bishops are also unprepared."

"Thus it will be seen that my opponents are shrinking from this appeal to the law, as they have shrunk from the other—that is, from bringing my books themselves, and the merits of the case, before a lawful tribunal. What says Bishop Gray, in his reply to the Archbishop of York, with reference to the straightforward and just proposal of his Grace, the Bishop of London, and others, that my teaching should be submitted to the judgement of some competent court?

'Before you do so, I pray you and your brethren to consider what you intend to do, should such a court affirm that Dr. Colenso's teaching is *not contrary to the faith held and taught by the Church of England*, or upon some technical ground should uphold him in his position.'

"Finally, the Bishop of Grahamstown is right, as he says, to 'choose God's truth'—that is, what he believes to be God's truth—'before Church order.' But the inference which he deduces that therefore he does right, 'even at the risk of some present irregularity,' to 'use the whole influence of his office' to attain a certain end which he deems to be desirable for the maintenance of the truth, involves a transparent fallacy. It is the same principle which has led to grave breaches of trust, and been assumed to warrant violent and arbitrary measures, on many well-known occasions of past history,—'the end justifies the means.' This maxim it is, which has probably influenced the minds of many good men in reference to the present question, and helps to account for much in their proceedings against me which would otherwise be strange and inexplicable. The Bishops of Capetown and Grahamstown, however, need not commit 'a present irregularity' in order to 'throw the whole influence of their office' as Bishops in support of what they deem to be God's truth. They now hold an influential position under the Crown, as Bishops of the Church established by law in England, and are bound, both morally and legally, to respect and observe its laws and maintain its order. Let them only resign their patents, and their office in the National Church, whose order they deliberately propose to violate. Let them thus throw themselves on their spiritual powers, and openly declare themselves to be no longer Bishops of the Church of England, but, in accordance with the ninth resolution of their Synod, 'Bishops of the Church of South Africa, in union and full communion with the United Church of England and Ireland.' No objection whatever would then be made, if they were to break up Natal into any number of dioceses of 'the Church of South Africa,' and send a Bishop for each of them.

"I have ventured to address these remarks to you, which I beg you to communicate to the other gentlemen who have signed the address to the Bishop of Grahamstown. My views, as to the paramount importance of maintaining 'God's truth,' are perhaps as strong as those of your own Bishop, though I differ in many respects from his

conclusions as to what constitutes the truth of God. But you are not in any way committed to agreement with my theological teaching, which is amenable at any time, as I have said, to lawful authority.

"I would only beg to be permitted to remind you once more, in the words of the eminent lawyers whom Bishop Cotterill formerly consulted, and whose opinion, as that of 'one of the best Church lawyers,' he communicated at the time to me, that 'other parties, besides the Bishop, have interests in his independence,' and that, in the stand which I have made against the usurped authority of the Bishop of Capetown, I have been maintaining your rights and liberties, and those of every member of the Church of England in Her Majesty's South African possessions—as well as my own.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your very faithful and obedient Servant,

"J. W. NATAL."

APPENDIX D.

THE TEMPTATION OF EVE.

See pages 277, 286.

In his comments on the narrative of the third chapter of Genesis, Bishop Browne asserts (as children are still sometimes or often taught in schools) that the devil tempted Eve; but he cannot give the supposed fact without comment.

> "The reason," he urges, "why Satan took the form of a beast remarkable for its subtlety may have been that so Eve might be the less upon her guard. New as she was to all creation, she might not have been surprised at speech in an animal which apparently possessed almost human sagacity."[1]

According to Bishop Browne's theory, she needed not to be surprised at anything. Indeed, having absolutely no experience, she could be surprised at nothing; and not having had any opportunities for comparison, she could not possibly be on her guard against any one thing more than any other, or weigh the sagacity of men against that of any other animal. But, however it may have been with Eve, we at least are intitled to demand that facts shall not be misrepresented. The serpent is not a beast remarkable for its subtlety. This Bishop Browne knows perfectly well, although he may find it convenient to affect ignorance of the nature of the serpent which tempted Eve. The animal serpent is not possessed of almost human sagacity, or of anything like the sagacity of a dog, or even of a cat; and this also Bishop Browne knows perfectly well. He also knows well that the word translated subtle really means naked. He knows, in short, that only the decent veil of symbolic language makes it possible that this record of the supposed origin of sexual sin can be read in our churches in the ears of decent men and women. How long it

[1] *Bible Commentary Examined*, Part I. p. 85.

may continue to be read depends much upon critics like himself. Religion in England would probably be none the worse if the whole narrative were ejected from the Lectionary. But we turn from one misrepresentation only to be encountered by another. Bishop Browne remarks that

"the most natural interpretation of the curse might indicate that the serpent underwent some change of form. It would, however, be quite consistent with the narrative, even in its most literal acceptance, to understand that it merely implied continued and perpetual degradation, coupled with a truceless war against mankind."

We have a right to deny the statement strenuously,—a vastly better right to deny it than he has to affirm it, for we can allege for our denial the experience of present facts, while he can rest his affirmation only on a miserable hypothesis which he is ashamed to avow. But what does Bishop Browne mean? The narrative in Genesis certainly tells us a story of punishment passed upon the serpent. But if the sentence did nothing more than continue a degradation to which it had always been subject, where was the punishment? Let us suppose that the temptation had come not from a snake, as Bishop Browne affirms, but from a horse. How could we say that it would be a punishment to the horse to be sentenced to go always upon four legs, as indeed it has always done? or are we to indulge in more of airy hypothesis, and say that, if the serpent had not tempted Eve, he would have been rewarded by a release from his humiliation, and might have been enabled to pirouette perpetually on the tip of his tail without being tired? But Bishop Browne must again misrepresent facts, if so mild a phrase can be justifiably used. It is not true that the serpent wages a truceless war against mankind. It is not even true that all men are in a state of truceless war against serpents, if by these he means snakes. Man may sometimes hunt them up; but the instinct of a serpent is to fly from him. The plunging through morasses is not a pleasant process. It is even nauseating to have to wade through a slough of evasions, misrepresentations, and distortions of fact. The Jehovist story of the temptation is strictly that which Dr. Donaldson in his *Jashar* has conclusively shown it to be.

APPENDIX E.

MISSIONARIES IN ZULULAND.

See page 463.

CETSHWAYO, as we have seen, from the time of his installation in 1873, was "an advocate of secular education."[1] He acknowledged the advantage of being able to read and write, and "expressed regret that the missionaries did not confine themselves to that kind of teaching." We may at once admit that the outlook was discouraging for the missionaries. It is true that by 1873 the Norwegians had been allowed to establish nine stations in Zululand, the Hanoverians ten, and the S.P.G. three or four,[2] while by 1879 some 300 to 400 natives were claimed as belonging to the S.P.G. mission alone. But many of these converts had been imported from Natal, and with the Zulus themselves little way had been made.[3] It never seems to have occurred to the good men to consider that the mistake might not be all on the Zulus' side, and that the obligation of rendering unto Cæsar the things that be Cæsar's lay upon the threshold of all useful missionary work in such a country as Zululand.[4] To understand the position we must refer to the domestic economy of the Zulus. They had, strictly speaking, no standing army, but the men of fighting age voluntarily enrolled themselves; and in time of peace,

[1] [C—1137, p. 19.] *Digest*, vol. i.

[2] *Cetshwayo's Dutchman*, p. 178.

[3] The ten Norwegian stations numbered their converts at this time as "over *one* hundred;" and some of the people belonging to Kwamagwaza, the chief S.P.G. station, stated in 1879 that there were only ten male Zulu converts and about thirty women and children at that station.

[4] *Digest*, vol. i. p. 488.

though for the most part "just living at home with their families," they were liable to be called out "if the king wants them for anything, perhaps one regiment, perhaps two, as he sees fit, either to build a new kraal, or to move an old one, or for hunting parties, or to hoe his *amabele* (corn) crops." From all such obligations, as well as from the strict regulations of the Zulu marriage law, the native converts claimed to be exempt, by the mere fact of their having joined the missionaries; and it must be admitted that the Zulu chiefs spoke not altogether without foundation, when in 1877 they complained to an emissary of Sir Th. Shepstone, Mr. F. B. Fynney:—"If a Zulu does anything wrong, he at once goes to a mission station, and says he wants to become a Christian; if he wants to run away with a girl, he becomes a Christian; if he wishes to be exempt from serving the king, he puts on clothes, and is a Christian; if a man is an *umtagati* [evil-doer], he becomes a Christian. . . . . We do not care if the missionaries go or stay, but they must not interfere with the Zulus, that is all. . . . The missionaries desire to set up another power in the land, and as Zululand has only one king that cannot be allowed." With this argument, it might be thought, British officials, so jealous of any—especially of clerical—"interference" with "constituted authorities" might have sympathised. That this Zulu complaint was well grounded has since been only too grievously proved. On this same visit, July, 1877, Mr. Fynney found "there were all sorts of wild rumours going about from station to station, one that the British Government intended to annex Zululand at once." Before June, 1877, says the Rev. Mr. Oftebro, superintendent of the Norwegian missions, "strong rumours" of this nature "had reached us from Natal;" and on August 31 the Secretary of State referred to this "wild rumour" as "an impression" which "prevails in Zululand," having already received through Sir B. Frere, "several communications from private persons in Zululand upon the state of affairs in that country." By July, Mr. Fynney found that most of the missionaries had already decided upon leaving; some had already left. The king forbade the return of these; but to those who had *only* "informed him of their intention to discuss the question, holding out to him the prospect of their departure almost as a threat," says Sir H. Bulwer, he "notified" on their "deciding eventually not to leave the country" "that he gives their land to them to live on as they have hitherto done"; and

there they remained uninjured until April, 1877. During this and the following months they all left the country on the advice of Sir Th. Shepstone—while the Zulu representatives were quietly attending the sittings of the Boundary Commission—in expectation of "a political crisis," or as some of the S.P.G. converts expressed it, "We left Zululand [in July, 1877] because Mr. Robertson (their missionary) told us that Somtseu [Sir T. Shepstone] was now coming to make the Zulus pay taxes, and there would be fighting, and that therefore we had better cross into Natal." They are, indeed, careful to state that they left in consequence of this advice, rather than on account of "the terrorism and tyranny prevailing there":—an extraordinary admission of foolhardiness, if some of their accounts were to be believed; although one ingenuously admits the fact that "some missionaries lost their servants, so that by that reason only it was almost impossible for them to stay in the country"! and another detailed as "outrages," or "acts of terrorism by the Zulu authorities," a theft of fowls and of tobacco-plants. He was one of the first to leave, but his converts remained behind, when "during almost a whole year the station was left in good order." Meanwhile certain missionaries had given further and serious cause of offence. Mr. F. E. Colenso visited Cetshwayo in January, 1878, and found that, as was to be expected, the king had received an account of the sedulous misrepresentation of Zulu affairs in the Natal papers, by correspondents living under his own protection in Zululand, one of whom, and not without reason, he had identified with just indignation as a certain missionary. Mr. Colenso told him, however, that in his opinion the presence of missionaries as a body in his country was a great advantage to him, and the king disclaimed having ever treated them with anything but great consideration. In fact the only action which he took even then was to send a message to Sir H. Bulwer that he "wishes his Excellency to know that he is not pleased with the missionaries in the Zulu country, as he finds out that they are the cause of much harm, and are always spreading false reports about the Zulu country, and would wish his Excellency to advise them to remove, as they do no good." For his own part, Cetshwayo left them undisturbed; while, notwithstanding the notorious facts of the "wild rumours" spread by themselves, six months previously, of impending annexation, and of the many channels through which matters published and discussed throughout

Natal were likely to reach the Zulu king, some of the missionaries, and Sir H. Bulwer in their wake, permitted themselves to represent that Mr. Colenso's influence was required, and had been used, to "prejudice the king's mind against" the missionaries. From this position it is obvious that a single step would suffice to deduce another instance of "interference" on the Bishop's part. But Sir H. Bulwer himself disposes of the specific charges brought against Cetshwayo of persecuting the missionaries by attacking stations and killing converts. He writes, on November 18, 1878, that he had at the time that the charges were made, taken "some pains to find out how the case really stood, and ascertained that the number of natives either converts or [N.B.] living on mission stations who had been killed was three," and that these were not attacks on missionaries and mission stations, but were "directed against individual natives for personal reasons." The Bishop shows that this refers to all Zululand through the five years of Cetshwayo's reign, and that the distinction noted above is essential, one of these three being described by the missionaries themselves as having "lapsed." He had, it seems, "been baptised seven years ago, but was not a good Christian," and was accused of more than one crime for which the punishment would be death by Zulu law. A second was killed—on a charge of having poisoned several persons—by their enraged relations, a somewhat different matter, let us hope, from "listening to the teaching of missionaries." The Bishop points out that the supposed victims may really have sickened with eating diseased or putrid meat; and, while accounting the third man, Maqamsela, a martyr, and likening his death to that of John Brown, the Ayrshire carrier, he showed that this man was killed by his own chief Gaozi. Against this hereditary chief of one of the principal Zulu tribes the king could hardly have proceeded after the event, except by remonstrance, seeing that the man was killed not for becoming a Christian, but through his and his pastor's intentional disregard of what was due to the authority of his tribal chief, who had undertaken to procure for him the necessary permit of exemption from the duties of a Zulu citizen. In short, it has been proved that Cetshwayo never caused the death of a single native Christian, as such.

One missionary, presuming that he had been asked to state cases of tyranny and murder during Cetshwayo's reign, and by his orders, jumbled together cases of murder by whomsoever committed, and

the executions of reputed criminals by the orders of different great tribal chiefs within their own jurisdiction, with executions by the king's orders, throwing in a dozen or so of cases which had occurred in his father's (Mpande's) reign. No doubt people were killed in Cetshwayo's time for impossible crimes, such as witchcraft; doubtless also he himself was by no means free from superstition. But on this point the tables were completely turned on his accusers by the bringing to light a fact to which every Zulu questioned by the Bishop eagerly testified, that Cetshwayo had actually established what we may call "cities of refuge" for the protection of persons accused by the witch-doctors. In their own words:—"While his father was yet alive, he began saving anyone who was accused either by the king or by the indunas of being an *umtagati* (evil-doer), saying, 'No, don't kill him! give him to me!' and sent him to his own kraal Ukubaza, to belong to the Usutu (Cetshwayo's own people). That kraal, when he began, consisted of three huts only or perhaps four. It has now four circles of huts (some 300 to 400 huts in all), and every man in them is an accused *umtagati*, whose life Cetshwayo has saved!" Umtagati, literally evil-doer, may very often be best translated "poisoner," but sometimes "wizard" or "witch"; the mischief-makers being the witch-doctors or soothsayers who profess by their arts to recognise such miscreants.

APPENDIX F.

EMPLOYMENT OF POISON IN WAR.

See pages 486, 487, 534.

THE following passage is taken from a letter by Mr. J. E. Ollivant in the *Spectator* for December 27, 1887. Mr. Ollivant may well say that "only to read of" such things "must bring shame and confusion of face to Englishmen."

"During our struggle in America in 1763 with the Indian border tribes . . . Sir Jeffrey Amherst, the Commander-in-Chief, hard pushed by an enemy whose strength he had not at first realised, writes in a postscript to Colonel Bouquet, who was commanding on the frontier, as follows:—

"'Could it not be contrived to send the small-pox among these disaffected tribes of Indians? We must on this occasion use every stratagem in our power to reduce them. (Signed) 'J. A.'

"To this Bouquet replied, also in a postscript, on July 13, 1763:—

"'I will try to inoculate the —— with some blankets that may fall in their hands, and take care not to get the disease myself. As it is a pity to expose good men against them, I wish we could make use of the Spanish method, and hunt them with English dogs, supported by rangers and some light horse, who would, I think, effectually extirpate or remove that vermin.'

"In answer to this, Amherst wrote:—

"'You will do well to try and inoculate the Indians by means of blankets, as well as by every other method that can serve to extirpate this execrable race. I should be very glad if your scheme for hunting them down by dogs could take effect, but England is at too great a distance to think of that at present. (Signed) 'J. A.'

"The originals of this correspondence are in the British Museum among the Bouquet papers, No. 21,634; but copies of the letters, with remarks and a note therefrom, may be found at pp. 39, 40, vol. ii. of *The Conspiracy of Pontiac and the Indian War*, by Francis Parkman, ed. 1885.

"There is no more painful and discreditable episode than the above in all our colonial history, though matched perhaps by that of the extinction of the aborigines in Tasmania. It is, however, fair to conclude with a passage from Mr. Parkman's book:—

"'There is no direct evidence that Bouquet carried into effect the shameful plan of infecting the Indians, though a few months after the small-pox was known to have made havoc among the tribes of the Ohio. Certain it is, that he was perfectly capable of dealing with them by other means, worthy of a man and a soldier, and it is equally certain that in his relations with civilised men he was in a high degree honourable, humane, and kind.'"

APPENDIX G.

DISENGENUOUS CRITICISM.

See page 599.

In an article published immediately after the Bishop's death the editor of the *Guardian* (June 27, 1883) referred his readers to an article "of great length" in the *Guardian* of December 3, 1862, as likely to "enlighten" them in 1883 as to "the character" of the Bishop's criticisms on the Pentateuch. The volume which alone could then (1862) be reviewed was the first part only of *The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua Critically Examined;* and this volume is but one twelfth or fourteenth part of the work, as it lay before the reviewer, or was accessible to him, at the time when he wrote (1883). It follows that such a reference could be nothing less than a deliberate throwing of dust in the eyes of any who might be disposed to look through the paragraphs quoted by the *Guardian* of 1883 from an article which was sufficiently disingenuous in 1862. To republish such statements immediately after the Bishop's death will to possibly not a few seem in a very high degree dishonourable. The writer inveighs against the Bishop for raising objections "to the narrative of a professed eye-witness, and then without regard to his character, his guarantees, or internal evidence of honesty, dismisses him peremptorily as an impostor." There is no professed eye-witness. There may be a number of narrators, and the Bishop dismissed no one of them as an impostor. The assertion that there was, or that there could be, one eye-witness and narrator for all the events, stretching over millenniums, recorded in the Pentateuch, is now, whatever it may have been twenty-four years ago, an impertinent absurdity; and to say that there were many eye-witnesses and many narrators is to admit in full the composite character of the Pentateuch, the very point for which the Bishop was contending. See further, the admissions and recantation of Professor Delitzsch, above, page 599, *note.*

APPENDIX H.

THE COLONY OF NATAL AND THE ZULU WAR.

See pages 532, 544, 618, 633.

In a despatch, dated 10th March, 1880, Sir H. Bulwer addressed to the Colonial Office a summary of the entire situation leading up to the Zulu War. Referring to the military preparations in Natal on the 24th of August, 1878, he says:—

"Now I venture to say that up to that time we, in this colony, had not so much as heard the word of war . . . the idea of a Zulu war had not yet occurred to any one. The idea was an imported idea. It was imported at the time of the arrival of the troops and the head-quarters staff from the Cape Colony. Once introduced under such circumstances the idea spread fast enough."

In a letter to the Secretary of State, dated 4th April, 1880, Sir H. Bulwer says:—

"The views of his Excellency the Lieutenant-General, and also of his Excellency the High Commissioner, were both based on the assumption of an invasion of Natal by the Zulus, a contingency which, though it was of course a *possibility*, as it had been a possibility for the last thirty years, was, in the opinion of this Government in the highest degree improbable, unless indeed it should be brought about by compromising action on our part.

"The annexation of the Transvaal had indeed . . . essentially altered the relations between English authority in South Africa and the Zulus; and as by that annexation the English inherited questions and disputes which might bring them at any moment into collision with the Zulus, so the situation of Natal, as a neighbouring country and a British colony, became necessarily much affected thereby.

But, so far as regards the chance of an invasion of Natal territory by the Zulus, I believed then, and I believe now, that such a movement had never so much as entered into the counsels of the Zulu king and chiefs, and that it would have been utterly repugnant to the views of the greater portion of the Zulu nation. I believed then, as I believe now, that unless we ourselves provoked a quarrel or otherwise greatly changed the temper of the Zulu nation towards Natal, or unless on other accounts British authority in South Africa went to war with the Zulus, an attack by them upon Natal was to the very last degree improbable."

APPENDIX I.

GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION IN NATAL.

See pages 345—363.

The following passage is taken from a letter written by the Bishop on December 6th, 1878, to Mr. Chesson. It is given as an illustration of the methods by which the office of the Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal thought fit to maintain the dignity of the Government where the Bishop was concerned. The man mentioned was notorious amongst the natives of the colony as having been publicly convicted, under the circumstances mentioned at page 344, of bearing false testimony against Langalibalele. The office to which he was afterwards promoted involved his administering justice in a court of first instance under the Native Administration Law of the Colony:—

"One of my own tenants came to me a day or two ago with a policeman bringing an order from a magistrate to call out one hundred natives, and to take 'unemployed natives on *private* farms' [lands] if he could not get his number on Government location-land. Another came yesterday with the same story, the 'chief' who summons them being that lying scoundrel Mawiza, who figured so disgracefully in the Langalibalele affair, and who, instead of being discarded for his lies (about being stripped, prodded with assegais, &c.), of which he was openly convicted (as told in my Bluebook), was actually made chief of his tribe [by the Secretary for Native Affairs], having no pretensions whatever by birth, &c., to such promotion, and the people having very generally protested against the appointment. This was done in Sir Garnet Wolseley's time, and no doubt with the view of damaging *my* position in respect of the Langalibalele affair, and all my people are put under [Mawiza] as chief. So much for the way in which we teach our natives to *speak the truth*."

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